



MESSAGES OF THE PRESIDENT

FERDINAND E. MARCOS

1965-1986

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Historical Papers and Documents

Inaugural Address of President Marcos, December 30, 1965

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY FERDINAND E. MARCOS

[Delivered at the Quirino Grandstand, Manila on December 30, 1965]

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice-President, Mr. Speaker, My Countrymen:

Sa bisa ng inyong makapangyarihang hatol at sa pamamagitan ng mabiyayang tangkilik ng Dakilang Maykapal, narito ako ngayon sa inyong harap sa pinagkaugalian nang ritwal sa pagtatalaga at pagsumpa sa tungkulin ng isang bagong halal na Pangulo.

Sa kapasiyahan ninyong ito ay muli pa ninyong pinatunayan na matatag at matibay ang pagkakataanim ng mga ugat ng demokrasya sa sinapupunan ng bansang ito. At sa bisa ng kapangyarihang ipinagkaloob sa inyo ng mga batas ay naisasagawa nang mapayapa at maayos ang pagsasalin ng kapangyarihang pampamahalaan.

By your mandate, through the grace of the Almighty, I stand here today in the traditional ritual of the assumption of the Presidency.

By your mandate, once again you have demonstrated the vitality of our democracy by the peaceful transference of governmental authority.

It is but fitting and proper that this traditional ritual be undertaken on this sacred ground. For sixty-nine year ago today, a young patriot and prophet of our race fell upon this beloved soil. He fell from a tyrant's bullet and out of the martyr's blood that flowed copiously there sprung a new nation.

That nation became the first modern republic in Asia and Africa. It is our nation. We are proud to point to our country as one stable in an area of instability; where ballots, not bullets, decide the fate of leaders and parties.

Thus Kawit and Malolos are celebrated in our history as acts of national greatness. Why national greatness? Because, armed with nothing but raw courage and passionate intelligence and patriotism, our predecessors built the noble edifice of the first Asian Republic.

With the same reverence do we consider Bataan, Corregidor and the Philippine resistance movement.

Today the challenge is less dramatic but no less urgent. We must repeat the feat of our forebears in a more commonplace sphere, away from the bloody turmoil of heroic adventure – by hastening our social and economic transformation. For today, the Filipino, it seems, has lost his soul, his dignity and his courage.

We have come upon a phase of our history when ideas are only a veneer for greed and power in public and private affairs, when devotion to duty and dedication to a public trust are to be weighed at all times against private advantages and personal gain, and when loyalties can be traded in the open market.

Our people have come to a point of despair. I know this for I have personally met many of you. I have heard the cries of thousands and clasped hands in brotherhood with millions of you. I know the face of despair and I know the face of hunger because I have seen it in our barrios, huts and hovels all over our land.

We have ceased to value order as a social virtue. Law, we have learned successfully to flaunt. We have become past masters at devising slogans for the sake of recorders of his history but not for those who would live by them in terms of honor and dignity.

Peace in our time, we declare. But we can not guarantee life and limb in our growing cities. Prosperity for all, we promise. But only a privileged few achieve it, and, to make the pain obvious, parade their comforts and advantages before the eyes of an impoverished many. Justice and security are as myths rendered into elaborate fictions to dramatize our so-called well-being and our happy march to progress.

But you have rejected all these through a new mandate of leadership. It is a mandate that imposes a change of leadership in this country, and to me, as your President, this mandate is clear – it is a mandate not merely for change. It is a mandate for greatness.

For indeed we must rise from the depths of ignominy and failure. Our government is gripped in the iron hand of venality, its treasury is barren, its resources are wasted, its civil service is slothful and indifferent, its armed forces demoralized and its councils sterile.

But we shall draw from our rich resources of spiritual strength that flow from this place of martyrdom.

We are in crisis. You know that the government treasury is empty. Only by severed self-denial will there be hope for recovery within the next year.

Our government in the past few months has exhausted all available domestic and foreign sources of borrowing. Our public financial institutions have been burdened to the last loanable peso. The lending capacity of the Central Bank has been utilized to the full. Our national government is indebted to our local governments. There are no funds available for public works and little of the appropriations for our national government for the present fiscal year. Industry is at a standstill. Many corporations have declared bankruptcy. Local manufacturing firms have been compelled to close or reduce their capacity.

Unemployment has increased. Prices of essential commodities and services remain unstable. The availability of rice remains uncertain. Very recently the transportation companies with the sanction of the Public Service Commission hiked their fares on the plea of survival.

I, therefore, first call upon the public servants for self-sacrifice. Long have we depended upon the people. In every crisis, we call upon our citizens to bear the burden of sacrifice. Now, let the people depend upon us. The economic viability of the government and of the nation requires immediate retrenchment. Accordingly, we must install without any delay a policy of rigorous fiscal restraint.

Every form of waste – or of conspicuous consumption and extravagance, shall be condemned as inimical to public welfare.

Frugality with government funds and resources must be developed into a habit at every level of the government. High public officials must themselves set the example.

One of the most galling of our inherited problems is that of lawlessness. Syndicated crime has been spawned by smuggling. The democratic rule of law has lost all meaning and majesty, since all men know that public officials combine with unscrupulous businessmen to defraud government and the public – with absolute impunity. The sovereignty of the republic has never before been derided and mocked as when the lawless elements, smuggling syndicates and their protectors, disavow the power of laws and of our government over them. This is the climate for criminality. Popular faith in the government deteriorates.

We must, therefore, aim quickly at the establishment of a genuine rule of law. We shall use the fullest powers of the Presidency to stop smuggling and lawlessness.

I, therefore, call upon all to join hands with me in maintaining the supremacy of the law. To those flaunt the law, I say: this is my constitutional duty and I am resolved to perform it. But it is not mine alone but yours. For whether Filipino or alien you survive under the mantle of protection granted by our laws. I am pledged to execute the law and preserve the constitution of our republic. This I shall do. And if need be I shall direct the forcible if legal elimination of all lawless elements.

Our social policy will seek to broaden the base of our democracy. Our forefathers built a democratic republic on an extremely narrow social and economic base. The task of our generation is to broaden this base continuously. We must spread opportunities for higher incomes for all. But we shall encourage investment to insure progressive production – the true answer to our economic ills.

Our people sought a new administration in the expectation of a meaningful change – certainly a bolder, more courageous approach to our problems.

They must have believed that we can provide this new outlook, and perhaps the passion for excellence – the motive force for greatness.

We shall provide this approach, the necessary change of pace, the new outlook that places large demands and large challenges before the nation. The human person is unique in creation. Of all organisms, it is he that develops in proportion to the demands made upon his abilities. That is true of individuals and I hold it to be true of nations.

Recently, we have come to realize that economic planning is as essential for freedom as political planning.

Before today we had squandered the energies and resourcefulness of our people. In the government we saw a crippling hesitancy and timidity to face the facts of our times and to boldly provide the initiative.

We cannot afford to rest on the shock of our perceptions, nor on the outrage even of our painful admission of the facts. We shall have to restore into our life the vitality which had been corroded by our complacency.

In international affairs, we shall be guided by the national interests and by the conscience of our society in response to the dilemma of man in the 20th century.

The Filipino today lives in a world that is increasingly Asian as well as African. Asia claims one-half of all humanity, and this half lives on a little over one-sixth of the earth's habitable surface. Africa's millions are also now coming to their own. Recent events have shown the willingness of our Asian friends to build a bridge to us. We can do less than to build strong foundations at our end.

Today, as never before, we need a new orientation toward Asian; we must intensify the cultural identity with ancient kin, and make common cause with them in our drive toward prosperity and peace. For this we shall require the understanding of ourselves and of Asia that exceeds acquaintance; we require the kind of knowledge that can only be gained through unabating scholarship on our histories, cultures, social forces and aspirations, and through more active interaction with our friends and neighbors.

What threatens humanity in another area threatens our society as well. We cannot, therefore, merely contemplate the risks of our century without coming into any on our own. Wherever there is a fight for freedom we cannot remain aloof from it. But whatever decision shall have to make shall be determined by our own interests tempered by the reasonability of that patriotic position in relation to the international cause.

This nation can be great again. This I have said over and over. It is my article of faith, and Divine Providence has willed that you and I can now translate this faith into deeds.

I have repeatedly told you: each generation writes its own history. Our forbears have written theirs. With fortitude and excellence we must write ours.

We must renew the vision of greatness for our country.

This is a vision of our people rising above the routine to face formidable challenges and overcome them. It means the rigorous pursuit of excellence.

It is a government that acts as the guardian of the law's majesty, the source of justice to the weak and solace to the underprivileged, a ready friend and protector of the common man and a sensitive instrument of his advancement and not captivity.

This vision rejects and discards the inertia of centuries.

It is a vision of the jungles opening up to the farmers' tractor and plow, and the wilderness claimed for agriculture and the support of human life; the mountains yielding their boundless treasure, rows of factories turning the harvests of our fields into a thousand products.

It is the transformation of the Philippines into a hub of progress – of trade and commerce in Southeast Asia.

It is our people bravely determining our own future. For to make the future is the supreme act of freedom.

This is a vision that all of you share for our country's future. It is a vision which can, and should, engage the energies of the nation. This vision must touch the deeper layers of national vitality and energy.

We must awake the hero inherent in every man.

We must harness the wills and the hearts of all our people. We must find the secret chords which turn ordinary men into heroes, mediocre fighters into champions.

Not one hero alone do I ask from you – but many; nay all, I ask all of you to be the heroes of our nation.

Offering all our efforts to our Creator, we must drive ourselves to be great again.

This is your dream and mine. By your choice you have committed yourselves to it. Come then, let us march together towards the dream of greatness.

Speech of President Marcos before the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, April 20, 1966

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines

[Delivered at the Social Security System Building, April 20, 1966]

IT is a pleasure for me to appear before this admittedly prestigious group of business leaders in the country, in whose hands lie to a great degree the economic development of our country. I have taken time out from the routine "of government in order to participate in the clarification of the policies in which, not only you but also the entire nation and our friends in the world are interested in.

Three months ago, I appeared before Congress and spoke of the crisis that confronts us—a crisis that was many-sided, a crisis in the private sector, a crisis in government: a government that was bankrupt and a private sector in which many industries faced imminent collapse. Trade and commerce was sluggish and the rule of law in shambles in many parts of the country.

I said then that there was a general demoralization and that the principal challenge was a challenge of confidence, confidence in the government and, more than this, confidence in ourselves. I believe that in the last three months, your government has grappled firmly with this problem and met this crisis resolutely and placed it under control.

On the part of the government, the collection of income has improved, the moral tone generally has been raised in the conduct of government. With respect to confidence, I feel that there is an increasing tide of faith not only in the government, but more important than this, faith in ourselves, faith in the people to surmount all obstacles to our progress. It will not be correct to say, of course, that we have overcome or recovered from the crisis for it is not so. There are still great problems facing all of us but we have reversed the trend and the forces of recovery have stopped it.

From the Bureau of Census and Statistics and other sources of data, comes the conclusion that business has picked up quite considerably since January this year. Taking one example, the textile industry which is considered to be one of the most distressed industries. We note that it now has production of cotton and fibers amounting to 63,889,656 square yards for the three months from January to March this year. Last year, production in the same period was 41,082,000 yards. Thus, there has been an increase of 22 million yards and this increase represents 55.5% for the same period.

Employment in the textile industry for the same period has risen by 54.4%.

In the investment field, the period January to February this year had a total number of 1,786 single proprietorship, partnership and corporations.

Establishments engaged in commerce which, by the way, includes supermarkets and groceries referred to in some reports, have increased by 9.4% in number. In terms of actual investments, mining registered an increase of 19.7%, manufacturing, 1.7%; construction 406.6% electricity, 110.5%; and miscellaneous 95.4%. The number of great structures, especially for March alone this year has exceeded by more than 60% that of January and February. These totals indicate a rapid rate of business establishments being formed.

The overall employment level in October, 1965, was 94.0% of the total labor force but as of March this year, is has reached the level of 94.4% It can be concluded that we have not only absorbed the year's increment of labor but have also absorbed some of the unemployed carried over from previous years.

The nation has arrested the economic and social downturn and it is possible to state now that there is an initial momentum for new advance. But there is something to note. In the past several years, the hardships in the economic field were felt mostly by Filipino firms, also by our countrymen in business and industry with their meager capital base. The crisis in financing has hurt most deeply the struggling infant industries, many of which are owned and managed by our countrymen. The program of rescuing these industries is in the nature of salvage operations for the viable Filipino industries and these industries represent the heroic efforts of men and women in our country for the past several decades to build the base of modern Filipino economy.

I, therefore, believe that our government must exert all efforts to help rehabilitate these industries and put them back on their feet. The alternative is to see all these gains of many years in the struggle for economic independence dissipate on this single period. But these reforms should not only stimulate industries but trade just as well for trading activities have suffered from the scarcity and high cost of credit as everyone knows, especially in the provinces. And these conditions tend to paralyze the Filipino small merchant not only in the provinces, in the towns and in the barrios against their better placed alien competitors.

While I have spoken of this crisis many times, it is only before such distinguished leaders in business like you that I can set aside the histrionics and drama of public speaking and eloquence, and paint you the hard realities of our economic life and, with you, draw the conclusions in a cold, objective and dispassionate manner. For, emotion, so you always repeat, has no place in business. If this is so, let us in cold blooded manner look at the problems of businessmen today.

And, I would like to look at this from the viewpoint of a student of business. What actually is the relationship between the private sector of business and government? I would like to speak today on this concept of an active partnership between government and the private sector of our Republic. It is perhaps a truism but nevertheless true and pertinent to observe that we have a strongly symbolic relationship between government and business of the private sector and an improvement or deterioration of one sector affects to that extent either the improvement or diminishes the position of the other and we saw this under previous administrations. We saw the deterioration of the position of the economy, the position of the government, affects the private sector and the desperate efforts to recover the position of government also causes the discreditation of the Filipino businessman.

It is under this concept, therefore, that the present administration has consistently reaffirmed the resolutions of this relationship and has oriented its anti-smuggling, its tax collection and refinancing campaigns and projects accordingly.

In the continuation of this concept of active partnership, I can assure you now that your government will continue to protect the Filipino businessman and promote his better economic and financial position. But the role of government is not to supplant the private sector. It is merely to augment the efforts of our businessmen, for economic development in our society of free enterprise is the primary responsibility of the private sector. However, it is the government's duty to participate actively in this venture by assisting directly in building up productive capacity through the establishment of economic public works facilities. Another major contribution is direct financial assistance and indirect financial help by means of monetary credit and fiscal policies designed to benefit productive private industries. So what has your government directly done in the last three months in the past? Allow me to outline them for you.

First, stabilize for the time being credit arrangements with the International Monetary Fund which have been restricted but without the crippling restriction of the ceiling on the Central Bank's domestic efforts. Ever since our relationships with the International Monetary Fund, I believe it is only now, this year, that the ceiling has been lifted.

Second, The exchange rate of the peso to the dollar has been maintained, so much so that this exchange rate continues to follow a definite trend of stabilizing the levels, lower than those obtaining in the immediate past. The present exchange rate, according to the Central Bank, is 3.894 to the dollar where it was 3.94 or 3.95 in December, 1965.

Third, the level of international reserves continues to rise to heights which far surpassed previous levels. Reserves of the Central Bank as of March stood at about \$195 million compared to \$136.6 million in March, 1965 and \$140 million in December, 1965. The reserves net of commercial bank obligations for February, furthermore, were more than double the average level for April and May, 1965.

Fourth, the unrelenting pressure brought down on smuggling activities both of the technical and outright varieties has definitely slowed down outward remittances for invisibles as well as exerted pressure on international reserves and exchange rates. More specifically, textile mills which only recently could afford to operate only one shift twice weekly, now operate under three shifts a day.

Fifth, the removal of opportunities for graft which in the past prejudiced legitimate traders. We have initiated measures to allow for payment of customs duties through agent banks. Electronic data processing equipment and facilities for processing and recording trading documents are now being used by the Customs Bureau to safeguard the interests of both the government and business.

Sixth, initial steps have already been implemented to improve the financial position of the government financial institutions, like the GSIS, SSS which is our host, or the DBP and the PNB, to enable these agencies to already loan financing commitments to provide agriculture, trade and industry.

Seventh, the Committee in Loans and Investments has submitted its proposal to extend financial assistance through the DBF for the rehabilitation of distressed industries. The three major components of this program, of which you are aware, are the Securities Marketing, Investments Refinancing and Foreign Exchange Financing. They are substantially adequate to bring about the rehabilitation of variable industries now saddled by imbalance and disruptions in their financial structures.

Eighth, We still maintain and continue to maintain fiscal prudence and restraint in government expenditures as an underlying policy in the projected operations of the national government, without sacrificing much in public service or facilities required for growth in productive capacity. This policy insures that the balanced budget with respect to current expenses will be achieved. Together with our policy on national debt program that what money is borrowed will be used only for development projects, and government operations, our corresponding need for funds will no longer compete with the private sector for available credit.

Ninth, in the past, businessman engaged in supplying materials, equipment and supplies to the government have been hesitant to continue their operations because of difficulty in collection and the additional cost this represents. In turn, the government has suffered because it has not always obtained the best prices. We have now completed the necessary studies and are about to implement the appropriate measures to improve, modify and simplify government purchasing and supply procedures.

Tenth, and I presume what may constitute the most important aspect of the problem, from the viewpoint of businessmen. The Central Bank—your government—has instituted policies and measures to ease credit restrictions in order that private industry may be able to secure financial resources essential to building up production levels and with this the incomes and employment in the industrial sector.

a) The rediscount rate which has remained unchanged in the last four years has substantially lowered in January this year from 6% in December, 1965, to 4.3/4% today.

b) The computation of the rediscount ceiling of commercial banking system was modified so that ceilings are not now based on net worth as of Dec. 31, 1965 but instead March 31, 1965. Moreover, quota for rediscounting rates was raised from 50% of net worth to 125% which is 25% more than what you asked for in your president's letter of January 8, 1966. Fifty percent of this, of course, goes to commercial loans, 50% for production loans and 25% exclusively for rice and corn loans.

c) Local reserve requirements on savings deposits in commercial banks are lowered by 20%, that is: from 10% to 8%.

d) Local reserve requirements on time deposits summarily lowered from 10 % to 6% on time deposits with maturity within 30 days, and from 10% to 5% on time deposits with maturity beyond 30 days.

e) Special time deposits on imports were scrapped thus releasing the required assets against these deposits.

What do all these measures spell out?

These credit relaxation measures have generated immediate effect on bank reserves: combined excess and potential reserves of the commercial banking system have increased by as much as P120 million in January and February. The revision of rediscount ceilings raised the amount of Central Bank credit available to domestic commercial banks by another P21 million; and the lifting of special time deposits against imports will generate an additional P13 million to bank reserves. These will increase credit availability to banks by P400 million which if multiplied, one and a half times at the most or half a billion considering possible inability of banks to utilize the full limit of their capacity.

These are the major policies and the practical measures that the administration has carried out and implemented to fulfill our part of the partnership in the growth of the Philippine economy. Even now we await congress actions for relaxation in measures pending before it designed to provide economic incentive to private industries to expand and to extend adequate protection to the constant requirements of consumer welfare, to those domestic industries which strictly need this temporary assistance.

Further to this we have adopted a policy of encouraging pioneering projects in specified industries. But we are now adopting also administrative measures that subsequent overcrowding or proliferation will be prevented. It has also been observed that substantial portions of import payments last year went to semi-processed raw materials estimated at anywhere from 47% to 55%, meaning that we have devoted most of our imports to assembly plants or packaging industries. We will study the adoption of such measures that may be needed to shift this emphasis from packaging or assembling into basic manufacturing concerns and we cannot very well notice the other problems in the area of industry—the alien control of several industries being only one of them. However, I can repeat this, that the government can extend only so much help and the rest will have to be done by the ones more than personally affected, you in the private sector.

The government makes no claim of holding the secret to business success, or even to national prosperity. But it believes that working under the system of partnership I have alluded to in the government, hardwork, initiative, perseverance, and confidence will prove that the steps taken are in the right direction.

The government is prepared to come up today with definite proposals. We will organize, or we have or are organizing three committees: the Export authority is in the process of organization, the Customs Advisory Council is partly organized, and the Tax Advisory Council is already organized. Of importance to all of us is the fact that in these councils that affect business in the most sensitive areas are represented such associations or organizations like the Bar Association, the Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Industries, the Producers Group.

Now I ask your president and officers to give your organization's nomination for your representative to the Customs Advisory Council.

This is the summary of what the administration has done and what it plans to continue, so long as it enjoys and receives the people's mandate. But what must be resolved now is not what the government will do. What must be resolved now is what shall be the response of the private sector to the measures that have been taken. We develop self-reliance after this transitory period of government assistance or weaken in its resolve to be independent and self-sustaining, hopelessly dependent upon subsidies and the protection granted by the government.

The challenge is, therefore, clear, not only to participate by passive acceptance of what the government has done, but perhaps actively to participate in these reforms or recommended norms and procedures of the public-private sector relationship, not only to secure the foundations that have already been established but to pioneer in the development of those areas of economic activity that are crucial to national growth.

The government stands committed to the protection and assistance of Filipino businessmen and today or any other day, I do not hesitate to repeat this commitment to each and every one of us but neither should I hesitate to ask you leaders of the business community to do your own part in this partnership.

I ask you to embolden yourselves and confront the future in the manner most befitting to the national temper, with optimism, with confidence. And I conclude with the hope that response to the basic challenge will be of the same measure, doing justice to yourselves and to the entire nation.

Thank you and good day.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1966). President Marcos' speech before the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, Social Security System Building, Quezon City, April 20, 1966. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 62(25), 4355-4361.

Address of President Marcos on Independence Day, June 12, 1966

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Independence Day

[Delivered on June 12, 1966]

Ang Dakilang Pamana

MAY KASABIHAN ANG matatandang Pilipino na anila’y “ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay di makararating sa paroroonan.”

Ang salawikaing ito ay butil ng katotohanan na napulot nila sa kanilang mga karanasan. Ito ay butil ng karunungan, butil ng buhay na natutuhan nila sa kanilang karanasan at mga pagpapakasakit at inihahandog sa atin na kanilang mga anak sa hangad na kung sakali ay kapulutan natin ng ating ikagiginhawa.

Ang salawikaing ito, ay bahagi ng mga pamana ng lahi na hindi natin malilimutan.

Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay di makararating sa paroroonan. Oo nga po’t nagmamadali tayo sa pagtungo sa buwan, nguni’t pagdating doon ay ano ang ating gagawin? Hindi po ba’t kailangan lumingon tayo ng kaunti sa ating iniwanang lupa at baka mayroon tayong nalilimutang mahalaga sa ikapa-panuto ng ating buhay sa buwan?

At sa mga Pilipino ngayong gaya natin na naghahangad ng bago at lalong malaking kadakilaan, ay di ba kailangang balingan natin ang kadakilaan na ipinamana sa atin ng mga nauna sa atin?

Kaya’t bayaan ninyong sariwain natin ang kadakilaang naganap nuong ika-12 ng Hunyo ng taong 1898. Sa makasaysayang pook nang Kawit, ay tumayo si Heneral Aguinaldo bilang kinatawan ng Bayang Pilipino ng panahong yaon, gaya ng pagkatawan ko sa Bayang Pilipino sa panahon ngayon. Humarap siya sa bayan at sinabi niyang dumating na ang sandaling pinakihihintay ng buong bansa.

TAGPO SA BALKONAHE

At sa mga sandaling yaon ay iniladlad sa kauna-unahang pagkakataon ang Bandilang Pilipino kasabay ng pagtugtog sa kauna-unahan ding pagkakataon ng Pambansang Awit ng Pilipinas. At sinasabi ng ilang nakasaksi sa araw na yaon ng ating kadakilaan, na matagal ding naghari ang dalisay na katahimikanna wala kang maririnig kundi ang paghikbi ng ilang kababaihan at ang pagtulo ng luha ng lahat ng may malambot na puso sa harapang yaon. At sinasabi din na bagama’t walang bakas ng luha ay nagniningning naman ang mga mata ng mga mabunying Heneral Emilio Aguinaldo at Heneral Artemio Ricarte, ang Vibora, na nasa balkonaheng ito noon.

Every year we gather here, my beloved countrymen, in obedient response to our memory of this nation’s labors toward the fulfillment of independence. The occasion being what it is, to say nothing of our times being what they are, it might do well to involve ourselves in a kind of introspection. He who does not look back had better watch out — he may not know where he is going. The paradox is one of the wise sayings that our forebears have handed down to us. Long before the age of radar and psychoanalysis, folk wisdom, of which we have our abundant share as a people, has pointed to this way of gaining self-knowledge.

It was at my instance that we chose “Our Heritage of Greatness” as the theme of this year’s observance of Independence Day. Imagine this entire nation, nearly thirty million strong, putting aside its mundane preoccupations

on this day and letting its mind dwell instead on its inheritance of greatness and, consequently, on its destined preeminence in me family of nations!

It is my task as a leader to generate a consciousness of that heritage, to let you look back at the road we have travelled as a nation and to point out some significant facts about this experience. Before your award to me of your mandate to lead this nation as your President, this idea of greatness was one of those thoughts that inspired my efforts. Through mile after mile of country roads, from barrio to barrio, my tireless feet took me to your homes, and in the warmth of your welcome, I knew that my inspiration was right. One thought struck me, and it was this: That never was there a time when so much could be done for our people. After this few months in office, I have become convinced that never has there been a time when our people can prove themselves able to do so much for their country.

I see this from the way we have lived, in substance as well as in form, the precepts of democracy as we have acquired them from our forebears. The concept of the barrio elder sitting in council to resolve problems on the village level we have fashioned into the sophisticated system of government with the most efficient features of western-type democracy, accommodating at the same time our idiosyncrasies as a people of Malay stock. Our sense of justice, embodied by our untutored ancestors in the Code of Kalantiyaw, we have refined with adjustments and accretions from the best that can be derived from Greco-Roman civilization and thereof.

With democracy we have stabilized our society, affording each individual the scope of action to enable him to seek self-fulfillment — an approach to the pursuit of happiness which, happily in our tradition, is related more to the well-being of the many rather than the self-indulgence of a few. Our revered heroes, Rizal, Bonifacio, Mabini, Del Pilar, and all the rest, were men imbued with this idealism. They have left us a definition of what individual self-fulfillment means, and that it is a coin whose two faces are service and sacrifice for love of country. This is the cash that fills the coffers of our moral reserves; these are the assets in our central bank of national morality.

The world today around us is not as comfortable as we would want it to be. Our own society is plagued by innumerable ills — let us face it. At every turn we find corruption, an evil which in my Administration we shall endeavor to stamp out. We cannot close our eyes to graft, to violence, to dissipation and waste of our private and national resources. The newspapers, radio, and TV keep us more than fully informed of the sad state of affairs. As your chosen leader, I deem it my duty to be more sensitive about these matters than the average citizen. At the same time, it is also my duty as your chosen leader to understand why we have come to such a state and to prescribe ways and means to improve the moral climate of our time.

This much I say: That thanks to the freedom of the press that guarantees the fullest performance of press and mass communications media, there is no dirty linen that cannot be aired in public, no skeleton that can be hidden indefinitely in the closet. Our awareness of the crises situation in our society is an awareness that comes from freedom, and so long as we keep it that way we can be sure of correcting injustices, punishing the guilty, tempering the excesses of abusive forces, and encouraging good works. Only freedom can guarantee the promptness and efficacy of our response to the evils in our present society. I am unashamedly proud of our press and information agencies, and unembarrassedly, I am inspired by our public opinion — so sensitive and pertinent in its sense of urgency, sometimes in its near desperation, which I take to be a mark not of defeat but of courage and deep devotion to the interest of our national welfare.

Sometimes I cannot but ask myself this question: If our times have become as evil as people say they have why do we manage to go on? Ours is one of the most stable nations in our region of the world. We were the first nation to win our independence from a colonial power in Asia, and we have kept in, thank God, through the more difficult years of world history. Why? We emerge from the seventeenth century, with the minimal inconvenience to our private as well as public interests. Why? What winds have swept away other nations of the world and yet have spared us? What seaworthiness we have displayed! Why? What ballasts did our forebears provide for our ship of state, what sturdy keel and hull did those builders use?

And I feel I have the answer. Our concepts of justice and democracy are two of those materials with which our forebears built this nation. And to these they have added the family and an unfailing love of God. If we have been

spared the disasters that most modern nations have had to undergo, it is because we have avoided the tampering and accommodations that willfully, and often perversely, have been employed in desperate attempts to perpetuate power on the part of those few who rule and turn into slaves the millions whose ignominy it is to obey.

It is no accident of rhetoric that our constitution calls upon Divine Providence as a force in our society. Only recently this nation celebrated the 400th anniversary of the coming to these islands of Christianity, an event that is reflected in every gesture and thought of our people. I dare say this has been our source of strength, and through good times as well as bad we have been enabled by it to face up to our responsibilities and preserve our cherished institutions.

Consider the Filipino family. Its bonds of love and harmony have been a puzzle to many. Modern sociology cannot seem to understand the sources of its unity. Unemployment, even hunger and, regrettably, violence, are as unto mortar that holds the pieces together. The enemies of our way of life have tried and will fail to undermine it, to unknot the ties with irreligion and economic insecurity: and doubtless we shall see more of these attempts as our population increases and material difficulties arise.

But history is on our side, and the tradition of strong family ties runs thick in our blood. In the foxholes of Bataan, I might say, we were so caught up by patriotic fervor that we fought for sheer love of country. But when the invaders began to violate our women, murder our loved ones, and starve our little brothers and sisters, and finally, during the occupation when mothers had to gather their brood in the safety of evacuation camps in the hills, the guerilla's immediate concern was his family, it was for his loved ones that he braved dangers and, often death itself. It is the sum of that devotion that we sometimes call patriotism, and when we add to that our heritage of justice and democracy we get the grand total, which we call love of country.

I sometimes wonder where our Rizal and Mabini would be but for their known love for their families, and I wonder what our generations of youth would be like were such examples as those of our national heroes not deeply ingrained in their minds. In other societies, a deliberate and programmed destruction of the family as an institution has been attempted in the interest of a social order believed to bring about an abundance of material benefits. Those societies, as we know, have miserably failed.

Our heritage is an open book that describes in terms of our national experience the concepts of justice and democracy, of family and love of God. The letters are writ large, my beloved countrymen, and we cannot fail to read their meaning clearly. When we think, as on this occasion, about the blessings of independence, we are compelled indeed to turn to the text that our experience has set down for us. To read and reflect upon the message therein is to be inspired.

Few nations on this earth have enjoyed greater blessings than ours, my beloved countrymen. Ours is the duty to deserve them, the responsibility to enrich and ennoble them in terms of our own personal behavior, and, further, ours is the obligation in gratitude to turn our thoughts time and again to the Almighty, whose guiding hand leads us ever forward. And to do this is to live to the fullest our heritage of greatness.

Source: Supreme Court Library

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Address of President Marcos on the conferment of the Doctorate in Civil Law on him, September 19, 1966

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the members of the faculty and student body of Michigan State University on the conferment of the
Doctorate in Civil Law on him

[Delivered on September 19, 1966]

President HATCHER and Mrs. HATCHER,
Governor and Mrs. ROMNEY,
Distinguished members of the BOARD OF REGENTS,
Members of the FACULTY and the STUDENT BODY,
LADIES and GENTLEMEN:

For and on behalf of the Republic of the Philippines and the 32 million people of this archipelago, I receive this honor, this degree, that you have awarded to me and in turn, extend to you the gratitude of the people who realize only too well that the fountainhead and the source spring of liberty can be found in this kindly land, the United States of America.

I have journeyed ten thousand miles across the Pacific and your beautiful land on this state visit. But as a frustrated student seeking a doctorate in the United States of America, this to me is the highlight of the entire visit; frustrated because I must explain that the war interfered with my plans to take a doctorate from an American university. Now, truly, I can say I have come full cycle and I have returned to the day when I hoped that I would enter the faculty of the University of the Philippines and teach law instead of practice law and government as I am doing now. Which is better, I will leave for posterity to determine.

Frankly, I have no regrets whatsoever, although I still maintain that intellectualism, scholarship, education, may be the answer to all the perplexing problems that agitate the whole world.

It has been said by a great mind that education is Internationalization; it militates against the narrowness of perspective that leads towards parochialism. In fact, it has been called the enemy of nationalism. In the modern world, where men face the dilemma of nationalism and internationalism, certainly education perhaps points the way towards a solution.

I bring to you also the greetings of a people who know that the University of Michigan stands as the source of many of the men from whose hands have come the guidance of our educational institutions; not only from this university but from the State of Michigan, rather, have come men who helped mold the democratic institutions that we have in our country today. I come to acknowledge our indebtedness to the University of Michigan. I come to acknowledge our indebtedness to the American people.

I am happy that I have been given the occasion to speak. If you will allow me, I will speak of the Philippines today, and the Philippine experiment in democracy, because I gather that there is a debate raging in academic circles as to the capacity of the underdeveloped country to accommodate democracy; or, stated the other way around, whether democracy can succeed and thrive in an underdeveloped country. I understand that there is a claim that because of the culture, the heritage, the temperament, the civilization of an underdeveloped country, democracy cannot succeed. There are others, too, who say that because the rapidity of economic development which is the center and realm and objective of every underdeveloped country, democracy must for the moment be dispensed with, ergo, arriving at the conclusion that despotism is a necessary step towards development before democracy.

There is a third school of thought which states that democracy, even in such countries as the Philippines has not been properly assimilated and has not become a part of the social organism, that it can be lopped off without any effect whatsoever on the body politic.

I do not take part in this debate because I consider it academic. I consider that we have established and proved that democracy can, and will succeed in underdeveloped countries as the Philippines. If Vietnam is the testing ground for the new weapon of communism, war by proxy, the national liberation war, subversion through the utilization of indigenous forces within a country sought to be subverted, then the Philippines is a testing ground for this principle and this idea—whether democracy can succeed in an underdeveloped country.

I say this debate is academic because from our point of view, democracy has succeeded in the Philippines, an underdeveloped country. It may be presumptuous for me to speak for all of Asia, but after conferring with the leaders of Asia, I think I speak for each and every one of them. Japan is experimenting with democracy and, notwithstanding the fistfights in the Diet, and the use of the judo and ju-jitsu, I understand, even karate, in their debates, for me this is the basic and fundamental acceptance of the idea of democracy. In fact, there is such a tolerance of honest dissent, which to me is often the test of the existence of freedom and democracy—that President Eisenhower was not able to visit Japan.

There is, of course, the statement of some leaders of India that democracy does not allow such a rapid development that often it is necessary to adopt a modified form of centralized and authoritarian government in order that we may speed up reform or change development programs, which is the obsession and preoccupation of all underdeveloped countries.

This may be true but the conclusions finally arrived at is that ultimately and at last the wave of the future in Asia is democracy. For, as we in the Philippines feel, there can be no return of the harsh and exacting conditions that was colonialism, and yet authoritarianism may be colonialism in some other form. In our point of view, authoritarianism and colonialism are faces of the same coin because they invoke the inquisition of power, for one single objective and, perhaps without allowing and accommodating honest dissent.

In the Philippines, which I have called the proving ground of democracy, I know that there have been many mistakes or failures, both in the economic as well as in the political fields. I know, too, that perhaps you have heard that while the term underdeveloped is some kind of abstract political jargon to make in the United Nations, the term underdeveloped can mean almost anything.

To us, underdeveloped is a term that is viscerally fought. It may mean, as it often does mean, one meal a day. It may mean slabs and dwellings of packing crates. It may mean disease congenital. It may mean ailments of babies still unborn. It may mean blindness without even learning to read one line of the printed word. It may mean despair.

But underdeveloped as the countries may be, there is a greater hunger within the hearts of the men in Asia. It is not a hunger of the body; it is a hunger of the spirit, the desire to rise up to the fullest measure of human dignity and human equality after the long, centuries of colonial enslavement.

Despotism, therefore, is anathema to most of Asia. Let me tell you, too, of the history of my people. There are diggings right now going on, especially those headed by Dr. Fox, the archeologist, in Palawan, which indicate that long before Christ there was a civilization that thrived in that part of Asia. Dr. Fox said there will be consternation among the intellectuals if this is brought out, but consternation or not, we are proud of the fact that the history of the Philippines antedates my namesake, Ferdinand Magellan, Ferdinand Magellan who was supposed to have discovered the Philippines after the Philippines was already inhabited by the Filipinos.

Can the abstraction of democracy have any meaning in a setting of hunger, disease and ignorance? Can freedom of speech mean anything to one who may not know where his next meal will come? Your experience in the Philippines has demonstrated that it must mean something. When the stars and stripes for the first time in the history of your nation was trodden to the ground and there was no hope, when the only possible future, immediately as well as distant, was death, terror, punishment, torture, and the loss of honor, many men staked their lives, their honor, their

illusions and dreams for their belief in democracy and in freedom, not necessarily because you were returning to the Philippines or that you were going to be victorious, but because despotism is not acceptable to the Filipino People.

Has democracy really succeeded in the Philippines? Not more than five years after you acknowledged and recognized the independence of the Philippines, communism mounted one of the most serious revolutions, rebellions, against the Republic of the Philippines. All over Asia, then communism was militant and aggressive, seeking to subvert and destroy all democratic institutions. In 1950, in Malaysia and everywhere in Asia, while your foreign policy was oriented towards Europe by the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey, while, then apparently you had abandoned Asia, President Truman was taken aback by the boldness of communism in Korea in 1950. And under the hag of the United Nations and 15 other countries, the Philippines included, the United States again sent troops to Korea.

It is not necessary for me to say that at that time, when we sent troops to Korea, we were fighting for our own survival in our own homeland because about 20,000 to 30,000 troops and communist were bearing arms against the government, with a timetable: November, 1951 to take over the central government of the Republic of the Philippines.

We did not seek the aid of America, the powerful, notwithstanding the existence of her bases there—in Subic Bay, Sangley Point, Clark Air force Base, Camp John Hay and others. We fought them with our own troops and perhaps this is the only case in Asia that with its own troops it met and overcome this danger posed by a strong military group and, having done so, set the pattern for the conquest of similar rebellions. First, of course, by the policy of military might, total force against the ideological combatants and, secondly, total friendship and economic development for the followers and the misled.

And so, today, your experts study the affairs of government in the Philippines and the events that occurred in the period from 1946 to 1951 or during those five years of rebellion of the Hukbalahaps, the armed elements of communism in my country, to find out what the solution was and to discover how the Philippines succeeded in maintaining democracy even against the aggressive onslaught of communism, supported by Asian communism from across the China Sea.

If there is any other danger that the Philippines has met and not overcome, I have not seen it. Of course, there is much to be done. There is corruption, weakness, there is smuggling, criminality. But these are not exclusive to the Philippines. It is true of every democratic country. Whether developed or not, the difference merely is in degree.

I wish to inform you that we have succeeded in meeting all these dangers and thus, as we stand before the world today, the Philippines, from whence I come from, whose shores have long been washed by the tidal ebb and flow of empire, stands with pride. The Filipino people and their neighbors for centuries imbibed the surging cultures, the Arabic, Hindu, and the Chinese, and later received generous injections of western civilization through the Spaniards and much later the Americans.

In 1896, the Philippines was the first in Asia and Africa to mount a rebellion against colonialism, against a monarchist regime, the Spanish regime. In 1898, it was the first nation in Asia and Africa to declare the existence of a republic. It has sought and fought for freedom. It is totally committed to freedom.

I, therefore, maintain and submit that democracy has survived. We survived and continue to exist despite the underdeveloped conditions of the Philippines. It had better succeed in the Philippines, for if democracy does not succeed in the Philippines, then what are we fighting for in Vietnam? What are we fighting for in all the countries where we meet communism frontally, in those underdeveloped countries where communism may seek to undermine existing authority?

We are in Vietnam for one purpose and that is, grant to the Vietnamese the option of choosing exactly what kind of a government and what kind of a society they wish to establish in their own country, in their own land, and for no other purpose. If, therefore, we grant them such an option, and it is predestined and known that choosing democracy

they will fail, then we are fighting for a mirage, an illusion, and all the dying, all the blood, all this savagery and brutality that we are going through in Vietnam will be for nothing.

And, so, I come to you with a message, and that is: that the 32 million people of the Republic of the Philippines, extending to you their thanks for your guidance in the past, for your participation in this partnership, in the present, in the arduous activities of intellectualism, stand pledged to freedom. We stand by freedom, live by freedom and dream of freedom. And they'll make of the democracy that they have received from you, not only an illusion and a mirage, but make of it a government, a way of life that shall assure for them not only survival but progress, even under the threat of total destruction.

Again, I say thank you for all the good deeds you have done in the Philippines, for all the aid that you have extended. A number of the doctors that I know in the Philippines hold doctorate degrees from the University of Michigan under the Barbour Scholarship. I understand from President Hatcher and Mrs. Hatcher that they were given a dinner by almost 24 Barbour scholars who had been here. They have authorized me to extend to you their gratitude.

I repeat, intellectualism, education is an internationalizing agent. In the Philippines, therefore, we are seeking the wider horizon of progress, seeking the ancient springs of our national identity in Asia, participating in the destiny of Asia without forgetting, however that it is a part of the world and that it is a sister republic to the great Republic of the United States of America.

I, therefore, again say thank you from these 32 million people who have complete trust and faith in you and the American people, in whose hands lie the salvation of all humanity. And, I have previously said that do what you may, you cannot avoid and escape responsibility, that responsibility imposed upon you by the inexorable verdict of destiny. You are the trustees of human civilization and, as trustees of this modern civilization, you must therefore protect that civilization. Whether by your military might or by the extension of your more benevolent influence through intellectualism and scholarship, as trustees, you must protect the civilization which you have protected in the last two global wars.

We extend to you the hope that you can participate further in this pursuit. The Philippines, the Filipinos have a special place for America in their hearts and they are proud that they are counted as friends and allies of the great American nation.

To all of you, therefore, Mrs. Marcos and I extend our gratitude for your hospitality. Your hospitality certainly exceeds our capacity. It is my hope that our nation, which has a moderate claim to hospitality, will have an opportunity to reciprocate this generosity which you have extended to us.

I shall carry the doctorate with pride and bear its responsibility with resolution, knowing that it comes from distinguished men and scholars and, if the problems of Asia may perplex me, I shall turn to it for inspiration. If the night is too dark and the burdens of state too heavy.

I shall find strength in this award that you have given me. If in the confusion of the world today I should be misled I shall return to the right path knowing that intellectualism, scholarship which you have extended to me so benevolently today is still the hope of all mankind.

I shall bear this doctorate degree that you have given me and place it at the altar of freedom of our people and, placing it before them, I know that all the more, we shall have a freshness of resolution to maintain freedom, human dignity, which is the ultimate of all goals that we can aspire for.

Thank you and good day.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

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Address of President Marcos before the UN General Assembly, September 21, 1966

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the UN General Assembly

[Delivered in New York, September 21, 1966]

Mr. President,
Mr. Secretary General,
Distinguished Delegates to the General Assembly of the
United Nations Organization:

Allow me, first of all, Mr. President, to extend my congratulations to the General Assembly for its wisdom in having elected you to preside over the deliberations of the 21st session of this Assembly. That a distinguished son of Asia should be chosen to preside over and assume this position of responsibility at this time seems to be in the fitness of things. For, in the past several months the grave threats to peace and challenges to the authority of the United Nations have come from Asia and Africa. It seems fitting, therefore, that the earnest search for the solutions to these grave problems that we are confronted with be undertaken under the leadership of an Afghan diplomat and leader whose native land, lying athwart the intercepting lines of power and dominion in the very heart of Asia, is specially interested in mitigating conflict and promote the healing of the wounds of Asia as well as of the world.

Distinguished delegates of this Assembly: This is not my first time to speak from this podium. This hall is not unfamiliar to me for on many an occasion I had represented my country here as a delegate. It is my privilege to speak before you now as the leader of 32 million people of the Republic of the Philippines.

I come from that Asian country whose shores have been washed over many centuries by the tidal ebb and flow of empire. Its people, those that inhabit the land, come from forebears who have been able to share with their neighbors a cultural inheritance that was enriched by the Arabic, Hindu and Chinese civilizations. On this oriental base, a nation was born that would ultimately be influenced from the West, first from Spain, and next from the United States. This was the country that in Asia and Africa was the first to mount an anti-colonial revolution in 1896 and 1898, to install and proclaim a republic.

These are the credentials of my country. But I wish also to state that in 1946, the United States of America recognized our political emancipation and since then my country and my people have sought the ancient springs of their national identity and sought to be identified with Asia, seeking to help in the molding of the destiny of Asia.

It is quite apparent that the second half of the 20th century virtually characterized itself as a new century and it was ushered in by a radical decade and properly, perhaps, it may be said that this new century that was to distinguish the climate of the post-war world was properly presided by the spirit of internationalism. And so great and large a symbolic significance was given to the organization of the United Nations in 1945. Its intentions proclaimed the controlling interests of the new politics as the rejection of war for the settlement of international disputes and the promotion of peace on a universal scale.

This Charter thus became a new decalogue of a new faith in a new century and yet, before the actual term of universal peace could even be articulated properly, there was discord among the nations, especially among the big powers, themselves who have been so instrumental in organizing the United Nations. The ideal of unity itself was seriously challenged and the disagreement within this Assembly led to the organization of blocs, and in the reality of international community, the organization of fields of influence.

And the General Assembly seemed to mirror the reality of these seemingly irreconcilable divisions. Instead of the one world which the Charter had affirmed, there was a progressive fragmentation of the nations along ideological, social and economic lines. There was a so-called Free World as there was a Communist World. There was a world of the big powers and a world of the satellites. There was a Western World and an Eastern World. And, now, there is a developed, and an underdeveloped, world.

These terms are not merely verbal for it is evident that the conceptual divisions of our universe are indicated in corresponding situations and real distinctions. And, one of the most ironic facts of our civilization is that while yearly we convene here in the General Assembly to speak of peace, we have witnessed the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Nations and powers seemed to be bent on increasing their capability for war rather than in utilizing their strength for the attainment of international peace.

And, I can safely say that perhaps we have gone back to the heresy of traditional politics that in order to achieve peace we must prepare for, and even wage war. Against this background, therefore, I come from Asia like many of you, and the question is posed: What then is the destiny of Asia? The destiny of Asia is, I believe, the destiny we can share with the whole world, but more specifically with the developing nations in Africa and Latin America: to attain the goal envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations of social progress and better standards of living and wider freedom.

The last World War, while preserving the freedom of the European peoples, also led perhaps unintentionally, to the liquidation of colonialism, and one billion eight hundred million people emerged as free nations. Out of these, eighty five per cent or one billion five hundred million are in Asia, mainly on the Chinese mainland, the Indian subcontinent, the Indochinese and Malay peninsulas and the two archipelagoes of Indonesia and the Philippines, as well as the Middle East.

It was an essential condition for the survival and progress of these liberated nations that they have an opportunity to control their independence and establish a political and social institution as they may decide for themselves and of their own free choice and to cooperate with others in the maintenance of peace in this world.

And so, today, we are faced with Vietnam. The case of bringing the war in Vietnam to the conference table is beyond dispute and all of us must give loyal support to any attempt to arrest the deterioration of this conflict into a war of catastrophic proportions.

I am happy to note that the secretary general has taken steps along this direction. It is unfortunate that his efforts have not been properly supported. For several months now, since February, several Asian states, my country among them, have attempted to bring about a dialogue between North and South Vietnam. Perhaps it is now time to consider what I had suggested before and that is, the possibility of the organization of a political counterpart of the UN-controlled ECAFE within the framework of the United Nations. This would be an organization that would frankly recognize and accept the diversity of political beliefs in Asia. This would be a political forum where urgent issues like Vietnam could be referred to.

There are other forums of this nature in other areas of the world but unfortunately up to now there is no such forum in Asia. And the principle that the Asian peoples themselves have the inescapable obligation of providing Asian solutions to Asian problems is at once so just and indisputably right that no country, no nation, not even Hanoi and Peking, probably, can help but be under strong moral obligation to relax their hostile attitude. At least, this is our fervent prayer.

Not so long ago, the Soviet Union achieved an effective diplomatic maneuver by negotiating the Peace of Tashkent. The effort, while it served no special interest for the Soviet Union, contributed vitally to the peace and stability of the Indian sub-continent.

In the spirit of that achievement, may I reiterate the appeal of the nations of Asia with which we have dealt—Malaysia and Thailand among them— and the other countries, that all Asian countries, or countries of Asia for that

matter, and all other countries of the world including the Soviet Union, act with equal boldness and imagination by calling a new Tashkent for Southeast Asia to end this brutal war in South Vietnam.

For we have in Vietnam today, a people who, for 25 years have gone through suffering and war, and have more than earned their right to be left alone, to be free and to live in peace with their neighbors. And yet, without their participation and through no wish of their own, they had been chosen as the testing ground for a new dogma of universal and perpetual revolution—war by proxy.

We have watched this from, a distance, knowing the meaning of subversion and intimate with the cruel connotations of guerrilla war and insurgency, and we suffered with Vietnam. The Philippines has sent a 2,000-man civic action group to South Vietnam. They are composed of engineers and a security force. The objective is not war but peace. The task of the unit is to work for reconstruction, not for destruction, and it is in accordance with the traditions of my country. For 15 years now, we have been sending to the Indochina peninsula doctors and nurses to succor the sick and help the needy people of the towns of Vietnam and Laos. We do not wish to add to the sufferings of the people of South Vietnam. On the contrary, we look forward to a negotiated settlement of this war whereby the North and the South, and their allies, would agree to a cessation of hostilities until such time as the Vietnamese people, as a whole, can freely determine their own destiny in accordance with the enshrined principle of self-determination.

To the great powers directly or indirectly involved in that conflict we appeal—to bear in mind constantly the primary responsibility for keeping the peace and to use their strength and resources not to advance their own particular political hegemonies or their special economic interests, but rather, the welfare of mankind.

For it staggers the mind to consider the cost of the Vietnam War, in terms of human, natural and financial resources. If these resources were harnessed to constructive ends they would be large enough to reverse the negative results so far of the United Nations Development Decade.

This, however, suggests the possibility that the proposed Asian peace conference will include not only the establishment of a truce but also consider the formulation of concrete proposals that would not only repair the material damage caused by the war but also organize and finance projects for the improvement of the region, like the Mekong River development project. There is a substantial reservoir of good will to sustain such a cooperative effort, as is shown in the reaction of Asians toward the Asian Development Bank with headquarters in our city of Manila, and by the ready acceptance of the Honolulu Declaration of social revolution of Vietnam, even as violence now continues in that country.

These are not the only developments that light with hope the gloomy picture of Southeast Asia. In the space of a few months, normal relations have been restored between my country and Malaysia, between the Philippines and Singapore. Through Asian diplomacy and responsibility, in which my country happily participated, the Indonesian *konfrontasi* with Malaysia has been dismantled and today Indonesia's responsible leaders give assurances of their wish to return to the United Nations. As an Asian leader, and in representation of all those who have missed the wisdom of Indonesia's counsel in international relations, I hope that Indonesia may soon return to the fold of the United Nations.

Indonesia is the largest and most important country, perhaps, in the Southeast Asia region. Its absence from the councils of the United Nations had left a void in our midst. It has much to contribute to the day-to-day activities of this organization as well as to its future development based on the lofty ideals embodied in the charter of this organization. As an ancient nation proud of its distinctive national identity and its priceless heritage of centuries-old culture, Indonesia is also devoted to the principles of self-reliance and self-help, and is determined to make its full contribution to the peace, freedom and progress not only of Asia but of the whole world.

We look forward, therefore, to the return of Indonesia to the United Nations family, as a neighbor, as a brother nation, and as an ally in the age-old, world-wide struggle in behalf of the freedom and dignity of man.

Despite the grave problems that beset our region, we feel that we must soon approach a watershed which will be when there will be moderation on the part of everyone, especially among those who seek to encourage subversion, and when everyone, especially in Asia, will be willing to live in tolerance and in peace with his neighbor.

The United Nations was conceived as a force for international peace and security. For twenty years, it has endeavored to mediate between the East and the West, between rival blocs, and in recent years, this rivalry has largely abated in Europe. But now it has exploded in Asia and Communist China is one of the protagonists. Regretably, the question is not even on the agenda of the United Nations and I feel that it has thus evaded its primordial responsibility under the Charter.

In the second instance, the United Nations is a force for greater equality in the world. It has vital responsibilities for the speedy grant of independence to colonial and dependent territories. It seeks to stop the violation of human rights wherever they may occur, including all forms of racial discriminations, especially its most virulent manifestation, apartheid, and to narrow the widening gap between the rich and poor nations of the world. For one of the most serious problems the United Nations, and for that matter, all countries, will soon face, is the long range problem of the bipolarization of the world all over again into rich and poor nations, along the lines of colonialism, for the rich nations are the old colonizers and the poor nations are the old colonies.

Whatever may be said of the achievements of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and promotion of human rights, as our distinguished Secretary General well said more than once forcefully, the Development Decade now in its sixth year is moving backward instead of forward. And the tragedy of it is that we continue to debate. Debate may help mitigate conflict thus enabling the United Nations to serve as a force for peace, but it cannot surmount the Great Divide between the rich and the poor nations. Only through effective action can the United Nations be able to become a significant force for the greater equality that we seek in this world.

The United Nations is not a world government, and the General Assembly is not a world parliament. But when we contemplate the problems of the war in Vietnam, Southern Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, the stubborn issues of disarmament, and even the continuing financial crises that beset the United Nations, all of these becloud its future. One could almost wish that the United Nations were indeed a world government and that the General Assembly were a world parliament.

But the reality is that the rules for amending the Charter insure that under present conditions, the United Nations will never be a world government. What then is the alternative?

For the present the choice seems to be to candidly accept the fact that the United Nations is a tool for diplomatic negotiation fashioned by 118 nation-states, each jealous of its national sovereignty. To promote the derogation of national sovereignty in favor of the collective authority of the United Nations, this would appear to be the limit for efforts to strengthen the United Nations at the present time. It would imply the readiness to discuss the question of Vietnam regardless of the misgivings and reservations of certain nations. It would mean the sincere support of measures to impose obedience on members of the United Nations. It would involve patient negotiations, the tedious, the tiring step by step attempt to try to achieve in one magic stroke the grand design of complete and universal disarmament not by, simple, practical plans to attain this ultimate objective. It would mean readiness to forego winning mere debating points that we try to do here, in favor of making one gesture, one heartening gesture of faith in the organization, and solidarity among ourselves by helping to bail out perhaps the United Nations from the crippling and humiliating insolvency which faces it.

And all of us have a role to play and a contribution to make in this undertaking. For the United Nations itself, may I say, there is a clear and admitted need to protect this organization, improve the techniques employed in its manifold operations, and to bring to its work, particularly in developing countries, a greater sense of mission and dedication.

And now, perhaps, it is time to speak of the review and revision of the Charter of the United Nations, already years overdue and which perhaps can no longer be deferred. A whole new world has emerged since 1945. And the Charter should faithfully reflect the realities and the vital merits of this new world. Only thus can the United Nations become an instrument fully responsive to the aims and aspirations of the member nations.

And, to the developing countries, including my own, I would, speaking from the heart, address the following-appeal: Let us redouble our efforts at self-help with the aim of reducing to the absolute minimum the burden which our need for economic aid imposes on the United Nations, and on the developed countries. Let us exercise our right to do our utmost for the well-being of our own people. But after having done that which is humanly possible for our own people, for the economic and social development of our country, if there should remain a vital margin between success and failure, between poverty and prosperity which is not within our capacity, no matter how heroic our efforts may be, then let that margin, but that margin alone, be the measure of the demand which we would then make in good conscience upon the international society.

Let us, through the practice of social justice, and deliberate fostering of civil liberties, mitigate as much as possible the social tensions among our own people and by that much reduce the sum total of the tension that beset our world.

Let us compose our own differences and resolve our own quarrels peacefully and justly, thereby eliminating the areas of conflict in our neighborhoods. Let us remove from the agenda of this General Assembly as many of the disputes as we ourselves can settle.

Let us act with sincerity and firm purpose to avoid or put an end to small wars which have a way of growing into major international crises. There is intrinsic merit in the task of putting our own house in order. It is also an act of wisdom for if we small nations cannot settle our own quarrels, the big powers will come in and settle it for us.

Let us not underestimate the inherent value of the cumulative effect of small contributions to peace, and a recent example comes to mind. I have already referred to the dismantling of the *konfrontasi* between Indonesia and Malaysia. Rising above both pride and protocol, the Indonesian Government put an end to its armed *konfrontasi* with Malaysia, by means of a peace agreement under which there were, as the Indonesian foreign minister observed, and I quote "no winners except the Malay people," to which both Malaysia and Indonesia belong, and, happily to which the Philippines also belongs.

As a result, the political climate in our immediate vicinity was transformed almost overnight from one of tension and conflict to one of peace and enhanced prospect for fruitful cooperation. This change for the better has not brought any headlines, nor any front page news, as has the war in Vietnam, but it has brought forth something significant—that there is a nucleus of peace and stability in a sea, an area, of crises and conflicts.

By itself, such a nucleus of reconciliation might not have much of an impact, but if it could have counterparts in other areas of the globe where local conflicts are still amenable to neighborly solution, the total effect might be of considerable contribution to the peace of the whole world.

And, finally, conscious of our righteousness, the righteousness of our cause, but cognizant also of the need for a new brotherhood of man, let us leave the past behind and meet other countries halfway whenever they should come forward in a sincere desire for joint endeavor in building a more stable, more secure and more prosperous world.

And now, in all sincerity and with due respect to the requirements of propriety, permit me to address an earnest appeal and plea to the developed nations, especially the big powers.

We ask the big powers, first of all, to make yet one final and all-out effort to break the political stalemate in order that they might be able to discharge their primary obligation under the Charter to insure world peace and establish a workable system of collective security.

Secondly, to devise an effective system of international control leading to the eventual elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

Thirdly, to complete their program of disarmament which would enable them to fulfill their promise to use part of the savings accruing from the termination of the armament race for the acceleration of economic and social progress throughout the world.

Fourthly, to use the United Nations as a major instrument in a concerted effort to arrest economic bipolarization of the world into the rich and the poor nations.

Fifthly, to complete the liquidation of colonialism and remove the last vestiges in a world that has no longer any place or justification for it, and

Finally, to remove the developing regions, once and for all, from the arena of the cold war where there is no place for small nations, and give them the time to establish stable conditions, and grant them the assistance that small nations need for peaceful growth.

All these we must do even as we endeavor to sharpen the United Nations into a tool for diplomatic negotiations for I cannot believe that we are a race of beings doomed by the death-wish and irresistibly drawn to self-destruction and to disaster. Rather, let us demonstrate that we are intelligent human beings, because I think we have skill and will enough to use the United Nations to insure not only man's survival but also his growth and development.

And, in the earnest effort to achieve these goals, we have enjoyed in the United Nations for the past five years, the wise and dedicated guidance of Secretary General U Thant. For reasons that do him honor as a man of conscience and a man of peace, he has declined to offer himself for a second term. While respecting the reasons he has given, we would invoke those very reasons in asking him to stay. For the office of Secretary General is a unique priesthood of selfless service and sacrifice. At certain times, it may become an office of indefinite tenure. Such a time is now. Secretary General U Thant has served the cause of peace in many ways. Let us, in one voice, ask him to stay with us a while and by so doing, perhaps perform his greatest service to mankind. And, having asked this of him, let each member in turn candidly examine his conscience and let every government ask itself what it has failed to do in the past for the United Nations, and what it can do today and tomorrow, so that a man of principle like Secretary General U Thant, in conscience, may agree to continue serving our organization.

The challenge is not to any one great power alone, not to the United States only, not only to the Soviet Union. This is a challenge to the entire community of states, for the problems of world security and development transcend regional boundaries. Their effects and implications, for good or ill, are global in their dimensions and they hammer home in crisis after crisis the one central fact of our existence: that our world is one, in technology, in economics, in vulnerability to the atomic weapons of war, in long-term welfare, in the ultimate destiny of the human species.

The time lag between awareness and action on the implications of the irreversible oneness of our world cannot be extended indefinitely without mortal danger to mankind. Before it is too late, a worldwide framework of peace, orderly cooperation and co-existence must be built enabling East and West, North and South, to work together, and together enrich and prolong man's life span on earth.

Only in the larger context can lasting solutions be found to the problems of the world.

With profound gratitude, Asia, and the whole world of course, acknowledges the great achievements recorded by the United Nations during the first 20 years of its existence. In any history of our time, pride of place must be accorded to the invaluable services of the United Nations

In an age less convulsed than our own by revolutionary changes, these far-reaching achievements might have proved sufficient unto themselves. But our times and the state of our world demand much more of the United Nations; they require nothing less than the full implementation of the Charter and the realization of the United Nations' maximum potential for universal peace and human betterment.

And, in the accomplishment of this task, herculean by any standard, the threat of atomic annihilation by mistake or miscalculation imposes an almost impossibly short deadline.

We stand in danger of failure to meet this deadline unless we can summon the energy and the will to match the magnitude and urgency of the challenge with a response both timely and adequate. We cannot defer much longer the

decision as to the kind of a world we really want but can only postpone, and only for a relatively short time, the fateful day of reckoning.

Shall we permit in defiance of the clear dictates of wisdom the permanent division of the world into rich and poor nations, with all that such a tragic cleavage portends for the future of mankind?

The crisis in Asia warns us to pause and reconsider our position while there is yet time to change course.

Do we really want a growing world secure in its peaceful pursuits, co-existing in harmony and moving confidently towards a better life for all? Do we truly want the kind of world blueprinted in the Charter not as a distant realm nor as an illusion but as an attainable destiny within the framework of the United Nations?

Let every nation examine its own conscience and answer the question.

This session may be the final one opportunity for redemption, for the time of decision is upon us. We must act in concert. We must act decisively. The imperatives of survival dictate no other course. Let us say and proclaim that man once more is the master of our race and not slave of his own heritage.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1966). Address of President Marcos before the UN General Assembly, New York, September 21, 1966. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 62(46), 8600-8609.

Speech of President Marcos upon acceptance of the degree of Doctor of Laws, Honoris Causa, September 26, 1966

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines

Upon acceptance of the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*, from the East-West Center, Community of Hawaii

[Delivered in Honolulu, Hawaii, September 26, 1966]

Chancellor Jones,
President Hamilton,
Governor Burns and Mrs. Burns,
Distinguished guests,
Ladies and gentlemen:

I accept this degree and this honor for and on behalf of the Filipino people. I shall hold this award and offer it at the altar of our freedom, a freedom which is symbolized by the diversity, the liberty, enjoyed in this state and in the entire United States of America.

For, as I have repeatedly stated, in this kindly land of America lies the fountainhead of many of our liberties. It is from America whence came the general impulse that was to allow a new birth of freedom in the Pacific. Truly the Philippine Republic is a sister of the Republic of the United States of America.

To this great country belongs the prior honor and credit for having initiated one of the glories of our age, which is the widening of the horizons of freedom and the emergence of sovereign nations throughout the world. One point eight billion people came to know freedom after the Second World War.

For your noble experiment in democracy in the Philippines had rendered untenable colonialism, not only in Asia and Africa but everywhere else. Thus, as I accept this award, I am reminded of the very essence of democracy.

As I came in, I noted that the Philippines does not have a monopoly of placard-bearers and demonstrators. I noted that there was a plea on a placard calling for peace in Vietnam. This has been my purpose and objective. It will be noted that when I spoke before the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as in the United States Congress, I said then that we sent the engineer construction battalion with security troops with one directive, one order, and one objective; and that is to go on a mission of peace. They go to reconstruct what has been destroyed. They go to seek the rehabilitation of what has been wrecked, the physical symbols of the freedom that must be given a people to determine for themselves what society and what government they will establish in their own land, an option which is sought to be preempted by a power strange to and outside South Vietnam.

Today, at 11:30 this morning, I issued a call to six nations for a summit conference or a conference of all the heads of state of the six nations that participate in the South Vietnamese conflict, namely: the head of state of South Vietnam, Thailand, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. It is my pleasure to announce here that South Vietnam, Thailand, and South Korea have previously agreed to this arrangement and while the date set, October 18, may be somewhat awkward for some nations like the United States, in view of the approaching elections. I just received word that the Prime Minister of Australia has willingly agreed to attend the conference if it is set on October 18 of this year. It is my intention to hold the conference either in Manila or in Baguio City, the latter our summer capital.

I did speak to President Johnson about the necessity of immediately taking steps to attain peace in South Vietnam, either by negotiations directly or through the intermediaries whom we have approached. It is my belief that President Johnson will attend this conference and through this forum on this occasion of the awarding of the

Doctorate of Laws on my humble self, I appeal to the President of the United States to attend the conference on October 18, 1966 in Manila.

This conference will, of course, reassess the present positions of the allies of South Vietnam in this war. But emphasis will be laid on the non-military, the non-violent aspects of the South Vietnamese crisis. It is my hope that the principal purpose will be to adopt a common stand in order to attain the final objective of peace in South Vietnam. But beyond this, for the question of South Vietnam does not answer the question of stability in Southeast Asia, or in Asia, or for that matter, the whole world, beyond this it is necessary to plan and envision not only rehabilitation but also regional cooperation with the support of this great power, the United States of America, in order that there may be an economic development in accordance with the Honolulu, Declaration of a social revolution in the whole area of Asia.

It is my hope that this conference will, during the period of two or three days, be able to arrive at definite plans for regional cooperation, economic, mostly, and social. It is my hope that emphasis will be placed on civic action in South Vietnam.

The Philippines has a history of fighting communism. For if you will remember, when the United States of America dismantled its colonial machinery and proclaimed the independence of the Philippines on July 4, 1946, immediately thereafter, there was initiated a revolution by the *Hukbalahaps*, otherwise well-known as the *Huks*, the armed elements of communism in my country. The *Hukbalahaps* numbered from 20,000 to 30,000 armed men with a base of about a hundred thousand. The *Hukbalahaps* mounted a rebellion that lasted from 1946 to 1951. From 1941 to 1945, the Filipinos participated in the Second World War. The casualties among our people totalled more than one million Filipinos who died in the Second World War.

The brutality of the Second World War left much anger within the hearts of the Filipinos. There too, was anger in my heart, for I lost my father, who was hanged from a tree, as penalty for my refusal to surrender after the surrender of Bataan and for my insistence in leading a guerilla group in the mountains of Luzon. But this anger was dissipated when this *Hukbalahap* movement was initiated and rebellion flared up. For the same brutality and the same viciousness that was shown, was demonstrated by our own brothers in this revolution. There was rape, there was pillage, there was burning, there was destruction, there was killing, and there was massacre. And these were all perpetrated by the *Hukbalahaps*, by the *Huks*, some of them men who had fought beside me during the war. And so all of us realized then that it was not the nationality of a soldier that drove him to brutality and viciousness but rather the motivations of war. And we realized then that communism, which sought to impose upon us a definite kind of totalitarian and monolithic-structured society and government, was our enemy and as our enemy, we have fought it since then.

There had been efforts to compromise with the *Hukbalahaps*. I have personally participated in these efforts. But these efforts have always proved in vain. Every time there was an amnesty granted to the *Hukbalahaps*, such amnesty was utilized by the *Huks* to consolidate and strengthen their position. No less than five times the *Hukbalahaps* were given an opportunity to lay down their arms and join the duly constituted government. Lately, too, I sought the counsel of leaders of the *Hukbalahaps*, disregarding the requirements of security, I have had conference with the leaders of the *Huks*. But unfortunately, the die-hard and the hardcore elements of communism in my country refused to compromise.

It is for this reason that our position has come clear, and that is to press the battle against the hardcore elements of communism that seek to destroy the democratic institutions of my country, a firm policy carried out by the military. To those who are misled by them, the great majority of our people, the peasantry, to the mass of the people of the Philippines, we will give total friendship, embodied in programs of civic action, rehabilitation, resettlement, improvement of the means of living, increase of per capita income, application of all the scientific and systematic methods of agriculture, for seventy per cent of our people still earn their living from agriculture.

I speak of this because we know communism at first hand. It is my hope that you will never come to know communism as we have known it, that your country will never be infiltrated by the armed elements of communism and that they shall never occupy your towns and your countryside, that you shall never be intimate with the cruel

connotations of guerilla war and insurgency, that you will never see your towns, and villages wrecked by the counterparts of the *Hukbalahaps*.

It is my hope that you will never know the sorrow of your brothers dying by the hands of your own countrymen. For there is nothing certainly more disastrous than for a people to be divided by political ideology. But this precisely is the purpose of communism throughout Asia today.

Throughout Asia, the one single purpose of communism is to infiltrate and divide, and dividing, wreck the institutions established within the country. They cannot export war by exporting men, so they export the idea of perpetual revolution. Perpetual revolution, world revolution, war by proxy, this is the meaning of communism as we see it. And so to my friends in America, I can only say: Listen to those who have met subversion face to face and identified it, isolated it, and known its meaning- Learn from these lessons that come from that area where communism is most active, and learning it, judge for yourself.

But I am carried away by the subject of communism. Allow me now to proceed to acknowledge my indebtedness to the university for this degree and to the East-West Center, a dream that has become a reality. The East-West Center is the meeting of the Occident and the Orient, through scholars and the exchange of scholars. I am happy to note that some of my countrymen, sir, are here in the East-West Center, and some who have passed through this institution.

I extend the congratulations and the thanks not only of my people but also, I am certain of all Asia, for this idea that has been implemented so well.

Indeed, as a great mind has said: "it is education which probably is the answer to human conflicts. It is an internationalizing agent, for the man who has acquired enough education, rises above the national frontiers and feels the well-being or the ailments of a nation that is a neighbor nation as if they were its own."

Thus, we hope success for the East-West Center, We shall pray for this Center and we hope that it shall extend its influence not only here in Hawaii but all over Asia, Let it be the means which shall encourage not only the appreciation of oriental cultures but shall point out the fundamental identification of Oriental cultures with that of the Occident.

Asia has haunted memories of colonialism, I need not go into the centuries of conflict that had been the experience of Asia. That Asia with its 1.5 billion people from the Middle East to the subcontinent of India, to the mainland of China, to the Indo-Chinese and Malaysian peninsulas, and to the two archipelagos of Indonesia and the Philippines. These 1.5 billion people constitute not only a drag on the prosperity of the world but a potential threat. They constitute the dreadful potential of triggering a Third World War. It is, therefore, necessary that the Western world understand Asia and the 1.5 billion people that inhabit it.

Always, Asia will be remembered for the violence of the past several years. It is from Asia and Africa now whence come the serious threats against peace and the challenges to the authority of the United Nations. For sometime to come, Asia will be the focus of attention of the whole world. And thus it is that for some time now, the revolutionary spirit which resulted in the independence of many nations of Asia was identified as Anti-American, anti-colonial.

However, it is a happy development that after the realization of political independence, it was also realized that emancipation would not be equated with economic progress, that it was different from revolution and establishing a government, different from winning economic emancipation. The energies, the enthusiasm, the dedication and devotion of the revolutionary had therefore been rechanneled towards the efforts to attain economic progress. Thus, we need the leaders that have been trained here in the East-West Center. These leaders understand Asia. These leaders will be able to transmit to the Western world the image of Asia and articulate, the true feelings of the Asian who feels that the days of colonialism are over and that for the establishment of a lasting peace and stability in Asia, there must be an understanding between the Western world and the Eastern world, an understanding that has come about between the United States and the Philippines.

We are happy to participate in extending such an agreement, such understanding, to all the nations of Asia and it is my hope and purpose to do my part in clarifying the intentions of the United States, so that these shall be understood in any part of the world.

For the experience of the Philippines in colonialism under the United States has been a happy one. Immediately, the United States did establish the conditions for freedom. There was immediately initiated in 1902 a universal system of education, a system of education, which created a bold, strong, comparatively strong, middle class in my country of technicians, merchants, professionals, entrepreneurs, which now constitute the hope of our people and of my country.

The Filipino nation believes in democracy. For we have organized a government, a Republic, that was patterned after the American Republic. It is a government and a republic which has adopted the principles that are embodied in your Constitution and in your way of life. It is a government that recognizes diversity of opinion and understands that freedom means the capacity for honest dissent and the tolerance of differences of opinion. For the American policy was less repressive than the others. It is the feeling of all Asia that perhaps *Dien Bien Phu* would never have occurred had the French followed the American colonial policy, or even late in the day, had the French agreed to promise independence to French-Indochina, to the three countries composing it now, at the start of the rebellion against the French colonial regime.

At the same time, it is the belief of the Filipinos that the mainland of China would never have been lost had the leadership of Nationalist China recognized the fact that dissidents and malcontents are always the spawn of poverty, ignorance, and disease, and that concurrently with military victory there must be economic and social reforms. But unfortunately, the Chinese leadership in the mainland of China insisted that these reforms should occur only after the attainment of military victory. It is my hope that the American leadership realizes the importance of these lessons of history in Asia. I am assured, however, after conferences with President Johnson, that the American leadership do recognize the importance of what I have called the second front, the economic front, in South Vietnam.

Because of the mass education system in the Philippines, the Philippines has political stability. Since 1907, by virtue of the Philippine Bill of 1902 approved by the United States Congress, we have been electing our representatives to the House of Representatives of our country. And since 1916, by virtue of the Jones Law, we have been electing senators to our Senate.

I am the sixth President of the Republic of the Philippines. There has been peaceful transference of political power from one party to the other and from one person to another. This certainly indicates that if we are to judge the validity of the political institutions of the Philippines by the test of Aristotle—"the election of magistrates by all, out of all," then the Philippines indeed is a democratic country.

We are proud of this achievement. But in addition to this, there is change and dynamism, which are facts of our national life, and openly, frankly, and in candor, we place before the people the option to choose—the free way of life as against the importunings of communism to world revolution. The true revolution, the revolution that is perpetual, for it constitutes the continuous mobility of elements within our society as in every democratic society, is the revolution which allows those who belong to the lower classes to rise up by sheer competence, and by the development of their God-given faculties, to rise up into positions of leadership. Accident of birth shall not determine nor demean the ultimate achievement and attainment of man, nor prevent him to rise up. And those who are now at the top of the social class can go down only by virtue of the weight of incompetence, of abuse and lack of dedication.

This, to us, is the more important revolution. It is a revolution that exists and continues within our society. For the leaders of my country, the leaders of the Philippines have come from different classes of society, from the lower to the highest. And more often than not, our leaders have come from the lower classes of society. This is the revolution which we offer in exchange for the world or so-called perpetual revolution of communism.

In Asia today, we look around and see fear in the hearts of the leaders of the small nations. For all over the world, it seems as if while the United Nations has been organized on principles derived from the basic ideas of the League of Nations, a dream that died, this restatement of the capability of man to establish a society that shall be able to maintain stability throughout the world, this new decalogue of faith in the new century, this, it seems, is again being challenged.

And while unity is the rallying cry in this organization of nations, indeed the name itself denotes its purpose, that of unity. The world is fragmented into many groups of nations. There are the big powers and satellites. There is an Eastern and a Western world. And now there is a developed and an underdeveloped world. And again we fear a new development. There is a continuous bipolarization, economic bipolarization of the world. And the lines seem to be drawn along the same old lines of colonialism. The nations that are rich are the colonizers, the nations that are poor and becoming poorer are the old colonies. To us, this constitutes a serious threat to peace which must soon be met, confronted not merely contemplated, by the United Nations and by, the individual nations of the world.

Thus it is that when we see the use of force to justify a policy in order to impose a kind of government upon any nation, there is fear within our hearts,, for we know then that we might be returning to the heresy of traditional politics, which is that, in order to maintain peace we must prepare for war or fight a war. In order to attain stability, we must manufacture nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Thus it is, we believe that the mortal basis for the presence of the United States in South Vietnam is the question, whether we shall allow might to be recognized as right over again, as it was before Grotius, the father of international law. Shall we disregard this vision of the social and legal visionary? If might dictates what is right, then properly small nations will gather together as satellites around the big powers and as satellites, they must permit the continued erosion of their respective sovereignties.

Thus, we return slowly, step by step, to where we started. To that of dependence upon a strong power. For there is a narrow dividing line between world colony and dependence because of power. The moral basis, therefore, of the presence of the United States in South Vietnam is clear and it is that once and for all, we must determine whether power, military power, will be allowed to dictate what is right.

For if the United States withdraws from South Vietnam, or does not participate in this fight in South Vietnam, then, ladies and gentlemen, we must admit that power and force had dictated and determined the future and destiny not only of one small nation but all other small nations, and all protestations about the existence of an international law will be to no avail-It is also our feeling that the Philippines has more advantages than any other country in the establishment of democratic institutions. It is our feeling that the Philippines must succeed in this democratic experiment. It must demonstrate to the world and to all of Asia that despotism is not a necessary ingredient in the development of a nation and for it to attain economic progress. There is a feeling current among Asian leaders that democracy is inefficient. And that we must telescope in a few years economic development that was arrived at by other countries over several centuries. But the Philippines is certain that even alone in a sea of communist or neutralist forces, it can succeed-At the same time, the presence of the United States of America in South Vietnam is dictated by what we believe is a military basis.

And this has been stated by no less than the heir apparent to Mao Tse Tung, Marshal Lin Piao, who is the prophet of the leader of Communist China and who said: "the rural areas in the world today are Asia, Africa and Latin America and the cities are Western Europe and the United States of America.

In accordance with their experience in the mainland of China, the Red leaders say and conclude that when the rural areas are overcome, the cities will ultimately fall. So even if Asia should first fall, the ultimate objective is the United States of America.

From the view point of necessity, therefore, and from the view point of the military, now is the time to upset this plan of Communist China. For it is possible that if you allow the attainment of political hegemony that is the objective of Red China in Asia, no matter what the differences are between Russia and Red China, inasmuch as they believe in the same political ideology, ultimately these differences will be settled. And the United States will be

reduced to a second class power before the might of a united Red China, overwhelmingly dominant in Asia, and a Russia that has all the weapons of mass destruction at its command.

Thus it is that while there are the present commitments in Vietnam, we look beyond Vietnam. I observe and I would like to reiterate that there is no nation in Asia today that can balance the power of Communist China, whether alone or jointly with other Asian nations. Thus it is necessary that during this dangerous security gap, these other nations of Asia must look to another power for the shield of protection. And the only power right now which seems acceptable to Asian leaders is the United States of America. Beyond this question of security and economic development, are the fundamental issues of freedom, dignity of man, and of democracy. And these can be attained after the settlement of the crisis in South Vietnam, but at the same time may I reiterate the warning of history in Asia, that these things cannot be won by military victory. That to preserve the dignity of man, democracy must be made to work, and must demonstrate its capacity to uplift the ordinary human being in Asia, at the same time that military victories are being won.

It is the quiet role of the Philippines today to seek to mediate, to bring about a dialogue between North and South Vietnam through other intermediaries. The Philippines is willing to step back, the Philippines is willing to allow other nations to lead, but certainly the Philippines will take the initiative to bring about a conversation, such a dialogue wherein those engaged in the conflict may determine their respective positions in Asia.

Right now, we don't have the counterpart of the organization of the African states. We do not have the counterpart of the organization of American states. There is no political forum to which can be referred any critical issue like Vietnam. It is my hope that we will be able to organize such a forum.

These, then, ladies and gentlemen, are the ideals that come from Asia. But the ultimate purpose is to build a world for all, a world that shall be dedicated to the future of the human species. It is my belief that all of mankind is wise enough, has enough will to organize itself to meet the dangers that now confront it.

Yes we look towards the day when a more enlightened generation will probably populate the earth, a more enlightened generation that shall do away with the paradox of a world of plenty that has hunger, a world of science that has disease, and a world of wisdom that knows war. This more enlightened generation perhaps is your generation, you, especially who are here in the East-West Center of Hawaii.

It is my hope that your generation will not know the mistakes that have been committed by my generation and the generations before me. We are merely the trustees of human civilization, for we shall transmit it to you ultimately. And transmitting it to you, it is our hope that we shall hand down to you a legacy that shall be better than what we have received from those who have handed it to us, the generations before us.

To each and every one of you of the East-West Center, I wish to quote the oriental philosopher who said: "Make well of this day for every today well spent makes every yesterday a dream of happiness and every tomorrow a vision of hope."

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1966). Speech of President Marcos upon acceptance of the degree of Doctor of Laws, *Honoris Causa*, from the East-West Center, Community of Hawaii, Honolulu, September 26, 1966. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 62(48), 9010-9019.

Address of President Marcos on the Manila Summit Conference, October 24, 1966

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the opening day of the Manila Summit Conference

[Delivered at the Congress, October 24, 1966]

As chairman of the Manila Summit Conference of 1966, it is my pleasure to assume this position by the unanimous consent and approval of the members of this conference.

I extend my thanks and the gratitude of my people to the Prime Minister of New Zealand for his generous remarks and to the other members of this conference for their unanimity.

I greet the heads of state and the heads of government who are here as our guests, their ladies, the foreign and other ministers, the distinguished guests and our friends.

For the times are historic and today is a historic day. Perhaps many of us may have missed it, but today is the anniversary of the United Nations Organizations, an organization to which humanity clings its hopes for universal brotherhood, for stability and lasting security for all mankind.

But since the beginning of time, the wisest of men had sought to solve the riddle of peace and failed. And so even today, as if mankind drifts in the sea of inertia, man has problems that are sought to be solved with old solutions, and novel questions are answered with ancient formulas. Man who has mastered the firmament and solved the riddle of the atom still seems to grovel at the feet of his ancient enemies—war, hunger, disease. Man, the master and the king of all creation, is still a slave of his own heritage.

For is it not a paradox that in a world of plenty there is want, in a world of science there is disease, in a world of understanding there is war?

So, today, the seven nations here gathered have come to raise their voices for more food for the needy, for enlightenment for the illiterate and for the cure of the sick, as well as for peace in this world.

Seven nations have come to this ancient capital of our nation, with only one thought in mind, and that is, that on Asian initiatives, we seek to lay the basis for the solution of Asian problems.

This historic occasion is indeed the first meeting of the seven nations in Asia, called upon the suggestion of Asian nations. Today is the first attempt of Asia to initiate such a gathering not only to seek to terminate an existing conflict but to establish understanding amongst men. And at the same time, to arrive at a re-assertion of the ideal and the principle for which humanity may best be remembered in our century, and that is, the acceptance of international responsibility for the entire human family.

For from Asia has come and will come, if not aborted, the gravest threat to mankind. The chronicle of the annals of man may well seek in vain for any other parallel in history. For; this indeed is an occasion in which we seek to advance the frontiers of nobility.

On behalf of my people, therefore, I extend warm and affectionate welcome to each and everyone of the heads of government and heads of state who are here.

I greet President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea.

I greet Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn of Thailand.

I greet Chairman Nguyen Van Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam.

I greet Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky of the Republic of Vietnam.

I greet Prime Minister Harold Holt of Australia.

I greet Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand.

And I greet President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States of America.

We extend welcome to the members of their delegations, and especially to the fair ladies who are here in this gathering.

The presence here alone of the heads of government and the heads of state is to me a great achievement. That we may meet and seek common council is to me a step-forward as we advance the frontiers of human nobility, and that the greatest nation on earth, the United States of America, has come upon the invitation of the Asian nations, not only to advance the cause of peace but to raise her voice in order that there may be stability in our part of the world; that we may meet the problem of hunger, disease and ignorance which is the cause of discontent; this to me is a tribute to American sincerity and the validity of Asian aims.

The whole world realizes the almost insurmountable obstacles in your respective countries that could have prevented your coming here or could have been utilized as an excuse, a valid excuse for non-attendance. It is, therefore, fitting that I point out that the presence here of – President Johnson is eloquent proof of a momentous factor in the world situations, and that is the generous acceptance of the United States, its enlightened decision to accept its share and participation in the establishment of stability and security in Asia.

For this, Asia thanks the President of the United States of America.

For he has come as he has well said: to listen, to participate, to cooperate. And he has come to expose himself to Asian feelings and Asian thoughts and Asian aims. And this indeed establishes the fact that it wishes to play a constructive role in Asia today as it turns its face towards this area of deprivation.

The participation of the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand must be noted. For it constitutes a hopeful augury. They are our neighbors by the accidents of geography, but our own brothers, allies, and partners by their own deliberate choice. Developed more than other Asian countries, they are as deeply committed to the freedom and prosperity of Asia and we know that they offer great contributions to the noble objectives of this conference.

The presence here of Chairman Nguyen Van Thieu and Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky of Vietnam, President Park Chung Hee of Korea, as well as Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn of Thailand certainly indicates the confluence of the vital interests in this conference of the nations that border the Pacific and the Chinese mainland, the area and region which today is the most sensitive and the most important in the eyes of observers of the international scene.

Thailand, South Vietnam, Korea, and the Philippines have suggested that this meeting be called. And it has been agreed that this was the proper forum in which to discuss a common stand on the bitter conflict that now rages in Vietnam. We have been drawn together by the council of faith and hope. And if our will is strong and we dedicate all our resources to this purpose, we will succeed.

The attention of the world is focused upon us, the skeptics as well as the believers. But the men of goodwill of this world pray that we shall be able to raise the conference to the summit not only of hope but also of probability and achievement.

This council must be a council that shall attain better understanding. It must be a council that shall present a plan for a better and more prosperous Asia. It must be a council that shall seek food for the needy and hungry, that it shall establish and fashion a plan for education for the ignorant and illiterate. It must be a council that shall seek the causes of war and attempt to eradicate them. Thus, this council shall be known in history as a council of peace and not a council of war.

For the peoples of Asia have borne the deadly, crushing weight of deprivation for centuries. And in the uncountable millions of heart not only in Asia but all over the world, there is a unifying reason, there is the deep tender yearning for a little more stability and a little more comfort and food.

The world needs peace. But if Asia must be saved, we must establish peace in Asia. Asian nations have had a surfeit of violence and war. Their deepest longing is not only for security and stability. Their deepest longing is to be able to work without any threat of reprisal, to sleep without any fear of death, to care for their young without any fear of separation, and over and above all, to be able to choose their own kind of government and their own kind of society.

But on the other hand, the peace that Asia seeks is not the peace of betrayal nor of death. It is a peace that would allow an option to each and every country, whether Asia or not, to choose its own form of society, an option to freedom and liberty, the liberty and freedom that will allow the full development of God endowed faculties to each and every man.

Understanding will come not as a victory of one side of a conflict but as a victory for all, in which all humanity can share, and this is the dream that we seek. Thus, the objectives of this conference are those that have been set. Vietnam, Korea, Thailand and the Philippines have suggested this conference as perhaps the first painful step that we must take in order to attain the dream that I speak of. Before we can realize negotiations with the Communists, it is necessary that the allies of South Vietnam and South Vietnam itself come together and adopt a common stand. It is necessary that the seven nations in Vietnam fashion a plan for the development of Asia that shall eradicate the causes of war not only in Vietnam, not only in Asia, but throughout the world.

We extend a hand conciliation across the China Sea from this coastal city to North Vietnam. But it should respond and it should respond not with the usual spate of slander but with some manifestation of goodwill. The good faith of the nations here has been manifested by the fact that we have not waited for such response from the enemy to start these deliberations.

The conference shall proceed in disregard of invectives from our detractors, nor of the sarcasm of our detractors. We shall proceed and seek to attain these noble objectives that we have set for ourselves. We hope that this conference shall present a general disarmament plan for the development of all of Asia and all the countries of Asia. We hope that in any gathering that involves Asia, Asia shall be consulted. For there is a fresh new wind that sweeps over the face of Asia; its peoples are more perceptive, its leaders are more dedicated, passionately, to the interest of their people; and Asia can no longer accept western formulas without questioning or participation. Asia hopes that it shall be given participation in the determination of its own destiny.

The Asian Development Bank now rises to my mind and reminds me that perhaps the charter of this bank may well be the Magna Carta of Asian prosperity and stability. If we unite behind this idea, the Asian Development Bank may well be the beginning of a new and prosperous Asia. It may well illuminate the causes of war. It may well be the starting point for the eradication of the causes of war. It may well exterminate such causes and ultimately bring about only the prosperity of Asia but also the stability of the entire world.

However, experience has taught us that the pursuit of goodwill is a long and tedious process. This conference is but the beginning of such a process. Realities also compel us and caution us to understand that miracles cannot be attained within the short span of these two days of conference. However, the stakes in Vietnam go beyond Vietnam, go beyond Asia, into the world and, therefore, we must persist upon this search for universal brotherhood.

And if we shall be able to fashion a plan to illumine these causes of war and bring to the attention of all the nations and peoples of the world such causes, we shall move forward towards the ideal of universal brotherhood.

So, today we are here to seek a new summit in the world's aspiration for a life without war. No conference of heads of state has set a more noble vision nor a more urgent one. Let the historians, therefore, record that we have gathered here to meet this challenge and that we have done our share in the pursuit of the ideal of a universal brotherhood. The skeptics and the fatalists know not the agony in Asia but we do. And so gathering all our strength even as against a world of discouragement, we shall accept the odium and the stigma that our detractors would seek to attach to this pursuit of universal brotherhood. And doing so, we can only say that no man quiet his conscience unless he pursues with vigor every opening and opportunity that is granted him as an avenue for the attainment of peace.

And so today, let the historians also record that with a prayer in our hearts we come to articulate the vague, groping yearnings of the mute, silent and suffering multitudes of the earth; the multitudes that do not participate in grave decisions, perhaps have no interest in the causes of conflicts but still must suffer the casualties of war. For these multitudes, we come to offer and will offer the best that is in us, all that we can muster of human courage, human wisdom, human resourcefulness, human ingenuity, human love, human compassion; and beyond this, no mortal on earth can offer more.

To each and everyone of you again I say, greetings, “*mabuhay*“, and thank you.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1966). Address of President Marcos on the opening day of the Manila Summit Conference held at Congress on October 24, 1966. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 63(2), 267-271.

Speech of President Marcos at the opening of the 1966 Asian Ministers of Labor Conference, December 12, 1966

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening of the 1966 Asian Ministers of Labor Conference

[Delivered at the Social Security System (SSS) Conference Hall, December 12, 1966]

Secretary Espinosa;
Distinguished delegates of this Asian labor conference; Your Excellencies, Diplomats, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is my honor and distinct pleasure to be able to welcome you personally to the Republic of the Philippines which is honored by your presence and by your selection of Manila as the site of your conference.

I understand skepticism has been expressed over the results of this labor conference in Asia, inasmuch as Asia presents some of the gravest problems in manpower employment, which prevails all over the world. Asia, which has more than half of the world's population, certainly is beset by the similar problems of unemployment of lack of development capital and lack of a systematic approach to the confusion that has arisen out of the sudden evolvement of independent countries in our part of the globe. But certainly I feel that Asia can contribute constructively to the problems of labor and to the systematic solution of the inadequacy in the employment of our human resources.

It has been said that Asia today, with its teeming millions of impoverished, ignorant and diseased peoples, constitute the gravest threat to the peace of mankind. It has been said that as long as this problem of Asia and Africa remains unsolved, there will be no peace in the world. Therefore, the problems of labor and unemployment may well be the key to the peace of the world. I cannot, therefore, overstate the importance of your conference today. I can only hope and pray for the success of this gathering.

It has been said, and perhaps properly, that the Western world developed its technology and its present state of affluence through the exploitation of human resources. It has been said that the industrial revolution of the world has resulted in human wreckage. If this be so, your new mission and mine, the mission of the ministers of labor, is to establish the delicate balance between development and human welfare. For your countries and mine are countries lacking in the available capital resources and funds for development. It is a test of the statesmanship of all the ministers of labor to establish such a balance for their respective societies and their respective governments.

In our respective societies, we may discover that all the available funds that we may have should be utilized first for development, but not as an end; rather, economic development should be used ultimately as a tool for the reestablishment of social justice. At the same time, as we utilize our available capital resources for economic development, and ultimately for the attainment of social justice, let it not be forgotten that we must have welfare, too, jointly with economic development, and that we must have welfare and social justice without pricing ourselves out of international competition. We must have social justice without killing individual initiative.

This, too, is one of the gravest problems that you and I face. The administrator of government, as well as the statesman and the leader in labor, must study the complexities of such problems.

There is a new dimension in government all over the world today, and that is the establishment of the human factor in all kinds of development—political, social and economic the human factor that looks to the individual and individual dignity as the ultimate aim of all societies, the human factor that establishes the right and the capacity of man to develop his entire, available genius and strength in accordance with his own best efforts and energies. We must establish an industrial revolution without exploitation, it is true, but in establishing an industrial revolution' without exploitation we must not destroy either the means by which we can attain such an industrial revolution.

We must tame the machines in order that we may not leave on the road of progress human wreckage that was the price paid in the past by the development of modern societies. I will not go into the different aspects of this problem which I am sure properly grasped in your able hands in this conference. Suffice it to say that in my country, in our country, the established assistance of social security and the system of welfare programs are aimed at recreating a new society.

In our country, as in yours, agriculture is the main source of livelihood of the great majority of our people; anywhere from 60 to 70 percent of our people earn their livelihood from this sector of our economy. On many an occasion I had stated that many of our countries must look to agriculture first and its development in order to improve the living conditions of most of the people. But ultimately and at last, the final objective must be a balanced and industrial economy—a balanced agro-industrial economy for it is only industry, probably, that can absorb our unemployed and our underemployed.

In the Philippines we have the strange spectacle of the family system absorbing the unemployed and underemployed of our country. Sociologists, political observers and economists have often asked me why, if there are so many unemployed in our country, why there is not a more palpable manifestation of this unemployment? And the answer is, the family system, the close family ties tend to make a built-in welfare service for the unemployed and the underemployed.

But before long, we must attend to the unemployed and the underemployed through a more systematic approach. Thus, we have established, I repeat, a social security and welfare program in the Philippines. The Social Security System, started in 1957, now covers about 1,500,000 workers. It is my hope that before long this will be doubled, and that before the end of my term, the system will cover about one-half of the entire labor force of the Philippines.

In the past several years, in meeting claims for death, old-age and illness benefits, the Social Security System has paid P250 million. Now, we are studying the possibility of social security, or insurance against unemployment. If these studies indicate a financial capability of the Social System to pay for unemployment, I shall immediately direct that unemployment be taken under the wing of the Social Security System of the Philippines.

I repeat, you and I are faced by the dilemma of growth. This dilemma is the choice between development and welfare. We all want to grow, we all want to progress. Economic development is a means by which we must progress. But economic development, I repeat, does not mean the adoption of mere technology, without humanity and without compassion. On the contrary, all efforts of man must be aimed at human welfare and this means compassion. It is therefore time for us to tame technology, tame the machines and utilize our manpower in such a way that we shall not only develop our economic system but develop a manpower that is alert, effective and certainly humane members of the human society.

This, then, is the new mission that you and I have. I repeat, we create our respective societies. However much you and I may differ in the approaches, in our ideologies sometimes, ultimately and at last, your aim and mine is the upliftment of all of humanity. But we must start. With our own peoples, and our own race. I shall start with mine. You start with yours. But in so attempting to solve our own national problems, you and I must gather in consultation, at conferences like this; and gathering, seek to establish a basis for such consultations in order that you and I may unite to attain this new dimension in our societies and in our efforts to honor the human factor in economic development.

I am certain that all the peoples of Asia look towards you, and perhaps all the peoples of the world will look towards you. I repeat, in the improvement of the living conditions of the laboring, teeming millions of Asia lies the peace of the world, and let no man in any manner mistake this as a presumption, or imposition upon any of the leaders of the world today. It is a statement of fact, which has been accepted by all thinkers and observers. With the teeming millions lies the key to peace, in the long run, of our world; and upon you lies the burden of establishing not only the confidence but also the effectiveness of the labor system in our respective societies.

So, I must say that if this be so—that ultimately the establishment of peace in the world lies on your shoulders, it is, indeed, a heavy burden for every minister of labor to carry. But I am sure that on your shoulders this burden will prove to be very light.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1966). Speech delivered by President Marcos at the opening of the 1966 Asian Ministers of Labor Conference held at the SSS Conference Hall, Monday, December 12, 1966. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 63(2), 272-275.

Speech of President Marcos at the combined induction ceremonies of the Philippine Chamber of Industries, Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, Chamber of Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Bankers Association of the Philippines, December 14, 1966

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the combined induction ceremonies of the Philippine Chamber of Industries, Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, Chamber of Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Bankers Association of the Philippines

[Delivered on December 14, 1966]

THE RETURN OF ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT

It is an experience to come face-to-face with the human aspect of the Philippine economy. I see before me a consortium of all the business interests in the country today. Among all of you, officers and members of your organizations, the four great and influential organizations that have to do with trade, banking, industry and agriculture, you personify, through a diversity of points of view, alliances, and interests, the vitality of our economic system. This occasion, therefore, serves to remind us that competition is one of the cornerstones of our economic system, and that radical differences, both in thinking and practice, are signs of economic health. As President of the Republic, I sometimes find myself presiding over the resolution of these differences, balancing factions, factors, and forces, in the light of what experience, judgment, and perception regard as the national interest. This has not always been an easy or pleasant task, but I believe you will agree with me that it is a necessary one. Without the exercise of economic statesmanship on the part of government, the freedom of economic enterprise that we cherish so much may well flounder through anarchy. There cannot be freedom without order; the fact that we speak of an economic system implies that we recognize a principle of order.

PRINCIPAL TASK OF ADMINISTRATION

This administration, upon its assumption to office eleven months ago, immediately recognized that its premier task was to restore order, not only in government but also in the economy. Expressed in another way, we understood that the people's confidence in government depended in large measure on the capacity of its leadership for rational decision. As I told a similar audience six months ago when I discussed the government's proposals on industrial protection, economic policy was never well-defined in the past, and if there had been any definition at all, it was inefficiently directed. The importance, therefore, of reason and sanity in government policy-making cannot be overly emphasized, for this capacity reflects its sense of justice, and what is more vital, its grasp of the problems that beset the nation.

I do not have to add that the survival of economic enterprise depends to a large extent on the rationalization of government. And that however open and free our economic system may be and could still hope to be, it can only operate effectively with a government that knows its mind.

THE CRISIS SURMOUNTED

When I took over at the beginning of this year, the feeling that pervaded the business community was one of gloom and despondency. Some business firms had already closed shop; others were in distress; while still others were in a state of suspended animation.

The international reserves of the country were at rock bottom.

The upkeep of the government machinery was on a day-to-day basis. All that while the government was subsisting on borrowings from Central Bank funds because government revenues have dipped alarmingly as a result of unabated smuggling and the uncontrolled corruption and pilferages in the Bureau of Customs.

Today I feel I can be privileged to state here that in a period of less than a year we have decisively reversed the dangerous downward trend. And now we are accelerating our movement.

I shall not make a catalogue of the economic ills that aggravated the national crisis eleven months ago. You all know them from hard personal experience. Your own business might have been one of those threatened with extinction. I will only say, as a preliminary observation, that the crisis has been surmounted. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, there is the generosity of the Filipino people themselves in wishing well, and cooperating with, every new administration. Secondly, there is the administration's resolution to stand by its commitments to the Filipino people. In a moment, I shall elaborate on this resolution in so far as it affects the Philippine economy.

But I must say in all candor that the crisis we surmounted in the last eleven months should be considered in the light of our continuing vicissitudes as a developing nation. We surmounted a crisis brought about by past mismanagement; on the other hand, the crisis of development remains.

To generalize, our businessmen and industrialists have been most favored in the first year of this administration. The anti-smuggling drive, the refinancing of distressed industries, the clean-up in the Bureau of Customs and the Bureau of Internal Revenue—which is a continuing process, and the maintenance of monetary stability by way of fiscal restraint in government, alongside with the relaxation of credit, have given new life to moribund industries as they have, on the other hand, expanded the horizon of thriving industries. The best proof, I think, is that textile factories are now operating twenty-four hours a day when before they used to run only three times a week on a single shift of eight hours a day. Moreover, there is an undeniable atmosphere of confidence in the business community, which is all the more reassuring considering the feeling of desperation and near-panic in some sectors of the economy eleven months ago.

Let me consider the measures I cited in some detail.

ANTI-SMUGGLING DRIVE

At that time, in my inaugural address, I called for a hard campaign against smuggling. What, then, has been done in this area?

Early in the year, the department of finance started its campaign against all forms of smuggling, principally against technical smuggling in the port of Manila and other ports, and the smuggling of “blue seal” cigarettes from Borneo and Sabah. This was done in cooperation with elements from the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Moreover, three entities were organized to support the anti-smuggling drive. These were the Anti-Smuggling Action Center, or the ASAC, and the Claims, Adjudication and Disposal Administration, or the CADA. The function of the CADA is to centralize the disposition of seized, confiscated and abandoned goods and to expedite the payment of rewards to informers. Finally, there is the action group, under the Office of Secretary Eduardo Romualdez, which has recommended to the Commissioner of Customs the collection of deficiency customs duties and taxes totalling more than a million pesos on undervalued importations. The action group has organized an intelligence network in sensitive ports abroad.

The CADA has sold more smuggled goods this year than all the four years of the previous administration. From April 1 to November 29, 1966, an eight-month period, it realized nearly P11 million through public auctions and negotiated sales of disposable goods.

The ASAC reported that from June to October this year alone, P116 million worth of smuggled goods, coins, and cigarettes have been confiscated. I think it is safe to say that the government has been able to secure that much in market volume for domestic manufacturers of cigarettes, textile, radios, and other appliances.

Certainly, the industries that were hurt most by smuggling were the major beneficiaries of the anti-smuggling drive.

On the other hand, we have prosecuted and are still prosecuting big-time smugglers, as anyone can see from the report of the department of justice. In our cities, 259 cases are pending trial while 60 others are either under investigation, pending decision, convicted, or pending pre-investigation, the cases amounting to a total of 319. In the provinces, there are 201 cases, 149 of which are pending trial.

I want to take this opportunity to express my sincere admiration for the cooperation of the courts in the anti-smuggling drive. All the courts and the government prosecutors, in response to our appeals, have given preferential attention to smuggling cases. I am particularly reassured by the recent decision of the Court of First Instance of Batangas convicting six smugglers of blue-seal cigarettes with an appraised value of P213,388.76 and imposing a heavy penalty of ten years imprisonment and a fine of P3,000.00 for each of them. The accused in this case were apprehended on September 10, 1966; the information was filed with the court on September 14; the case was submitted for decision on November 11; and the decision was promulgated on November 29, 1966, or in less than two months and a half from the filing of the case.

Similar convictions have been obtained in the Courts of First Instance of Manila and Antique. Decisive action has led to the forfeiture of smuggled goods aggregating half a million pesos in value on board the SS Argo the seizure proceedings have been instituted for the confiscation not only of the goods but of the ship itself and other watercraft. A SAL plane that landed blue seal cigarettes in Quezon province has already been forfeited by the port collector. These few cases will suffice for illustration.

But I think far more reassuring than all these punitive actions is the new sense of self-esteem that has been evoked in the citizenry by the anti-smuggling campaign. For the first time, a citizen is made to feel remorse over smoking smuggled cigarettes—the odium of such an offense against the national community has become clear and unmistakable. This is heartening for the future of our democracy, for only a citizenry with a high level of civic responsibility can operate successfully a democratic type of government. This is a historically verifiable fact. Before I took over the administration, the smoking of blue seal cigarettes was a status symbol. Now each and every man goes out of his way so that he is smoking cigarettes with the proper seal paying taxes to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

MONETARY AND FISCAL RESTRAINT

The increase in revenue collections, however has not encouraged the administration to abandon its fiscal discipline. As a matter of fact, government borrowings from the Central Bank have been reduced and rationalized. For this year this administration's net borrowings amounted to only P90 million. Compare this to the P320 million borrowed for the same period last year. Moreover, the National Treasury, from February 16 to July 26 has paid the Central Bank a total of P250 million representing its used over-draft line. It should be noted that this payment was made from the cash receipts of the National Treasury and not by immediately opening a new overdraft line, as had been the practice in the past.

From here on, inflationary borrowings for the current expenditures of the National Government will be minimized and will only be resorted to when there are pressing demands for the financing of productive investment projects. To this end, the sum of P30 million was borrowed to finance priority irrigation projects.

Unlike before, the National Government does not compete with the private sector for credit.

CREDIT AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The National Government, far from competing with private enterprise, has instead taken positive steps of assistance. This year, the Development Bank has implemented this administration's program of rehabilitating distressed industries. I think you will agree that this swift and decisive yet well-considered solution to the crisis of business can be regarded as a compliment to Filipino imagination and sophistication in economic management.

Through conventional and security financing method, 1,354 agricultural and industrial enterprises have received P255.2 million. Of this figure, P53.5 million represents investments in seven temporarily distressed but basically viable industries. Seven other similar cases involving P85.5 million are now under study.

The support for the refinancing program comes from the DBP public offering of P100 million worth of progress bonds. That in over a month's time, P97 million worth of bonds have been sold in Manila and the provinces should demonstrate to everyone the confidence of our people in the economic leadership of the National Government.

There is the reduction by the Central Bank of legal reserve requirements for banks by altogether lifting the reserve requirements on special time deposits and increasing the rediscount ceiling of commercial banks. These measures alone can increase commercial bank reserves by P687.5 million.

The immediate effect of these measures is to release the former stranglehold on credit, and to expand money supply by the approximate annual rate of 11 per cent. By year's end we expect the money supply to increase to the level of P3.404 billion.

Finally, the Department of Finance has launched the treasury bills program in order to establish a private market for government securities and to develop a source of non-inflationary borrowings for the National Government. Response from your sector has been favorable. The sale of the bills at a discount through the establishment of a competitive rate thus assures ready funds available for the government during seasonal lags in revenue collections. Above all, it proves an efficient instrument for monetary authorities in regulating the rate of money creation through open market operations.

CREDIT PRIORITIES

I believe you will agree that the government's financial policies are much clearer and better defined today. This is readily apparent from the clarity of the priorities that have been laid down to guide the direction of the government's investible funds.

We must admit the fact that government financial institutions have developed into significant instruments of capital formation for our economy. In a capital-starved economy, the scarce resources available must be husbanded carefully so as to yield the maximum benefit for the people. You know as well as I do that the uses of such investible funds in the past had been determined more by political expediency than the hard consideration of the public interest. Up to this moment, the government continues to feel the unwanted burden of P410 million in losses incurred by the RCA, the NAMARCO and the NA-WASA during the previous administration. This represents their combined obligation to the PNB, a veritable millstone which will drag the feet of our economic progress in the next ten years.

My concern today is to allocate such funds to economic undertakings that are deemed to be of strategic importance in our economic development. As a part of the renewed emphasis on the development of our rural areas, we are allocating highest priorities to the Agricultural and Food-Processing Industries. This program has a direct bearing on our national self-sufficiency in food, which is an overriding, historic challenge to our national self-esteem.

AGRICULTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Of course many decisions and measures taken by the government, though crucial for the whole nation, seem peripheral to, or remote from your places of business and your vital interests as businessmen. Actually these decisions shape the social climate in which business must succeed or fail.

In this class of decisions are the measures so far taken by the government to stimulate agriculture and bring about Land Reform and Community development. In the long run the success of these undertakings will be as crucial for industry as for the nation itself. There can be no prosperous industry based on a weak or stagnant agriculture.

In the field of community development, whose ultimate aim is to build up habits of self-reliance in the barrios, I am glad to note that in the ten-month period this year, 18,471 purely self-help projects have been generated and completed. The record for Fiscal Year 1964-1965 was only 9,214.

We have achieved spectacular results in agricultural research. From the white ivory towers of science we have brought the exciting discoveries to the muds of the rice fields. The IRRI miracle rice, which produces six to seven times more than the ordinary rice seeds, is now in seedling farms for ultimate distribution by the end of this Fiscal Year to every farmer who wants it.

Due to price support program, we have produced this year a huge surplus of corn. There is a clamor to allow its exportation.

Due to the same program rice producers received P4 more for each cavan of rice of the 30 million that are bought and sold in the market. This funnelled a total of P120 million into the agriculture sector.

The increased emphasis on assistance to small farmers is apparent from the fact that in a ten-month period this year, the Agricultural Credit Administration loaned out P17,011,118.00 to the small farmers, compared with P10 million in the preceding year, or an increase of 58 per cent. The increase indicates as well the stepped-up activity in Land Reform in Central Luzon.

LAND REFORM

We have enlarged the application of the Land Reform Law I have declared the second district of Pampanga a Land Reform Area. Our experience in this district will determine the extent and depth of future decisions on Land Reform. However, I note, with satisfaction that the principal goals of Land Reform are being achieved in Pampanga. Before long we might widen the areas of Land Reform in the country.

I will ask you to note that one of the cardinal objectives of the Land Reform Law is to divert idle capital from the land to industry. A medium was required to carry this out, and hence, the Land Bank has been organized and activated. Land Reform then is an essential policy tool as much for social justice as for economic development.

WORK OF THE FOUNDATIONS

One basic weakness of our economy is the inadequacy in infrastructure or the basic foundation—roads and bridges, irrigation, piers, power. Partly to blame for this has been the incredible inefficiency and waste of public works funds. For instance, one study shows that for an expenditure of P500 million, or half a billion pesos, in the previous years, the government had only 70 kilometers of road to show for it. (Figures subject to verification)

I am proud to report before you that in a period of three months alone we have cemented 110 kilometers of national roads more than what was cemented in four years before me. We are moving with might and main in this direction.

We have now harnessed the armed forces for this purpose. While there was only one engineer construction battalion previously, we have seven in being today, with 60 percent of their equipment complete, furnished from our own funds. We shall organize by next year five more engineer construction battalions, equipment from our own funds or from the Military Assistance Program of the United States government. The speed with which the AFP Engineering Battalion finished the concreting of a portion of Highway 54 late this year is a preview of what the Engineer Construction Battalions can accomplish. And the speed at which the Guadalupe Bridge was finished as a contract under administration perhaps and with the help of the Department of Public Works also indicates the speed with which the government projects will be terminated all over the country.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

We are improving our outmoded government administrative machinery, which was a principal obstacle in the past. We are now updating our Administrative Code. We have evolved a Development Council. We have established a central control system for all on-going development projects, a central communications system and a central equipment center. We have already reorganized the important Bureaus of Customs and Internal Revenue. We are steadily hacking away at governmental red tape. These reforms should exert a salutary effect on the government's relations with business and the general public.

STABILIZATION MEASURES

Finally, we have established and strengthened the peso. The Central Bank has been able to reduce its rates from P3.905 (buying) and P3.913 (selling) during mid-December last year to P3.895 (buying) and P3.90 (selling) at the end of October 1966.

However a recent drop from \$200 million in August to \$171 million at the end of November in our international reserves has been noted. This has been caused, as already explained the other day by the Secretary of Finance, partly by seasonal factors and partly by the repayments for dollar loans used to finance rice importations in previous years in the amount of \$7.4 million. It is also partially traceable to the payment of Philippine Government subscriptions to the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank in the amount of \$10.5 million as well as repayments on drawing from the IMF of \$1.2 million. What is significant however is the fact that we are expecting from veterans claims and from war damage payments additional resources.

And the downward slide has been reversed this month. Thus the Central Bank's portion of the reserves which stood at \$162 million out of the total combined reserves of \$171 million at the end of November has risen in two weeks by \$7 million to \$169 million.

Over-all, the country's international transactions for the first eight months of this year have brought a surplus of around P111 million compared with P45 million for the same period last year. It's all in your books, I am sure.

FOREIGN TRADE

In this connection, I would like to report that the unfavorable trade balance in previous year's has been reversed. The total value of our foreign trade has increased from \$1,575 million in 1965 to more than \$1,685 million at year's end, representing an increase of 7 per cent. An increase of 14 per cent in the value of our exports and only 1 per cent in the value of our imports account for this significant expansion in our foreign trade. At the close of this year, we expect the balance to register \$55 million in our favor as against an unfavorable balance of \$40 million last year.

During the year, we also concluded two trade agreements, one with the Benelux countries and another with Indonesia. Several Filipino entrepreneurs are now in Indonesia, engaged in establishing joint business ventures with their Indonesian counterparts.

We have sent trade missions to Europe and Asia and received foreign trade missions from Italy, the United States, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Indonesia and Thailand thus facilitating and expanding contacts between foreign and local businessmen.

PROTECTION TO FILIPINO INDUSTRIES

Finally, this administration has extended specific protection to Filipino business enterprise. Since early this year, the Department of Finance has taken steps to protect local basic industries faced with unfair competition from imported goods through dumping or otherwise irregular import practices. In five separate decisions, the Department of Finance imposed anti-dumping duties on undervalued imported flour, polyvinyl chloride resins, and caustic soda.

The textile industry is now protected from unfair competition through stricter control measures, firstly, through the enforcement of revised valuation on imported remnants, used clothing and impregnated fabrics of US origin, and,

secondly, through measures calculated to prevent diversion of imported embroidery and garment raw materials by tighter control of the operations of Embroidery firms by the Embroidery and Apparel Control and Inspection Board.

We have also cracked down on industries enjoying simultaneous tax exemptions under the new and Necessary Industry Law (R.A. 901) and the Basic Industries Act (R.A.3127)

This protective mantle of government includes, of course, the cottage industry, whose development we have tried to intensify.

Arrangement has been made for the entry, duty-free, of Philippine traditional cottage industry products into Australia

Through an agreement with Japan, a technological and development center, specializing on cottage industry has been set up with Japan providing P500,000 worth of machinery and equipment. At the same time, an institute for small-scale industries has been established at the University of the Philippines under an agreement with the Netherlands. Both the center and the institute will provide training for Filipino producers and executive in the cottage industry.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

This brief account of how the Philippine economy is going and what this administration has done for private enterprise necessarily raises certain searching questions about the future.

The President of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce has called attention to the two principal problems which must be solved within the next few months or within the next few years. These are our relations with Japan, especially reparations, and loans under reparations and also trade agreements that will take the place of the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

You will remember that a committee is now working in Japan, a commission that is represented right now by Ambassador Jose Laurel, III. A Philippine panel has gone to Japan but action on certain questions has been deferred in view of the political situation in that country at the time.

At the same time, in accordance with the communique arrived at between the Philippine and American presidents, we are to organize a Phil-American Commission before the end of June, 1967. This Commission will study the trade agreement that will take the place of the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

It is quite apparent, therefore, that within the next few months, we must make very difficult decisions. In making these decisions, I will as usual rely on you and your organizations.

I believe you are with me when I claim that we have managed to extricate the nation from the lethargy and near chaos of previous years.

To take one singular example, while the supply of credit is expected to increase, it must still be complemented by an increasing amount of capital for investment requirements. The four-year economic development program projects the total required investments for the next four years at P20.3 billion, a rather large amount for a developing economy like ours. An investment gap, therefore, of F3.2 billion is expected, and must be covered by financial sources other than domestic.

It is unquestionable that foreign investment is necessary and even a critical factor in economic growth. It cannot be shrugged away by wishful thinking about our ability to finance our developmental requirements.

But in seeking foreign investments, let me say this now, clearly and firmly- We are now going to sacrifice the well-being of future generations of Filipinos for the undeniable benefits of foreign investments at this stage of our

economic history. We do need foreign investments, but we need them as partners, partners enjoying certain guarantees and incentives consistent with our national economic interests and national dignity.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

So much for what government has done and is doing for business. What, may I ask, has business done for government? The time has come for all of us to confront this crucial question. There was a time when you could say in all sincerity that the business of business is business, but in the modern world, government is everybody's business.

Let me say here and now that private enterprise is not only the economic concomitant of our political system; it is intrinsic in our culture. Private enterprise, to the popular mind, stands in shining contrast with the experienced inefficiency and corruption of government. Many a politician has achieved success on the promise (sometimes fulfilled) of running the government as efficiently and as honestly as a private corporation. I believe that this is due to the initiative, enterprise, and dynamism of our great entrepreneurs. It is a rich heritage.

However, I begin to fear that this reputation of business is becoming a useful myth, at best a weapon for coercing government in yielding to the demands of the profit motive. For like all sacrosanct principles, the freedom of enterprise based on the profit motive can be abused to the extent of disgracing the very principle itself.

Certainly, the wanton denudation of our forest, the corruption of government officialdom either through acquiescence or initiative in graft to be ahead of competition, the hoarding of goods and the manipulation of prices, are perversions of the legitimate pursuit of profit. I do not claim any originality for this observation, for I remember it was a prominent businessman himself, one of your peers who denounced sometime ago what he called "the economic underground." The painful thing is that this underground operates on the surface of our national life, respectably.

It does not only engage in dubious business practices; it also deals unfairly with labor. It has infected the business community to the extent that the illegitimate has become legitimate, the immoral moral.

TAXES FOR THE POOR

Let us take a specific area: taxes. It is alarming, if it not ridiculous, that there are actually certain businessmen who believe that free enterprise includes the freedom not to pay taxes to the government. I do not think that the majority of our businessmen seriously accepts this as an article of faith, but there are those among them who behave as if they do.

I said at the opening of my speech that I was face-to-face with the human aspect of the Philippine economy. I purposely left out, for the duration, the vital sector not strictly represented here: the Filipino masses. They are the ones who shoulder the burden of taxation, paying taxes to the government in innumerable ways.

I am, by virtue of their mandate, also their representative here, and I appeal to you to exert your personal influence and institutional power to balance private gain with the public interest. While there are still alternatives, I ask you to reassess your purposes and review your obligations to the society in which you thrive. Your organizations are expressly dedicated to uphold the highest ethical standards in business; this shows that you are cognizant of your social and national responsibilities.

Let an entire nation witness the deeds promised by the ideals.

Lest there be any misunderstanding. I want to make it clear that I intend no distinction between businessmen and industrialists, on the one hand, and the Filipino people, on the other. The very measures taken by this administration to protect private business and to promote business enterprise should preclude any misunderstanding.

But when the well-being of private business does not reflect on the living conditions of the masses, either through dubious practice or through unresponsiveness towards its obligations ,to the national government and finally to the national community, then private business will constitute a class separate and apart from the people. If that should come to pass, we shall lose not only our economic freedom but those very freedoms we have abused in our ruthless pursuit of gain.

A NATIONAL ENTERPRISE

The building of a nation demands not only the imagination and direction of leadership but the enthusiastic support of all. No leadership can protect the interests of the few without incurring the resentment of the many. Those who thrive in our free society have an obligation to keep it free and progressive through the diligent exercise of their responsibilities.

You and I know that political and economic power in our democracy depends on popular support. They stand on the vast shoulders of the people, and there they shall remain for as long as the people recognize their legitimacy. But this legitimacy is conditional: its beneficiaries must promote the welfare of all.

THE BUSINESSMAN AND THE NATION CLAIMS UPON HIM

I believe that, relying on your own characters or bylaws, which emphasize your positive obligations to the national community, you can convince the nation of your capacity to raise your own standards of responsibility and responsiveness to national problems. The chief virtue presumed of such trade groups as yours, in fact, is that you voluntarily take up the burden of policing your ranks and raising your standards of usefulness and service to the community.

What your respective characters fail to state is that at this stage of our national development, you, as leaders of Philippine business and industry, including agriculture, are in the role of trustees not only of your own business interests but also of the public interest. This relationship with the public interest is clear in the fact that our government has habitually exercised the sovereignty of the people in behalf of Filipino businessmen. This is the implication of our retail trade nationalization law and similar laws. That a special reciprocal obligation exists on the part of business towards the people cannot be doubted.

In the light of such reciprocity, when Filipino businessmen commit such economic crimes as hoarding and profiteering against their own people, they must surely be engaged in a form of treason. This, at least, cannot be said of alien businessmen, for their allegiance to the Philippine flag cannot be presumed. I am tempted to say that when Filipino businessmen, quick to invoke the use of national sovereignty in their behalf, withhold taxes due to the people, they are similarly exposing themselves to the charge of betraying their own country.

THE BUSINESSMAN AS PATRIOT

These are harsh words, but I think in saying them we help clear the air. The Filipino businessman in the eyes of the Filipino people is not only one engaged in profit-making, but also a kind of surrogate for the whole race in the” task of demonstrating our national competence in business and industry. It is as such that the role of businessman is so much admired and respected in our country today, to a degree unmatched in any other country in Asia with the possible exception of Japan. The Filipino businessman is deemed to engage in a patriotic mission as well as business for profit: he is a symbol of the struggle for our economic independence. He represents our groping for the ability and competence we need to face and master the complexities of modern life.

In fairness to the Filipino businessman, he has, as a whole, proven himself worthy of this historic role. The speed and resolution with which we confronted the crisis of the economy during the past eleven months, and overcame it, is a compliment not so much to the government as to the collective competence of our Filipino management talent. For the government’s policies are to a large extent drawn from the counsels of your own respective organizations, and must reflect, in the end, the level of sophistication and competence of our own Filipino business community.

The resolution of the economic crisis and the experience of the past eleven months as a whole show that we can, if we set our minds to it, achieve results normally deemed beyond the capacity of the nation to attain. This experience of competence has enriched the national self-esteem. It also has enhanced the image of the Filipino abroad before all men of goodwill. These initial results cannot but hearten us. I think that working together, you and your government can surpass our own joint record in the new year now before us. I ask your cooperation not only with the government but also with the Filipino people.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1966). Speech of President Marcos at the combined induction ceremonies of the Philippine Chamber of Industries, Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, Chamber of Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Bankers Association of the Philippines. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 63(3), 535-546.

Speech of President Marcos on the Inauguration of Asian Development Bank, December 19, 1966

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Inauguration of Asian Development Bank

[Delivered in Makati, Rizal, December 19, 1966]

THE ADB: CORNERSTONE OF A NEW LIFE
IN ASIA

The Filipino people are proud to share with you on our native soil this historic moment in the life of modern Asia. The inauguration of the Asian Development Bank will surely be remembered as one of the most auspicious events in the history of the region. None can doubt its relevance to the mighty stirring towards a new life of progress and dignity in this oldest of continents. And I shall add that this event is auspicious not only for the people of Asia, but also for the peace of the world.

For the Philippines, the creation of the Asian Development Bank is specially significant. The choice of the Philippines as the permanent site of the bank enhanced the national prestige. It is a recognition of the stability of our political structure, the soundness of our social and economic institutions and the ability of our people.

We take pride in having played an important role in the organization of the bank, and in having been chosen as the host country for its offices. Our pride must be tempered, however, with the awareness that our participation, and the honor and recognition accorded our country carries with it certain responsibilities. We shall meet these responsibilities.

AN INSPIRED VISION COME TRUE

The opening of the ADB proves that the forces working for cooperation and fraternity between nations should never be underestimated. The ADB only yesterday was but an inspired vision. Today, we are inaugurating the bank. We are giving the world the first concrete manifestation of regional economic cooperation in Asia.

That such can already be done in the world's vastest and least homogenous—region, compliments the maturity and open-mindedness of the Asian nations. But it is also a tribute to the perfectibility of human cooperation in general, in spite of the vast differences that separate us culturally and politically.

COMMITMENT AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE

But even with their prophetic insights none of the Asian visionaries could foretell that in a few decades this great regional project—the Asian Development Bank could already materialize. We also know that the obligation of developed nations to help the less developed nations in 'their own development is a relatively new and revolutionary idea in history.

We know, however, the proximate causes of the success of this great idea of the ADB. We know the ADB could rise today only because the ground had been well prepared for it during the past 18 years of the life of the ECAFE. This Commission of the United Nations brought together Asian governments closer to each other than anything had done before. In this regard, we are obliged to cite Mr. U Nyun, secretary general of the ECAFE, who has probably done as much as any other man to bring forth the Asian Development Bank.

This day marks the beginning of a new era in the solidarity of the region. The interest and participation in this new institution of countries outside the ECAFE region is an indubitable proof of the vision and statemanship of leading countries outside this continent.

The list of member countries suggests that the Asian Development Bank is not a mere regional bank that its name might imply. Its membership, covering 19 countries within the ECAFE region and 12-non-regional ones, in fact constitutes the biggest difference from other similar organizations. (They are Afghanistan, Australia, Cambodia, Ceylon, Nationalist China, India, Iran, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, The Philippines, Singapore, South Vietnam, Thailand and West Samoa. The non-regional member countries are Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, West Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, United States and Sweden.) The mobilization of outside capital for development of Asian economy makes the Bank a unique institution. It may not be inappropriate, therefore, as someone has suggested, to call it a sort of "World Bank for Asia."

Asia with more than half the world population and a steady trend of population growth is at the very center of the world crisis. While the crisis has various visible manifestations, what causes the most concern is the failure of agriculture to satisfy human needs. Looking ahead, the race between agricultural output and population is assuming formidable dimensions.

We Asians are, therefore, particularly happy about the keen interest shown by the countries outside the ECAFE region to help "foster economic growth and cooperation in the region, of Asia and the Far East and contribute to the acceleration of the process of economic development of the developing countries in the region."

Allow me to congratulate the members of the board of directors. Cornelio Balmaceda (Philippines), Byung Kyu Chim (Korea), Masaru Fukuda (Japan), J. M. Garland (Australia), Ng Kam Poh (Malaysia), P.V.R. Rao (India), Khouw Bian Tie (Indonesia), Helmut Abramowski (West Germany), W. K. Wardroper (Canada), and Bernard Zagorin (United States).

At this juncture, I should like to congratulate the Board of Governors of the Asian Development Bank for taking a very wise, healthy and practical step in inviting other members and associate members of ECAFE and other non-regional developed countries which are members of the United Nations or any of its specialized agencies, that have not yet joined the bank, to join it.

I am aware that the Bank will, at this initial stage of its existence, have to face and solve some difficult problems, such as the formulation of policies concerning loans, investment, guarantees and other related problems, not to mention the problems of administration and appointing the right people to the right positions and getting them from as many member countries as possible.

I have no doubt in my mind that these problems will be solved in no time. The Board of Governors did well in entrusting the management of the bank to Mr. Takeshi Watanabe. His qualifications, background and experience eminently fit him for his new position.

What will make the burden of Mr. Watanabe lighter is the fact that he has a board composed of knowledgeable men and experts in their own fields.

I have great hopes that the bank will be a most powerful influence in stimulating economic and social development in this region. But the most important efforts in this direction must come, not from outside the region but from within. Progress is not merely a matter of advice and encouragement or external aid. Real progress can only result from actions within the boundaries of Asia herself, and it is for us Asians to work together for our common good.

POTENTIAL COMPLEMENTARITIES

To pool together our resources for development is undoubtedly a great act of maturity and wisdom. This is not only because most Asian countries lack the capital and the means of development. We also recognize the potential complementarities in our different development programs which can be approached so as to lessen costs and increase the benefits available to the nations concerned.

One of the major functions of the Asian Development Bank is to serve as a medium for bringing over investments from the highly developed countries to the developing countries of the region. In the case of the Philippines, alone, we have projected our need for foreign investments at more than P3.5 billion over the next three years of a four-year program period.

The bank will also help redress the imbalance in foreign exchange prevailing in most Asian countries estimated at from 600 million to one billion dollars. This is the foreign exchange gap involved in economic modernization and the raising of productivity.

MANAGEMENT COMPETENCE

Because it will be mainly managed by Asians, and staffed by Asian experts, the ADB would be to orient itself to the peculiar needs and requirements of the Asian countries. It will help prepare technical studies and proposals for loans among the member countries or governments. I can see a salutary effect arising from this. There will be pressure on member governments to scrutinize more closely and rigorously their own development projects to qualify for assistance, and therefore to raise the level of their own planning and management competence.

But I believe that in the long run the most lasting effect of this bank would be moral, in the sense that it would help spark in all member countries a new spirit of change—of being able to alter their own environments to make them serve the aims of a better and fuller life in dignity and freedom. And it is in this sense that the Asian Development Bank in the end enters the confluence of patriotic ideas associated with the great humanitarian heroes of Asia.

REGIONAL COOPERATION: A NECESSITY

We must at last face the truth that there is no choice for our countries except to cooperate. The World Bank has given Southeast Asia only 5.3 per cent of all loans. The per capita loans from the World Bank on a regional basis are \$2.80 to Asia, \$3.04 to Africa and \$4.20 to Europe. The per capital foreign aid to Southeast Asia is only \$2.50 while it is \$5.90 to Africa and \$5 to Latin America.

The economic development of the Western Nations of Japan took place under different historical conditions when capitalism was in its primitive and notorious stage and completely indifferent to the human wreckage that it left in its wake. Today, most of our countries, irrespective of our stages of development and political beliefs, are signatories to covenants and conventions under the United Nations which bind us to accord to workers the freedom of organization and collective bargaining and the protection of various labor laws. As I have told the Asian Labor Ministers Conference just ended in Manila, the Asian Nations today are in the position of being required to wage an industrial revolution without exploitation, no nation today is permitted to suspend human rights in deference to an urgent period of economic development. The dilemma of modern development in Asia is that it must be pursued hand in hand with the welfare of the poorest people. Implied in this is the renunciation of drastic methods of capital accumulation and formation which served the Western Industrial Revolution so well. Because of this, the Asian countries must turn to each other and to the developed countries of the West for the additional capital they need for their development. Cooperation, therefore, is no longer optional, when one thinks in broad terms, but a necessity imposed upon our countries by the common objective of development.

SURPASSING THE LIMITS OF PEACE

The recognition of this necessity is an act of maturity and wisdom. And I am glad that the non-regional members of the ADB, representing the developed West, are also taking part in this undertaking, ready to share with Asia the experience and the capacities that are the sources of their own development. It is my fond hope that other ECAFE

countries such as the Soviet Union will now come into the bank, or at least participate in the development of Asia through the special fund of the bank.

This event is a hopeful sign that once the energies of nations are directed towards peace and progress, the old narrow limits of possible attainment are soon surpassed. The inauguration of the ADB should boost the morale of all who believe in world peace and brotherhood.

Considering that the tensions in Asia remain the gravest menace to world peace, the opening of this great bank directed to the deepest causes of such tensions—mass poverty, ignorance and disease, becomes all the more encouraging and reassuring for mankind.

In conclusion, may I say to the men behind this bank; congratulations and best wishes as you go forth on your historic mission of building a better life for the peoples of Asia.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1966). Speech of President Marcos on the Inauguration of Asian Development Bank. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 63(4), 791-795.

Speech of President Marcos on Loyalty Day, December 21, 1966, December 21, 1966

EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEECH OF PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS AT LOYALTY DAY AT CAMP AGUINALDO QUEZON CITY, DECEMBER 21, 1966

Secretary Arellano,
Gen. Mata,
Speaker Protempore Pendatun,
Secretary Syquiao,
Distinguished Guests,
Your excellencies of the diplomatic corps,
Officers and men and civilian employees of the Armed Forces of the Philippines,
My countrymen:

Today is the 31st anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. On this day, you and I are called upon to renew our pledge of loyalty to the Constitution and to the Republic. We pledge a constancy and fidelity to our nation and promise to place at the disposal of the humblest citizen the might of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

On this day, I must express to you my pride in the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

Let us go back to what the Armed Forces of the Philippines had degenerated to sometime ago, not only was there fraternization with the enemies of the state such as the communist and the smuggler, there was actual partnership with them. There was demoralization in the ranks. The armed forces personnel who were supposedly engaged in destroying those who sought to destroy the republic were actually engaged in strengthening these enemies. The Armed Forces of the Philippines that was supposed to block all efforts in the corruption of our people and the destruction of their integrity were the weapons and tools for these harmful objectives. There came a time when there were, beyond these stories, reports circulated all over the Philippines that there were elements in our armed forces that were ready to take over the government of the Republic of the Philippines. From these depths, the Armed Forces of the Philippines recovered itself, stood up, upright and dignified.

Today, the Armed Forces of the Philippines has established the highest kind of efficiency, performance, and professionalism it has ever known in its entire career.

I need not go into these details. But as every citizen of the Republic now stands up boldly and forthrightly criticizes even you who must guard the citizen's right of free speech, there is manifested indeed the attainment by you of the objectives for which we have fought.

And now, with many citizens seeking to establish industries, factories, or other sources of income and agricultural pursuits even in Huk infested areas, it is further demonstrated that your performance of duty has been above average.

From the lonely outposts of Sibutu and Sitangkay in the South, to Batanes in the North, the Armed Forces of the Philippines' soldier has demonstrated his competence and patriotism. And now in the fields of South Vietnam, the Filipino soldier has presented an image of which we can be proud.

The Filipino soldier is a soldier of peace. He is a soldier that does not seek to destroy or kill. He is a soldier that seeks to rehabilitate and reconstruct. The Filipino soldier is the envy of all officials and employees of the government, not because of special favors given him, but because of achievements attained in passionate anonymity.

Was it not only a few weeks ago when the question was raised: Why is it that it is only now that the Filipino soldier has been utilized to build roads, raise schoolhouses, improve irrigation systems? When the cementing of Epifanio de los Santos avenue was finished in a matter of a few days by AFP elements, the work became a symbol of the efficiency and the high standard of action of the military. You have raised a challenge to each and every official and

employee of the government of the Republic of the Philippines, a challenge that each and every employee and official seeks to meet.

When the soldiers who were supposedly demoralized, inefficient and corrupt in the central plains of Luzon, sought out and destroyed the Hukbalahaps that sought to wreck our democratic institutions, again the question was asked: Why were not our soldiers committed to action before this?

And the answer is because before this, the policy that directed and motivated the armed forces was questionable. Now, that these policies which you yourself recommended have been reassessed and a new line of action reestablished, you have, first of all, started a cleansing of your own ranks. Your board of generals recommended these elimination actions. Fortnightly, your own men and officers adopted these recommendations and I gave these my clearance.

No man has been recommended to the position of general without the approval of the board of generals of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. No man is being recommended for promotion without passing through the screening board. No man is awarded or commended even by the President of the Republic of the Philippines without the intervention and recommendation of his immediate superiors. The power and prerogatives of command have been reestablished among the officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

While bowing to the superiority and supremacy of civil authority, in accordance with the dictates and command of our constitution, you have been able to maintain the purity and professionalism of the officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. For this, allow me to extend my own personal congratulations and the congratulations of the people of the Philippines.

For this is not minor achievement. You and I know the obstacles that we have had to fight and are continuing to fight. You and I know the indifference, the inertia, the sloth, the complacency that had infiltrated our own ranks and seemed to overcast the entire nation. We have had to lift not only ourselves, but we have had to lift as well the entire nation with us. And in this task, each and every officer, enlisted man and civilian employee of the Armed Forces of the Philippines must be congratulated. Today, therefore, I have one message to you. And that is, carry on. Carry on and attain the other heights that we have set as our objectives. Our tasks are not yet finished. There are many more obstacles to overcome. There are many rivers that we must cross. There are many beaches that we must take, and there are many forts that we must overwhelm.

I have complete trust and faith in the Filipino officer and the men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. In you lies the destiny of our country. For it has well been said that you constitute the first mark and symbol of the character of a nation. If the Armed Forces of the Philippines should at any time and any moment become degenerate, then the entire nation and the government degenerates with it.

Stand firm therefore against all importunings that would weaken you, against all temptations that would destroy you and against the insidious infiltration that would destroy and break your ranks.

On my part I can only say that all the powers and prerogatives of the commander-in-chief as the President of the Republic of the Philippines shall be there to support you in your march toward noble achievements.

Source: National Library

Message of President Marcos, at the conference with publishers, members of the Board of Censors, other representatives of Mass Media, July 1967

(REMARKS OF PRESIDENT MARCOS AT THE CONFERENCE WITH
PUBLISHERS, MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF CENSORS,
OTHER REPRESENTATIVES OF MASS MEDIA)

I THANK you very much for attending this conference. I have seen it necessary to call you because of the fact that the upsurge of crime, characterized by violent and bloody incidents, as well as by the most heinous of crimes, is traceable not only to professional criminals, but also to the younger generation, youths who are still so impressionable, whose moral values are not yet defined, or whose standards are not yet as well established as those of our generation, our age.

You will note that emphasis has been made on responsibility of media which have any thing to do with the dissemination of information. Most important of these, of course, are the newspapers, including the dailies and the weeklies, and such other publications, as the comics. Then, there are the movies, television, and radio, which also reach a mass audience. Ladies and gentlemen, though I have always tried to keep cool under fire, and I might say that this has been noted by many, I have lost my temper in conferences like these. Now, I am greatly concerned with the manner by which the campaign against crime has been conducted by those who would implement the law. The policies are established. You and I know where we are failing. You and I know that we must do something. You and I know that the plans, the policies, the programs have been worked out. They are practical programs, and relevant to present conditions. They are clear, and yet everyday we see violations of these standards of law and order. I will not speak of any specific medium of information. All I would like to say is that you can police yourselves if you want to. May I now ask you to do so?

I do not need to say that, as President, I have certain powers which I can exercise because that would be as if I were talking to children, and I am not talking to children. I am talking to mature men and women who are quite capable of handling this matter without the intervention of the President. That the President should intervene in a situation like this should therefore emphasize the gravity of the problem.

I now identify myself with this crusade, to uplift the standards of morality in the media of mass communications.

Before this, there have been many excuses and apologies to the effect that the law, the rules and regulations do not allow for the use of powers, as for instance the movie censors, to utilize their powers to dissuade producers of movies and of television from exploiting what is malicious, sexual and violent. I do not need to go through the rules and regulations. The rules and regulations are there. The law is very clear. You have adopted as well your own rules and regulations, but which you have not implemented.

Why? Because, perhaps, we are to blame; perhaps you need somebody more powerful to back up your authority, to tell you that the government is dedicated to this particular crusade, and that it will back you to the hilt. Perhaps, you are afraid of damage suits that movie producers may bring against you. Now, I do not think that it is necessary for me to say that you are immune to such damage suits, when you act within the law, and within the rules and regulations. But this I do tell you now—that I will consider it a personal fight, my fight, the President's own cause, if in the exercise of the powers and authority given the movie censors, they should be hurt by any damage suits. I will side with the movie censors, and I will fight to the bitter end anyone who attempts to impose upon you, upon us, the wrong-headed notions of morality.

It is quite clear that the rules and regulations adopted by the movie censors are beyond suspicion or doubts of any kind whatsoever. Official criteria for censorship establish particular rules. Therefore, these norms should be followed. But as a general rule, motion pictures, which a greater number of people see, and speak with extraordinary persuasion, to affect impressionable people, fail in adhering to standards. The more realistic films which appeal, to a greater part, to mature and educated people may be all right for this audience, whose moral values are, in a measure, already fixed.

But motion pictures showing a pattern of human conduct beyond the pale, which reach all classes, including the young who naturally are eager to experience certain things either personally or vicariously for which they are not yet ready, because their standards of morality are still flexible, upward or downward, can be harmful. We are concerned not so much about the materials selected for a story as about the moral treatment of those materials. It is not the theme of a picture that is of major concern but the thesis, not the plot, whether it deals with murder, greed, or lust, but the ethical implications arising from the plot, the action, and the dialogue.

And from there, the criteria go on to say these about objectionable films.

A) Immoral films which serve no other purpose but to satisfy the market for sex; acts of sexual immorality, perversion or lewdness are presented explicitly or implicitly as desirable, acceptable, or as a proper pattern of behavior.

B) Films which show the justification or exaltation of adulterous love, derogation of the institution of marriage. Films which show acts of sexual perversion or lewdness in their entire intent to incite minors to violent, depraved or immoral acts.

C) Films dealing with crime. Films presented in such a way as to glorify criminals or crime, inspiring imitation from potential criminals. Subversive films. Films which on the whole tend to incite rebellion against the state, and involve disloyalty to our political institutions.

D) Films the total effect of which are offensive to any religious institution, in the way they present ministers or priests, for instance, as a comic character. Objectionable scenes off-scene. Scenes which show excessive and lustful kissing, lustful embraces, etc. Scenes which show adulterous and illicit sex acts.

I don't need to go through all these. Brutal killings and excessive cruelty to men, women, children as well as animals are not to be presented in detail. Methods of crimes such as theft, robbery, safe-cracking, dynamiting, and other similar criminal acts, should not be detailed in method. Profit from drugs must not be portrayed.

Other scenes; scenes which tend to create a disrespect for law, constituted authority, unless essential to the plot, should be strictly regulated. Disrespect for the flag, accepted institutions, prominent people, and portrayals contrary to the good customs of the Filipino people such as lack of respect for old folks, irreverence, blasphemy, downgrading love and devotion to family, objectionable advertising, all these are objectionable.

All we need to say, ladies and gentlemen, is that everything that has been prohibited here are being shown in movie theaters and on television today. Everything, but everything, and we are all to blame for this. We cannot face our children. You look at everything that is happening in the Philippines today. Who committed this act of kidnaping and rape, against this actress, Maggie de la Riva? Young kids. I am sure that they learned these techniques from the movies, from television, from the comics perhaps, and they have been emboldened because our society accepts these conditions complacently.

I think it is about time that you and I come together. You are all parents, just as I am. I do not speak only as President of the Philippines. I speak also as a citizen. I think I articulate the sentiments of almost every Filipino right now. If there are those who feel this is not so, that what I feel as a parent is not shared by the majority, then I say they are wrong, and I am willing to take it up properly. I am willing to defend my position in any forum, whether it is before the courts or before the people. But I am sure that you and I are in agreement on this. It is just that we have not set the ground rules, or rather, we had set the ground rules but we have not followed them. Violations of these ground rules have been tolerated.

Now, may I appeal to each and every one of you? May I appeal to the producers? May I appeal to the publishers? May I appeal to the radio commentators to do away now with sex and violence, not necessarily all sex and violence which sometimes are necessary to a plot, but the kind of sex and violence which incites unlawful acts from the younger generation.

May I ask now the movie censors to enforce the standards that they have set and chosen to establish for the movie industry?

I note that the Philippine Press Council has adopted its own standards of morality, and I think it is only proper to call attention to the fact that there is now apparently a new effort on the part of the newspapers to play down crime, and instead emphasize the punishment of crimes. I congratulate the publishers on this, although in the past may I say that the newspapers have not exactly been too cooperative in the war against crime?

I understand that some movie producers have even offered a contract to Santiano. And this was published. Now, what kind of society is this that we are building for our children, for ourselves? We glorify a man, who has been arrested, and charged with killing a woman. And now his name is a by-word because of this publicity. Even children are now familiar with the name. If you doubt me, listen to your own children. Thank God, my children do not read too many newspapers nowadays because they are on vacation, because I would be very unhappy to see my children reading these things in the newspapers.

As for television, did you see the reenactment of this case of Maggie de la Riva? The man in the reenactment was practically nude, and yet this was shown to the public. Now this is something which does not require a board of censors, nor rules and regulations for television producers to follow. This is something which you and I understand.

Now, I ask you, is that the kind of television program that you would want your children, and your wife, and your mother to see?

I am sorry if I raise my voice like this, but I have been under tension ever since all these recent crimes happened. I would like to say that, perhaps, what was lacking was official action. Now, let us therefore agree that from now on we are all on the same side, on the side of the crusade for decency.

May we now agree on this? You are on the side of the crusade for decency, I know. But on whose side are the movie producers? There is a vicious cycle in movies at present. For instance, movie producers say that they will not make money if they do not put in a rape scene or a murder scene. But what happens is that they just speed up the weakening of the morals of our people. Of course, children would want to eat as much candy as they want to, but if you give them nothing but candy, they will merely ruin their health. It is the same thing with morals. With no discipline, children will not grow up into the men and women to whom we can confidently hand over our country and our government. Indeed, the younger generation certainly needs some guidance.

Now, may I ask you to please help in this? It is unfortunate that the President has to participate in such a matter like this, this matter of producing films or clarifying the duties of the Board of Censors. This need to interfere, perhaps, indicates the gravity of the situation. Perhaps this shows that we all must get together now. The parents must get together now. I have no intention of censoring the news media. I have been under attack. I am being criticized by everybody. Yet I had never attempted to do anything against my critics except to say that they should improve the quality of their criticism. That is all and I am certain that anybody is entitled to that.

Now, I am asking you please to improve the quality of the movies, the quality of television shows, the quality of radio commentators. You know that the jokes we sometimes hear on television are not exactly the kind of jokes that you would have your children hear. The television producers say that it is what the public wants. It is what attracts audiences, and so they give this kind of shows to them. The same is true of the jokes of some commentators on radio and TV, but I know good commentators who do not engage in this kind of repartee who do not tell green stories yet they hold their audiences. These jokes may probably be excusable in a men's club, among mature men who understand that this is all a part of the atmosphere in which men gather, and that they do not necessarily affect the character of men, which has already been molded. But such stories certainly affect the character of children.

Therefore, I am asking the Board of Censors to meet with me after this conference. After them, may I talk with the movie producers separately, and also the radio and television commentators? I understand that you have some information that you would like to tell me. If there is such information, please let me know now, because the chiefs

of police who are here to confer with me, the chiefs of the NBI, NICA, the PC, who are now organized to fight crime, should be informed as well.

We know that crime is caused not only by the immediate provocations of opportunity and intent, but by the atmosphere itself. Even the economic situation affects peace and order. We know all these, so we have short term and long range plans for fighting crime. The short term plan, of course, involves police action, punishment, proper and speedy justice. We are attending to this now. I assure you that we are utilizing all the facilities at our command. All our resources will be thrown into this campaign. We are now trying to improve the police system. I have asked the metropolitan police to get organized. For want of any personnel that may be considered as capable of dealing with hardened criminals, we have organized a strike force, a strike force that can go anywhere and act quickly to augment local police action. We are now improving the caliber of our police. I am insisting upon the passage of a bill authorizing the retirement of policemen at a younger age. We are releasing about P2 million to standardize upwards the salaries of policemen. In short, your government is doing everything that it is capable of, but it cannot do the job alone. It cannot go on alone.

I beg of you, and I appeal to you, in the name not only of our children but also of the entire Filipino people not only for now but also for in the future. I beg of you, please help us in properly molding the character of our people now. We know and must accept that you are in command of the weapons which can determine the character of our young men and women. Please utilize those instruments for the proper molding of their character.

Yes, I know that the movie industry is a business. You do not go into it for the sake of art, perhaps, but I beg of you to establish a proper balance between business and the future of our country. One need not be considered as more essential than the other. You can have both, I believe, and it is very necessary that we strike a proper balance. The balance had been tilted too much toward sex or violence. Let us achieve a more desirable balance. Please do not wait until the government utilizes its police powers in order to tilt this balance all the way to the other side, because that would be dangerous.

I, as your President, am dedicated to the ideal of democracy, I do not favor using police powers in this matter.

Yes, I was not in favor, for instance, of lifting the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in Central Luzon. I am not in favor of arresting anybody just because I do not like his face. I feel the same way about censorship; I am not in favor of state-directed censorship; once it starts it is difficult to go back. Once the full power of the government is utilized, it is almost impossible to give redress to all those who are aggrieved.

But I know that after this, all of you will take the necessary steps to attain our objective, without resorting to the utilization of the ultimate powers of the government and of the state, which often is attended by violence.

If there are any questions I would like to listen to them. If there are any suggestions, I also would like to listen to them. Please do not feel offended by the vigor with which I have emphasized these points. Please do not feel that I called you here as my guests only to scold you. No, I had never intended to do that.

And please don't hold back just because I am in a temper. You may say: "The President is in a temper and it is not the time to talk to him," But I am available for dialogue now. If there is anything you would like to tell me, please let me know.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos before the PHILCAG troops in South Vietnam, July 16, 1967

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the PHILCAG troops in South Vietnam

[Delivered on July 16, 1967]

MARTYRS FOR PEACE

BY

PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

I BRING with me the warm regards of our people. You are not forgotten; in fact, you are remembered with pride and longing. All of us pray for your safe return to the land whence you came:

Your government has sent you on an errand of mercy in a mission of peace. You left your homes and loved ones in the name of that Filipino tradition which is rooted in genuine compassion for all humanity, especially for those who, like our heroic generations, understand history to be the struggle for liberty. You are here to demonstrate the indivisibility of human freedom. You are witnesses to our people's and our nation's enduring commitment to the sacred ideals of peace, liberty, and prosperity as the grand pursuits of mankind.

The Poignant Question of our Time

It has been said that your presence here attests to our nation's involvement in the Vietnam war. I would rather give its precise name; that the Filipino people, through your gallantry and courage, are involved in the agony of the human spirit in Vietnam. For the Vietnam battlelines follow the historical and moral demarcations of light and darkness, freedom and tyranny. These battle lines evoke the poignant question of our time, whether this world of ours can endure half-slave and half-free.

History has long ago condemned the exploitation of man by man; our own times demand the condemnation of the colonization of a people by their own kind.

There is for us no middle ground in the violent issues that rend Vietnam today. Our constitution rules out war as an instrument of national policy, but it does not forbid us to extend our sympathy with those who are in the midst of this beleaguered area of freedom. From our own historical experience, we know how despairing it was to be alone in the fight for freedom; for this reason, we do not wish on our brothers in Asia the lonely fate of the Philippine revolution.

Our Glorious Hour

In that glorious hour of our race, our forebears stood alone. The duly constituted revolutionary government, to put it bluntly, had to go begging for recognition in the embassies of the world. Let not the bitterness of that experience be the lot not of our Asian brothers.

It should be the obligation of civilized mankind to see to it that the bitter experience of history is not repeated in our time.

You were enjoined never to shoot in anger. You come to build, not to destroy; to give life, as it were, and not to take it. But you and I know that you risk your lives in doing so. There have been casualties. But it is a source of pride to our countrymen—and myself personally—that you have never been provoked to return measure for measure.

Indeed, your mission here is not without its sacrificial passions.

A Decision for Liberty

You have been sent by a decision lonely in its responsibility, even while its public discussion had been exhaustive, frank, and wide-ranging. Every Filipino who had anything to say about Vietnam was heard. It remained for me to weigh the arguments for and against; mine was the responsibility for exercising the persuasive force of the Presidency in behalf of what I consider the honest consensus of the Filipino people.

That consensus is a decision for liberty.

Martyrs for Peace

I will grant you that your mission of peace is a paradoxical one, for it imperils your life as much as the combatant's. As the saying goes, you sheath your sword in a spot where swords clash in mortal strife. What does that make you then but martyrs for peace?

The critics, who advocate neutrality, do not see this shade, do not care to grant us the validity, the honesty, the delicate equilibrium of our involvement. Why should your very presence here indicate at once hostile intentions? Why should it be an "either/or" of combat or withdrawal? Except for the blood-thirsty, Daniel in the lion's den is not obliged to be the gladiator.

No doubt, your position here is difficult, so difficult an ordeal, in fact, that only an understanding of the issues in Vietnam can sustain and console you. The Issues in Vietnam

The issues are clear, although by no means simple Rhetoric, propaganda, and historical questions have made the issues complicated for most of us. As an American marine is reported to have said once, "How do you tell the good guys from the bad guys?"

There are heroes and patriots on both sides of the barricades. The Vietcong guerrilla has a human face. As a human being he cannot be different from you and me. But as a belligerent, he offers a clue to the true menace, the authentic enemy in Vietnam. That menace the enemy, is the Marxist view of history; in sum, History as Mars.

This view of history divides mankind into hostile camps and people into hostile classes. The very term it uses is martial: "class war." Its idea of peace is the complete dominance of an ideology which crucifies mankind in the cross of the state. Power is its worship. Tyranny its temple.

But its evil is sophisticated, unlike the diabolical evil of old. It disguises itself in the legitimate desire for self-determination of hitherto oppressed peoples. It pretends to champion the rights of those which it desires to dominate. And it is for this reason that even some men of good will are duped by this false messiah.

Freedom Is As Freedom Does

The Vietnamese people want to be free. They want to carve their own destiny. But it must be authentic freedom and genuine self-determination, and these they can only achieve through a government that reflects their general will and aspirations.

But we are properly informed about what a communist government is like. It styles itself "new" or "people's democracy," but we find no evidence of the institutions that make up a democracy. There are no free elections, no

freedom of speech, press, and assembly, no machinery for the peaceful arbitration of political grievances. This could not be what the Vietnamese people want, weary as they are of war. The peace that must be restored in Vietnam cannot be a peace of the grave, nor freedom there be the illusion of the chained.

Freedom is as freedom does.

Commitment and Obligation

Our commitment, therefore, in Vietnam is a commitment in history. When we made the Revolution of 1896, we made it for all of Asia. We are obliged, we of this generation, to be faithful to that tradition.

Moreover, our own national interests dictate our involvement as peace-makers. We cannot live as an island of freedom in a sea of tyranny. For that would be the beginning of our own enslavement.

Thus, we are in Vietnam to pursue an honorable peace, a peace that promotes human dignity and freedom. Those who cry "peace" in Vietnam must bear in mind that there are certain conditions in which peace is not worth having.

You are here, my compatriots, to assure the future of freedom as much as for the Filipino generations yet to come as for the suffering people of Vietnam.

I am gratified that you have risen to this challenge without flinching, like the free men that you are, and, above all, like the patriotic Filipinos that you are.

I shall report to our people upon my return that the ramparts of freedom are manned by Filipinos too. Let them be inspired by your courage, so that they too will be courageous in facing up to the challenges that confront our nation.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1967). Address of President Marcos before the PHILCAG troops in South Vietnam. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 63(47), 10581-10584.

Speech of President Marcos on the opening of Linggo ng Wikaang Pambansa, August 13, 1968

Talumpati
ni
Kagalang-galang na Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa pagbubukas ng Linggo ng Wikang Pilipino ng Surian ng Wikang Pambansa

[Inihayag noong Ika-13 ng Agosto, 1968]

ANG KAUNLARAN NG WIKANG PILIPINO

Ukol sa pagdiriwang natin ng Linggo ng Wika ay nais kong ikuwento sa inyo ang nangyari sa isa nating kababayang Pampanggo nang pumarito siya sa Malakanyang kamakailan.

Dalawang linggo bago sumapit ang takdang araw ng pagparito niya, ang kababayan nating Pampanggo ay nagpasiyang mag-aral ng wikang Ilokano. Dahil sa ako ay Ilokano, ipinalagay niya na makatutulong ang wikang Ilokano sa kanya sa pakikipag-usap sa akin at sa mga tanod at katulong dito sa Palasyo ng Bayan.

Ganyan daw ang paniniwala niya, ayon sa kababayan nating Pampanggo, dahil noong araw kung ano and kinagisnang wika ng Pangulo ay iyon ang wikang umiiral sa Malakanyang.

Dumating ang takdang araw ng pakikipagkita sa akin ng kababayan nating Pampanggo at siya nga ay naparito.

Ang unang tanod ng Palasyo na kanyang aasalubong ay binati niya sa wikang Ilokano, ngunit hindi siya pinansin. Isa pang tanod and binati niya sa wikang Ilokano, ngunit hindi rin siya pinansin. Kaya, sumaisip tuloy niya na mga bastos at walang pinag-aralan ang mga tanod sa Malakanyang ngayon.

Ngunit nangamba rin siya na baka ang pagbigkas niya ng Ilokano ang dahilan ng hindi pagpansin sa kanya. Kaya, marahan at maliwanag niyang inulit ang kanyang pagbati sa sumunod na tanod. Ngunit sa halip na sagutin siya sa Ilokano, ang tanod ay humingi ng paumanhin sa wikang Pilipino at magalang na nagtanong kung ano ang lakad ng kababayan nating Pampanggo sa Malakanyang. Napilitan tuloy ang Pampanggo na magsalita sa Pilipino at nagkaunawaan ang dalawa.

Umakyat sa Palasyo ang kababayan nating Pampanggo. Samantalang naghihintay,ng kanyang takdang oras na makipagkita sa akin, ipinasiya niyang makipag-usap sa wikang Ilokano sa aking mga katulong.

Ngunit gayon na lamang ang kanyang pagkamangha dahil sa ni isa ay walang marunong ng Ilokano sa mga katulong kong nakausap niya. Lumigid siya sa buong bulwagan at pinakinggan niya kung ano ang wikang ginagamit sa mga usap-usapan at natuklasan niya na kung hindi wikang Pilipino ay Ingles ang ginagamit. Walang nag-uusap sa wikang Ilokano doon.

Nang pumasok siya sa aking tanggapan ay binati niya kaagad ako sa wikang Ilokano. Ngunit dahil sa alam ko na isa siyang Pampanggo ay sinagot ko siya sa wikang Pilipino. At pabiro ko pang sinabi na sa Pilipino na kami mag-usap at baka maubusan siya sa Ilokano. At sa wikang Pilipino nga kami nag-usap.

Bukod sa Pilipino ang wikang umiiral sa Malakanyang sa iialim ng kasalukuyang pangasiwaan, sa halip na ang wikang kinagisnang Pangulo o ang kinagisnang Unang Ginang tulad ng kinagawian sa Malakanyang ng nakaraang panahon, ay patuloy na gumagawa ngayon ang pamahalaan ng mga hakbang tungo sa ganap na pagsulong at pag-iral ng wikang pambansa sa buong kapuluan.

Ang isa sa mga hakbang na ito ay ang pagsasalin sa Pilipino ng panunumpa sa tungkulin sa pamahalaan. Dahil dito, buhat sa Pangulo ng Pilipinas hanggang sa pinakamababang kawani ng pamahalaan na kailangang manumpa sa

tungkulin ay nanunumpa ngayon sa Pilipino sa halip na sa wikang Ingles o Kastila. Naniniwala ako na ang Pilipino ay siyang wikang dapat gamitin sa panunumpa sa tungkulin sa pamahalaan dahil sa ito ang wikang taal sa ating bansa, dahil sa ito ang wikang ganap nating nauunawaan, dahil sa ang wikang ito ay naglalagos sa ating puso at kaluluwa.

Ang isa pa sa mga hakbang na ginawa ko ay ang pagsasalin sa Pilipino ng bahagi ng Pangulo sa seremonya sa pagtanggap ng mga sugo ng ibang bansa dito sa atin, tulad ng mga embahador, ministro at iba pa. Ang paggamit ng Pangulo ng Pilipinas ng wikang Pilipino sa pagtanggap ng mga kinatawan o sugo ng ibang bansa ay nagpapakilala ng ating pagpapahalaga sa ating wikang pambansa.

Ngunit hindi lamang sa mga seremonya ginagamit ngayon ang wikang Pilipino. Sa lahat ng sandali na sa aking palagay ay lalong angkop at lalong mabisa ang paggamit ng wikang Pilipino, ang wikang ito ang aking ginagamit.

Ang wikang Pilipino ay ginamit din ng ating delegation sa nakaraang kapulungan ng International Labor Organization sa Geneva. Sa pamamagitan ng wikang Pilipino ay nailahad ng ating delegasyon sa kapulungang pandaigdig ang paninindigan ng Pilipinas ukol sa mga isyong pinag-uusapan doon. Isa pa itong patotoo na ang wikang Pilipino ay mabisa at marangal, na hindi tayo magsisisi sa ating hangad na pagyamanin at pairalin ang wikang ito sa buong bansa.

Sa araw na ito ay binabati ko ang Surian ng Inang Wika sa kanyang mga nagawa na, ginagawa at gagawin pa tungo sa pagpapayaman at pagpapalaganap ng wikang pambansa

Binabati ko rin ang lahat ng guro ng wikang pambansa na siyang walang pagod na nagmumulat, sa araw-araw na ginawa ng Diyos, sa isipan ng ating mga kabataan tungo sa pagyakap at paggamit sa wikang Pilipino. Ang mga gurong ito ng ating bansa ang siyang tunay na sandigan ng pag-sulong ng wikang Pilipino.

Inaasahan ko na sa pamamagitan ng pagtutulong-tulong natin ay hindi na malayo ang pagdating ng araw na maaari na nating itigil ang kampanya sa pagpapairal ng wikang pambansa. Ang totoo dahan-dahan nang nararamdaman ng marami sa atin, kasama na ang mga pulitiko, mga mangangalakal at mga lider sibiko, na ang wikang Pilipino ay kailangan nila sa mabisang pagganap ng kani-kanilang mga tungkulin. Darating ang araw, at iyan ay di na malayo, na hindi na natin kailangan na himukin ang sinuman gumamit ng wikang Pilipino. Sila na rin sa kanilang sarili ang magsusumikap na matuto at gumamit nito dahil sa ang paggamit ng wikang Pilipino ay mahalaga para sa kanila.

Isa sa mga pangunahing adhikain ng pangasiwaan ko ang padaliin ang pagsapit ng araw na iyan.

Salamat po.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1968). Speech of President Marcos on the opening of Linggo ng Wikang Pambansa. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 64(38), 9527-M-9527-O.

Speech of President Marcos at the induction of the newly elected officers and directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, August 30, 1968

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the induction of the newly elected officers and directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines

[Delivered at the Fiesta Pavilion, Manila Hotel, August 30, 1968]

BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC POLICY

It is a refreshing experience to come and appear before the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines. After the vitriolic attacks of my political opponents, the speech delivered here by the new president comes as a diplomatic note. He essayed to explain to me that he had to be candid, and I told him that if all the speeches delivered in this country were of that moderation, I would be very happy indeed.

But that speech was what we lawyers call the statement of facts by a party litigant. I will, in tonight's speech hope to give a counter-statement of facts.

First of all, it has been a year since I last appeared before you in this Chamber to enunciate the determination of my administration to erect a genuine framework for economic-growth. You will remember that at that time, I commended to you and our people what I called, and I quote, the "ethic of progress," or what was called "the quiet and unobtrusive passion for achievement." I repudiated the dishonest approach to economic development of a previous administration, as symbolized by the Emergency Employment Administration, and I insisted that we be honest with ourselves as well as with our people. If you will recall, I pledged my administration to the harder choice rather than the easy one; for unless we committed ourselves to a harsher ethic, no genuine economic growth, no real national development would be possible.

A Time for Sacrifice

This Commitment, which I enunciated before you last year, was a result of the grave crises that our nation faced two years before, when we accepted the popular mandate. The times called for sacrifice, and it called too for massive economic rescue operations. It is my hope that those whom we helped to rescue, especially the members of this Chamber will not forget this.

There was, to begin with a total of nearly 2,000 distressed industries and firms, driven to the brink of ruin by year of mismanagement of the economy. To salvage them, the Development Bank of the Philippines had to set aside about P700 million. But to make this remedial action possible, we have had to effect considerable adjustments in the allocation of priorities. As an example, we had to increase in the Budget or in the Appropriations Act annually the share of economic development, in public funds from 25 per cent to 30 per cent; consider that our budget or Appropriation Act totals about P3 billion every year, you can estimate what five per cent is. At the same time—I have had to bring down the general expenditures of government salaries, equipment and the like, by five per cent last year and another five per cent this year.

As managers of corporations, you know how difficult it is to cut down expenditures in operations. This is a reversal of the tendency of government because of the increase of population and the increase of the cost of the social overhead to move upward instead of downward. I would like to know any government today that has succeeded in decreasing the cost of general government by five and by ten per cent.

Last year the Monetary Board of the Central Bank restricted credit. We had to adopt them, the Circulars of the Monetary Board, because the pattern in the use of the available credit had been distorted to a point where we were returning to excessive import. If you will remember import control was imposed in 1950 precisely because of this. In plain terms, available funds were being utilized to bring in goods from outside the country and not to produce goods inside our country.

You will remember that I appealed to each and every one of you. We met on many occasions, and I called upon the banks, the private commercial banks and the leaders of the banking community, and we all agreed to give priority to the production of local goods and give less emphasis to the importation of goods. You promised me and you promised the people that you would implement your claims. Now let us see how you implemented your solemn pledges to me.

The passage of a full year has not basically changed the situation. However, tonight I come to you with the same appeal, but I also come with the same proposition in all sincerity, with all determination, for you and the business community. I ask that if you had failed to exercise restraint in the past that you exercise it now, that you relax on importations, and if together we can improve our balance of payments positions, we should be able to liberalize credit substantially and remove the special time deposit requirements by December of this year.

But let me go further; there are many speculations among the business community today. I have been asked point-blank what are the plans on devaluation and on exchange control. This is my message to you tonight.

I assure you—in reiteration of a previous announcement—that there will be no currency devaluation and foreign exchange controls during my administration.

But I ask that the business community, especially the members of the Chamber of Commerce, cooperate with the government, not through speeches but by actual deeds to discipline business activities in regard to imports.

We speak of sacrifice on the part of our people, I ask for sacrifice on the part of the more affluent elements of our society. This sacrifice, however, will have rewards that can easily be fitted into your respective projections.

Fears are Understandable

You and I know that the fear of devaluation, of exchange control is upon us because of the deterioration of the balance of payments situation which resulted from an excessive increase in importation. The excessive increase in importation is due in part to speculation about devaluation. So we have a vicious circle of fear feeding on itself and in the process generating more and more imports.

The clearest example of this may be gleaned from our experience in 1966 and 1967. In the fiscal year 1966, also a time of relaxation of credit restrictions, our exports exceeded our imports, and we registered for the first time in years a favorable trade balance. However, in 1967, the picture drastically changed; there were excessive importations of raw materials and non-essential commodities and luxury goods. The increase in imports of raw materials, furthermore, did not result in a corresponding high increase in domestic production, indicating two disturbing developments: a shift toward more import-intensive industry lines or a speculative stockpiling of raw material inventories. It therefore became necessary to restrict credit once again.

Now, you all know that the government does not impose these restrictions for the heck of it, because it wants to make you miserable.

A very grave strain on our foreign reserves was the need to pay an \$85 million short-term loan from abroad. This loan was incurred by the previous administration to import rice four years ago. The present administration has now settled this indebtedness.

I would imagine that all of us would learn from experience. We cannot go on with the same habits of mind, committing the same mistakes, falling into the same undisciplined rut and expect to achieve economic development in our time or in the near future.

This is a fundamental principle of life, not rarefied economic theory. We have to live within our means.

Balance of Payment

I cannot overemphasize to you the critical nature of our balance of payments situation. Governor Alfonso Calalang of the Central Bank has informed me that during the first seven months of the present year, the country, through importations by you, the members of the Chamber incurred a \$57 million deficit in its balance of payments. This deficit is mainly the result of the further \$109 million or 19 per cent expansion in import payments over their year-ago volume and despite the exceptional 19 per cent increase in export receipts. Since imports had gone up by 47 per cent in the preceding year, the January-July 1968 import payments were \$289 million or 75 per cent larger than their volume in the first seven months of 1966, two years earlier,

The balance of payments problem was clearly brought about by the undisciplined increase in imports.

It is for this reason that government had to intervene in the economic process, only to be blamed by some misinformed sectors, in its attempt to secure the economy through such intervention.

Crisis Government

In a very real sense, ours is a crisis government. It gets noticed when things are going bad, getting blamed perversely for salvaging a situation that somebody else had brought about. I do not mind this really. In the modern world, the government has to exercise a certain degree of economic leadership. And this is more evident in a developing economy like ours.

But let me say this to the business community and to our people. In accepting our role as the crisis man, or in your terms, exercising management by exception, let the perspective be clear. The government steps into the economy to set things right—and not necessarily to dislocate them.

Without government leadership, many businesses will be buried either by competition or mismanagement in a freewheeling economy, where only the fittest may survive.

Other Areas of Cooperation

There are other areas of cooperation between the government and the business community—and I am glad to note the recommendations and suggestions of your president. We do not only need to keep open the lines of dialogue; we must keep the cooperation lines, if I may coin a phrase, open.

Now, on the suggestions of our president here on capital gains tax, perhaps I should inform him that I have recommended this to Congress. Perhaps I should also tell him that it was upon my instance that a provision of this nature was included in the Investments Incentives Act, and perhaps I should tell him further that when I was a congressman and then a senator, I authored such an amendment, excluding long-term capital gains from income tax. If you will help me to convince the senators not to deliver too many speeches, I think we can get something done about the government. Again, the president of your organization recommends a period of tax amnesty on interest and surcharges. Well, I think you should also know that this suggestion was approved by me a year and a half ago.

Do you know what the obstacles are? The obstacles are existing criminal and administrative cases that are pending not only in our courts but also before our administrative tribunals.

And it is also suggested that there be a tax amnesty to cover hidden and unexplained capital, especially those coming from abroad. I just can imagine what the political opposition will say about this. They will probably say that I am trying to get my cronies to bring in the money that they made out of deals with the present administration. But now that it has been seriously suggested by the president of this organization, I will submit this to the Department of Finance and the Fiscal Policy Committee which as you know are studying all of this.

Then there is the suggestion of an export-import bond, and the basis for this is the alleged lack of capital for exports. There is a lot of capital for exports that you have not utilized. I would like you to know that the latest report of the Fiscal Policy Committee, through the governor of the Central Bank, is that there are about P300 to P500 million available for export production and exports which the private commercial banks and the businessmen have not utilized because they have been busy utilizing the available credit for imports. Anyway, if the export-import bond will help, let us establish it. I, for one, am in favor of this although perhaps I should tell you that we are now busy organizing an export trading corporation to which the private sector will be invited. It is my hope that you will cooperate in establishing this.

We have considerably taxed the resources of government in fulfilling our responsibility to the people. In the two years of this administration, more bridges have been built more schoolhouses erected, more roads constructed, than the combined achievements of previous administrations. This arises from our belief that increased social overhead is an inducement to economically productive activities.

However, our resources do not come from a bottomless well-spring.

I do not mind admitting to you that the infrastructure program has considerably slowed down. The rate of construction of school buildings has been cut about 50 per cent. We used to produce 8,000 to 9,000 buildings a year—now the number is only 4,000 a year. Irrigation works have also been slowed down. The reason for this, again, is that we have to service our international and domestic obligations— most of which were inherited from past administrations.

As it is, therefore, we are still catching up with our past. When shall we begin shaping the future?

This is the urgent philosophy for the new taxes, which, in all candor, I urge you to support, as a token of your consideration for those who will come after us—for the future generations of Filipinos who shall put our own generation in the balance of history.

As I told you last year, “we are building not only for the present but also for the future. But we are determined not to do in the future what we can do today.”

When I am asked to postpone the taxes, there comes to my mind immediately some figures. For instance, 80 per cent of all those who died in Mindanao in 1966 never saw a doctor or a nurse in their whole lives. As a leader, as a citizen, as a Filipino, am I supposed to just forget this? We have been able to reduce this statistic to 60 per cent, then to 50 per cent.

There are 1,400 municipalities in the entire country. There are only 330 complete rural health units. There are many places never visited by any doctor or nurse or midwife, and this has been a fact through the entire history of the Philippines. And yet we aspire to be a modern, civilized country. All of these facts keep pouring into my head and I have to face harsh criticism for proposing new taxes. But if courage is needed to stand up for my beliefs, if it is necessary for me to stop even my political career in order to face realities with courage, I would rather choose to face realities with courage than continue as President of the Republic of the Philippines.

The Business Approach

Look into your ways, your approach to business, and your firms, and you will find an analogy between economic enterprise and modern government. Once you identify the problem of business growth, do you hesitate to apply the

solution—whether it is in terms of fresh capital, more managerial talent, more workers? You do not; rather, you act at once in your hard, pragmatic way because you know from experience that a business cannot afford to stand still. The alternative to growth is stagnation.

Similarly, when government identifies the national problem, it must not hesitate to apply the solutions, whether it is in terms of taxes, reallocation of priorities, or altering the balance of payments situation. The big difference, however, is that government, unlike a business firm, is not just responsible to a select group of responsible stockholders, and therefore, its policies are subjected to a million examinations from different points of view, some of which may be irresponsible.

But I would like to believe that the persuasive powers of the government, when used with sincerity and dedication, should be able to unite the nation.

I am starting with you, who are the most influential forces in the national economy. The sacrifice I ask of you is not too difficult. If import payments had grown by 25 per cent a year, instead of 32 per cent, between 1966 and 1968, there would not have been any deficit in our balance of payments.

We have definite grounds to expect an improvement in our foreign exchange receipts in the coming year. New investments in the mining sector of considerable magnitude have entered the country. Our exports from mining, especially in copper, will increase considerably in the coming year. We expect also a significant infusion of foreign exchange from the dollar earnings of 16,000 Filipino technicians and workers in the US military and naval bases in the Pacific, to the extent of about a \$100 million a year. We expect a substantial increase in our sugar production so that we shall be able to fill up our quota in the United States market. These are some indications that our balance of payments position faces much brighter prospects in the year to come, and that the forces of economic stability are on the ascendant.

Let it not be said that the appeal, in being unheeded has not united us to move forward, for the tragedy would be that we were a nation incapable of learning from our experience and the mistakes of the immediate past.

Thank you and good night.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1968). Speech of President Marcos at the induction of the newly elected officers and directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 64(43), 10914-10920.

Speech of President Marcos at the inauguration of General Santos City and the inauguration of the Home Economics and Marcos Building, September 5, 1968

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration of General Santos City and the inauguration of the Home Economics and Marcos Building
[Delivered in Tacurong, Cotabato, September 5, 1968]

THE SPIRIT OF INTEGRATION

I am supposed to deliver the inauguration speech to inform everybody that General Santos is now a city.

I hereby declare, as President of the Republic of the Philippines, that as of today, the new city of General Santos has been organized and will operate as such, a chartered city of the Republic of the Philippines.

I congratulate all those who have anything to do with the progress of this city. When I first came here as a young man way back in 1940, and then immediately after the war, this place was just a small village. This was a one-road town, but now we have a city—a big, progressive bustling city. Who would ever imagine that these big buildings here today could have been put up within such a short period of time? This is, indeed, a monument to the energy, enthusiasm and dedication of your leaders and of the men who poured their sweat and energy into the building of this town.

But the building of this town and this city was not the work of the leaders alone. Mostly it was the work of the people who are here, and may I say it was the work of Christian, Muslim and other minorities. This is what I want to emphasize today.

All over the country, we again hear the alarm signals being raised, calling attention to one fact, and that is—that there is a fear that the two cultures, Christian and Muslim cannot co-exist. I wish to emphasize that General Santos is the creation of a community of Filipinos, Muslims and Christians working in mutual partnership for a mutual goal.

Rumors of Disunity

There appeared some time ago, in the press and radio and other media, news to the effect that Muslims and Christians are engaged in killing each other here. The reports, however, were not true. But while it was false and irresponsible, for some time, the entire nation came face to face once again with that old fear: regional strife among people of different creeds. Briefly, we seemed to find in it ample evidence of the so called “Muslim separatist movement” brewing allegedly in some of the towns of Mindanao. Since then all of these moves have been denied. And finally, our government—from the Presidency to the Congress down to the smallest local government—had to face again the old query: Is it the government of all Filipinos? And if it is, who are the Filipinos?

These seem in retrospect very tired and cliché-ridden questions, but if we look at them in the context of the rumored discontent and disunity that provoked them, they seem, indeed, imperative and important questions. They strike at the very foundation of this land we call our country, and we are suddenly reminded, as if in shock, that some of our brother Filipinos may in fact have stopped to call it their own.

And so the problem, that you, the first settlers faced in 1939 is still with us. We have recognized the necessity of making community with the members of the cultural minorities in the task of nation-building. But somewhere in our experience, our plans exceeded or did not measure up to the achievements of the past.

And so today, we must confront this unfinished business, not so much because there are rumors of disunity, but more important because we really have to bring down those walls that divided us Muslims and Christians in the past.

The Way of Integration

The answer is oneness, “integration.” But what do we mean by integration in the context of our times?

Integration implies, I believe, a union. To integrate is to join two disparate things, such that when they are joined they compose a new whole, without either of the two losing identity in the union. In the context of cultures, integration means the participation of disparate cultures and cultural groups in the making of one body politic, without one culture being subjugated or subsumed or assimilated by any other.

The union in the case of a nation, I suggest is a political one. It means the molding of nation from those cultural groups which inhabit its boundaries of space. The fact that one group will be more numerous than the others is circumstantial and has no bearing whatsoever on the rights that it may derive from the nation so formed.

Relating these principles to our own nation, it is not difficult to see how the making of the body politic of this country cannot be simply the concern of the larger Christian majority. Neither can it be simply the concern of the Muslim minority or of those other minority groups who continue to live among us, but sometimes sadly apart and destitute.

Nation-building must be the concern of all, if this nation is to be the creation of all of us—and I say to you now it still has to be the creation of all of us, of Muslims and Christians alike.

And to my Muslim brothers, therefore, today, I am pleased to announce that under my administration, the Muslim shall be the brother of the Christian and the Muslim shall have rights equal and similar to the Christian under this government. And thus both Muslim and Christian brothers can work for the transformation of our society and our government to become true instruments of progress.

Yes, there are many things lacking in our country as yet. We lack funds, we lack trained personnel, we lack sometimes leadership and often there is a lack of a dialogue, communication between the people and their leaders. I now try to bring about this dialogue, this communication.

I have travelled the country far and wide, and I can see that all these fears that have been expressed through the mass media—through the newspapers and through the radio and television, are mostly exaggerated. Muslim and Christian brothers live together and we have the assurances of the leaders of Northern Cotabato and other provinces that they live together peacefully and progressively.

I appeal to all of you now, to all the people of Mindanao and Sulu and Palawan, and all the areas wherein the cultural minorities live, under the Republic of the Philippines you are one, you are united, you are a people with one single objective and that is the progress of the Republic of the Philippines.

If there be any grievance, tell us. I have authorized the Bureau of Telecommunications to receive your complaints, Muslims and Christians, and relay them in telegrams addressed to me. All you have to do is pay 10 centavos and that telegram will reach me. If there is any grievance, don't take the law into your own hands. There is a law that we shall impose. If your rights have been denied, they shall be restored to you. I shall see to it that they are, and if, not as you see often in the workings of our judicial system, it takes a long time, let me know if the delay is unjustified and unreasonable and I shall exert the powers of the Presidency in order that his delay is cut short and justice shall be granted you immediately.

And now, ladies and gentlemen of General Santos, I congratulate you again. Taos-puso kong binabati and lahat ng tumulong rito sa lungsod ng General Santos. I am happy to be here.

Maraming salamat sa inyo, congratulations to all of you. Good day and God bless all of you. Thank you.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1968). Speech at the inauguration of General Santos City and the inauguration of the Home Economics and Marcos Building in Tacurong, Cotabato, September 5, 1968. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 64(39), 9776-A-9776-C.

Speech of President Marcos at the Testimonial Parade and review of the Armed Forces of the Philippines,
September 10, 1968

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Testimonial Parade and review of the Armed Forces of the Philippines

[Delivered in Camp Aguinaldo, September 10, 1968]

LOYALTY TO PROGRESS

I THANK you for this reiteration of loyalty to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

In the past years, the armed forces have been more deeply involved than ever before in the crucial effort to rebuild and strengthen the nation. In tasks both of a military and a non-military nature, Filipino soldiers have demonstrated their sincerity and capacity to help me create the conditions for greater national progress.

Commitment to Welfare

The Armed Forces, in short, have by many productive courageous and innovating deeds translated into action their commitment to the country's welfare. This in a larger sense is the commitment you are expressing anew today. I take it, therefore, that the occasion which brings us together here today is more than a mere ritual, but rather a compact with progress, expressive of your desire and readiness to lend your best effort to the task of transforming this country into a prosperous and a more secure nation.

Let there be no doubt that the loyalty you express here today is loyalty to the cause of national advancement, and that the pledge symbolized by today's celebration is a pledge to support and advance that cause.

Our Common Cause

This is the cause to which I have directed my energies as President and Commander-in-Chief, the cause for which I have planned and implemented many projects and endeavors, including those in which you are actively engaged.

The large vision that planning for progress calls for must summon all possible hands, with their various skills and abilities, to join the national leadership in translating hope to reality. The Armed Forces have a special competence to accelerate this process of national growth. As Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, I am determined to utilize that special competence as much as possible.

Understanding of AFP Role

This determination, as you are well aware, is sometimes misunderstood or, worse, misrepresented. But I am confident that the majority of the Filipino people fully comprehend that the participation of the Armed Forces in many government undertakings is necessary to hasten the fulfillment of their hopes for greater abundance and security.

Their experience in the past two and a half years is their own best counsel against rash conclusions about the role of the Armed Forces. In that time, the beneficial effects of the program to mobilize the armed forces for progress have become an indissoluble part of the changing economic and social conditions.

Proof of AFP Competence

The stamp of armed forces competence is found today on the long stretches of new highways and roads that are to be seen everywhere in the country. In numerous towns and villages where many of our countrymen live, the medical units of the civic action teams of the armed forces bring not only health facilities but hope and faith as well. The sustained and dedicated work of these civic teams has indeed created in the people of many long neglected areas their first sense of government, their first real knowledge that their life of ignorance and misery can possibly change for the better.

Government As Agent of Change

The participation of the Armed Forces in health, education, public works and community development is one of our best guarantees that progress in this country will not remain a theory and a blueprint, as it has for many generations until 1965. Government under the present administration is the accepted agent of the great mass of our people for revolutionary change, for stamping out social injustice, for demolishing the old barriers which have circumscribed the lives of the poor.

Champion of the Discontented

It is my purpose to compel this historic reversal of roles, in which the government is the foe of the status quo, the activist for social change, the champion of the discontented. If this means harnessing the resources and the manpower of the Armed Forces to construct the framework of progress, to build highways and feeder roads and bridges, cultivate new farms, find and manage new sources of food for our growing millions, besides standing guard to repel foreign aggression—if all these must be done, I will not hesitate to order the Armed Forces to man more and more outposts in the great and relentless war I have begun against economic stagnation and massive poverty.

No Misuse of Armed Forces

I have been accused of preparing the Armed Forces to take the role in the still distant elections. If this means commanding the armed forces to continue their constructive work for economic growth and social action, so that with their help we can improve the lives of the people, then it is perfectly true that the armed forces have taken an active role in government work. I do not propose to change this fact for any reason.

If, however, the accusation means that the armed forces shall be utilized for partisan reasons, to influence the results of the elections, you yourselves can provide the answer. A charge like this, I think, goes right into the heart of an important question, the integrity and the professional pride of every officer and soldier. Your record in peace and in war, is the most eloquent argument against the fear that the Armed Forces may be misused.

Faith In Armed Forces

In response to your commitment to good government. I wish to express my faith in the ability of the Armed Forces to fulfill the increasing missions for the welfare and security of the country, as well as my confidence in the high purpose and the integrity of the officers and men in the armed forces.

Good day and thank you.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1968). Speech at the Testimonial Parade and review of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, Camp Aguinaldo, September 10, 1968. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 64(39), 9776-D-9776-F.

Speech of President Marcos at the UP College of Agriculture Campus, September 14, 1968

Talumpati
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa UP College of Agriculture Campus

[Binigkas sa Los Baños, Laguna, Setyembre 14, 1968]

ANG PAGBABAGO SA LUPA

Ang kasaysayan ng land reform ay maaaring sabihing dito nagmula sa Laguna. Hindi kaila sa madla ang pakikipaglabang ginawa ni Rizal upang mahango sa kaalipinan ang mga magsasaka sa bayan ng Kalamba. At ang mahigit na dalawang-daang pagbabangon ng dayuhan ay nag-ugat sa mga karaingan ng taong-bayan ukol sa lupa at sa kanilang karapatang magbungkal ng sariling lupa nila.

Dahil dito ay itinuturing nating makasaysayan ang isang pagkakataong katulad nito—ang pagbubukas ng isa pang land reform area. Isa pang bagay na nagpapatigkad sa araw na ito ay ang pangyayaring ito ang kauna-unahang pagbubukas ng land reform area sa labas ng Gitnang Luzon, at kauna-unahan sa Katimugang Tagalog.

Maaaring higit na maselan ang kalagayang sosyal sa Gitnang Luzon, datapwa't ang land reform ay hindi lamang siyang katugunan natin sa mga diwung mapag-himagsik. Ang land reform ay isang palatunlunan na isiua-sagawa ng ating pangasiwaan hindi sapagka't ito ay panlaban natin sa Komunismo o anumang ideolohiyang hindi kanais-nais, kundi sapagka't ito ang hinihingi ng katarungang panlipunan at ito ang hinihingi ng ating sariling paninindigan bilang isang bansang demokratiko at makatao. Sa hinaharap, sa sandaling magkaroon ng sapat na kakayahan ang ating pamahalaan, ay aking titiyaking marami pang mga pook sa ating bansa ang mabubuksan bilang land reform area.

I have proclaimed through the Land Reform Council the second district of Pampanga as a land reform area. I have proclaimed 23 municipalities in the province of Nueva Ecija as land reform areas.

Today we proclaim 12 municipalities of Laguna as land reform areas. Ang aking pangarap ay bago magtapos ang aking panunungkulan bilang Presidente sa 1969, ang lahat ng lalawigan at bayan sa Central Luzon ay maipahayag ko bilang mga pook ng reporma sa lupa o "land reform area."

Nang pinagtibay ang "land reform code," nang ako ay kasalukuyang pangulo ng Senado, naalis ang panggagalingan ng salapi na ibibili sa mga lupa. Ang mga buwis na isinama sa panukalang-batas sa Kongreso ay natanggal sa mgapagbabago o "amendments" sa Senado. Dahil dito'y nahihirapan ang Land Bank na humanap ng pera upang ibili sa mga lupa. Ngunit ngayon, mga kaibigan, ikinagagalak kong ipagbigay-alam sa buong bansa na aking hiningi sa Kongreso, at pinagtibay naman ng Kongreso, na ibigay sa inyong abang lingkod, ang kapangyarihang ipagbili ang mga lupa at ari-arian ng ating pamahalaang pambansa upang ang salaping manggagaling sa pagbibili ng mga lupa at ari-ariang iyan ay magamit ng Land Bank sa programa sa reporma sa lupa o "land reform program" ng ating pamahalaan.

I have the honor to inform you that notwithstanding the fact that there is no authority or specific special fund up to now for land reform, notwithstanding the fact that those who opposed land reform in 1964 and 1965 in Congress succeeded in removing the source of funds for the operation of land reform in the Philippines, I have insisted upon the sale of government properties that are not urgently needed in order to raise funds for the purchase and expropriation of landed estates. I am happy to inform you that we have been able to raise P11.5 million, which shall go to the Land Bank to be utilized for land reform operations. This is just the beginning. It is my hope that we shall continue.

Nabili na ang limang malalaking lupain sa Central Luzon at kasalukuyang sinisiyasat kung maaaring bilhin ang 30 pang mga lupain sa Central Luzon. Ang lahat nang iyan ay hahatiin alinsunod sa batas ng reporma sa lupa upang ipagbili sa ating kapwa magsasaka.

Ibig kong linawin sumandali sa inyo ang ibig sabihin ng proklamasyong ginagawa natin ngayon. Ang bisa ng proklamasyon ay ang pagputol sa lahat ng kontrata bilang kasama. Kung ang magkabilang panig ay hindi magkasundo sa isang bagong kaayusan na naiiba sa tenancy, lpinalalagay ng batas ang pag-iral ng isang bagong kaayusan—ang panrumuwisan o leasehold.

Noong mga nakaraang buwan ako ay napasubo sa mara-ming gulo sapagka't maraming tumutol sa proklamasyong ito. This proclamation has been the subject of controversy. I have been studying it since last year. It has been recommended by many groups during the convention of the Free Farmers Federation, headed by Gerry Montemayor. I said then that as soon as we have settled some of the questions involving not only the law but also the question of the capability of the tenants to assume the responsibilities of leasehold, I would proclaim the first district of Laguna as a land reform area.

Aanim lamang ang bayan na hinihiling ng ating mga magsasaka na maiproklama o kaya'y mapailalim sa "land reform." But while the tenants requested that only six municipalities be placed under land reform, it is my belief that it is necessary now to increase the areas covered by land reform inasmuch as the same situation prevails in the other towns. That is why today we proclaimed not only six municipalities but 12 municipalities in the province of Laguna.

Ang proklamasyon ay magkakabisa sa ika-7 ng Oktubre, 1968. Hindi kasama rito ang darating na tag-ani. Ang masasaklaw nito ay ang taon ng pag-aani na ang pagtatanim o ang paghahanda sa pagtatanim ay magsisimula makaraan ang taning na ika-7 ng Oktubre, 1968. Ang mga may-ari ng lupa ay mananatiling may-ari sa panahon ng pag-iral ng pamumuwisan. At ang pakikipagtalastasan o negosasyon ng magkabilang panig—ng may-ari at ng kasama—ay maaring magpatuloy sa panahon ng proklamasyon.

Ang bagong kaayusan—pamuwisan sa halip na kasama ay hindi nangangahulugan ng pag-ilit o expropriasyon. Ang pamahalaan sa ilalim ng Batas sa Pagbabago sa Lupa o Agricultural Land Reform Code ay hindi maaring kumuha ng mga lupaing ang sukat ay kulang sa 75 hektarya. Kung manguha man ng lupa ang pamahalaang ito ay isasagawa sa pamamagitan ng pagbili sa lupang iaalok o ihahandog ng mga may-ari ng lupa na rin.

Ang proklamasyong ito ay kusang-loob na ginagawa ng inyong kasalukuyang pangasiwaan, datapwa't karapat dapat banggitin ang naitulong ng kilusang magsasaka sa Laguna. Nakatulong sa proklamasyong ito ang Federation of Free Farmers na pinangunguluhan ni Gerry Montemayor; nakatulong din ang mga lider ng Laguna, na katulad ni Senador Lagumbay at Gobernador San Luis, at maging ang mga may-ari ng lupa, sa pamamagitan ng kanilang maunawaing pagtanggap sa proklamasyong ito, ay nakatulong din ng marami. Totoo at marami rin ang tumutol sa proklamasyong ito. Datapwa't ang agos ng kasaysayan ay hindi maaring pigilin, at ang pagbabago sa lupa ay isang mahalagang pangangailangan ng ating pagsulong, hindi lamang dito sa Laguna, o sa Gitnang Luson, o sa Katagalugan, kung di sa buong Pilipinas.

Nang nagdaang pangasiwaan ang Land Reform ay nasa papel lamang at bukambibig lamang ng mga namumuno. Ngayon, sa ilalim ng pangasiwaang ito, ang pangarap na land reform ay nagkaroon na ng tunay na katuparan, at sa likod nito ay aking itinatalaga ang buong kapangyarihan ng aking katungkulan bilang Pangulo ng Pilipinas.

Ngayon ay aking hinihiling sa inyo, maging mga mag-sasaka at maging may-ari ng lupa, na kayo ay magkaisa upang ating maipatupad sa paraang mahinahon at matagumpay ang proklamasyong ito. Ang tagumpay ng land reform ay nakasalalay sa inyong pagkakaisa. Ang paggalang sa karapatan ng bawa't isa sa ilalim ng batas ay siyang dapat maging saligan ng ganyang pagkakaisa, bukod pa sa katotohanang bilang iisang lipi at iisang lahi ay iisa ang tibok ng ating damdamin.

Binabati ko ang dakilang taong-bayan ng unang purok ng Laguna sa makasaysayang pagkakataong ito. Binabati ko ang mga lider ng Laguna sa ilalim ni Gob. San Luis, binabati ko ang mga senador, ang mga kinatawan. Binabati ko

ang ating mga punong bayan. Binabati. ko po rin ang mga estudyante na kinakatawan ni Miss Espino dito sa ating programa.

I know that the ultimate fruits of what we are doing now perhaps I and the men and women of my generation may not see. But what we seek is the salvation of our country and the progress of our nation and this entire program of land reform, for the younger generation will be the generation that shall harvest the fruit of this program.

It is my hope that you, the younger people, will understand what I have said. I proclaimed land reform areas, not because of fear that there will be war or there will be a revolution, but because it is the right thing to do. We proclaimed land reform areas because it is a policy that is based not only on wisdom, but on righteousness. Because if we are to return the dignity of the human being to our countrymen we must dismantle the old feudal estates, and if in the process it should become necessary that any man be blamed, do not point to any man, I assume responsibility. I assume responsibility for this policy. I have staked my future on it, and I stake my entire political career on it.

I have said it before and I say it again; if and when I cannot do what I think is right, it will be time for me to retire from public life. I repeat, I consider this as something that is urgent and right, and so we must do it now. I call upon each and everyone to help the government and the administration in pushing through land reform.

Ako ay nagpapasalamat na naman sa inyong lahat. sa iyong pagbibigay sa inyong abang lingkod, na inyong tinulungan at tinangkilik nuong nakaraang mga halalan. Ako ay nagpasalamat na sa inyo sa pamamagitan ng salita at ngayon po naman ito ang aking pagpapasalamat sa inyong lahat dahil sa inyong pagtangkilik at pagtulong nuong nakaraang mga laban sa pulitika. Ito pong pagpapahayag ng reporma sa lupa, na aking ipinangako sa inyo nang inyong piniling Presidente ang inyong abang lingkod ay waking ibang saligan kung hindi ang kapakanan ng buong Pilipinas at hindi ang kapakanang pang-sarili.

Salamat po at magandang umaga.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1968). Talumpating binigkas sa UP College of Agriculture Campus, Los Baños, Laguna, September 14, 1968. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 64(39), 9776-F-9776-J.

Extemporaneous speech of President Marcos at the Lions Convention, September 26, 1968

Extemporaneous Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Lions Convention

[Delivered in Dagupan City, September 26, 1963]

SABAH: THE TEST OF OUR INDEPENDENCE

I am very happy to be here. I always enjoy coming to Dagupan and to Pangasinan. Your sense of humor, your pleasant habits and instincts inspire me into believing that if we have more people like you, we should have a more pleasant way of developing the country. I presume that there are also Liberals among you. I wish your habits would contaminate the Liberals that I know.

Mayor Manaois told me to enjoy myself here in Dagupan. How, he did not say. But I always enjoy his speeches. They are in a class completely different from all the speeches that I have heard. And after a gruelling period of work in Manila, I always look forward to listening to Mayor Manaois. But this time, he overdid himself. . . .

I have agreed to an open forum because whatever I say here will be further embroidered and probably made more interesting by direct confrontation with the leaders of your area. I always accept an invitation from District 301-C. You will remember I was with you on your last convention, and I was afraid then of being involved in the politics of your association, which is as intense and as bitter and as partisan as anything in the Philippines. But I was also with you during the campaign in 1965. I think my being with you now is the third time around. I hope this insures your support for me in whatever aspirations I may have in the future.

But all kidding aside, you come from the district to which most people refer as my bailiwick. Because Northern Luzon or Northern Philippines is the area which has given me the most number of votes in as solid a manner as any candidate has ever been supported in his entire political career. And you represent the leadership in this area, for whether you are in government or in private life, you constitute the leader class. And it is the leader class often that molds and forms opinions. For while it is true that we live in a democracy and that your vote or any vote from each and everyone of you is equal to the vote of the meanest and the lowest and the poorest of Filipinos anywhere in the Philippines, it is true too that tradition, history, as well as the very nature of democracy allow the exercise of both character and the faculties of the mind, which provide the lead for those who may not be capable of forming their own opinions, and to mold such opinions for the good or worse of our country and our people.

Yesterday, I passed the 1000th day of my administration. 1000 days have passed as if they were merely but a single day. And I took forward to Of course, I hope another 1000 days. Now let's see, does that extend to 1969? Yes, I am afraid it does. But always that is the feeling of a President; I presume whether he seeks re-election or not. Four years is always too often a short period for the implementation of projects which are considered long-term projects.

For instance, the project for the control of floods here in Central Luzon, you can't finish that in five years. Because you will have to go into the sources of water in the Cordilleras, in the Sierra Madre, which serve Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, and Pampanga. And yet one has to plan. For instance, again, one has to plan on the economic relations between the Philippines and Japan, the Philippines and the United States, the Philippines and the Benelux countries, the Philippines and the common market; one has to make the foundations of all these plans. And yet one may not be there when the plans are implemented. Suffice it to say that the leader, if he is a leader, must initiate the first step towards the right direction, for the leader is chosen in order that he shall assume this initiative. And more often than not, assuming the initiative is a thankless task.

One is often criticized for things that he may not have done or he may not be even planning to do. Today we are involved in tensions with Malaysia. And both on domestic and any foreign problem that we have, this is a problem

which engages the minds, and the hearts, the emotions and the feelings, of all our people. You are witness to the lively discussions of the Sabah issue, and I thought I saw or felt some expression of, shall we say, the humor in the situation, by the way you have reacted to the statements of the would-be governor of Sabah, Mayor Manaois. I think he was a little mistaken when he said that I'm the only President of Sabah. This is one of the things that I want to put right. Because the belief is that I suddenly pressed our claim to Sabah without any historical and without any legal foundation. This is not true. Of course if you ask our people, they will say we are unanimous in this decision to pursue the claim to Sabah. And you ask them why, and their answer is, we believe in Marcos, we will follow Marcos. And I think that is the attitude, too, of Mayor Manaois. Perhaps because it is also likely due to the fact that he is one of my closest friends, and the fact that I have given this city about a million pesos in aid. And whispered to me, I have not asked anything from you, Mr. President, at this luncheon; I shall reserve it for my next visit to Malacañang. And knowing him, he will probably be there tomorrow.

But am I the only President that has identified the Philippines with Sabah? No. Am I the only head of a sovereign state that has made a claim to the Sabah? No. Have we taken steps before to acquire Sabah? Yes. The Sabah territory is historically and legally an area and a territory to which we have, from the beginning of the 18th century, laid claim and over which we maintain dominion and sovereignty.

According to Dr. Tregonning, the Sabah region or what is properly known as North Borneo was ceded by the Sultan of Brunei in 1704 to the Sultan of Sulu as a sort of a reward for the help of the Sultan of Sulu in suppressing a rebellion in North Borneo.

Let me read from the "Diario Español" of January 28, 1876, wherein it said, clearly that the Sultan of Sulu was "lord of all the part of Borneo between Quimanis Point in the island of Labuan itself, and the Bay of Santa Lucia that is to say, 150 leagues off the north coast of the said island of Borneo, recognized by all statemens, including the Dutch, who were the owners of the nearest possessions. The title of the Sultanate of Sulu over North Borneo was recognized by Spain, Great Britain, and other European powers through a series of treaties entered into in the 18th and the 19th centuries. I need not go into them now. There at least 10 to 20 documents in the possession of the Republic of the Philippines indicating that the Sultan of Sulu was recognized as the ruler and the sovereign over North Borneo.

On what do we base, therefore, our claim? We have based it primarily on this: that this area was leased to the two adventurers, Baron de Overbeck and Alfred Dent, one an Austrian citizen and the other an Englishman. And this lease was recognized as such, merely a lease. This lease continued because of the payment of 5000 Malaysian dollars annually. Up to now this amount this amount is still being deposited. If this land was not leased out by the Sultan of Sulu why is it that up to now the rent is being paid? And the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu, of course, are quarreling as to who should receive this rent.

Did Baron de Overbeck and Alfredo Dent acquire sovereignty over the territory? No, because they were not acquire sovereignty and dominion over territory like this.

The question that arises next is when the North Borneo or Sabah territory was transferred by the North Borneo Company to the British Government, what was transferred? Could the North Borneo Company transfer anything more than what it had acquired from the Sultanate of Sulu? No, because you cannot transfer what is not yours. Since the Baron de Overbeck and Alfred Dent did not have sovereignty, they could not transfer sovereignty to the British government of British North Borneo. This is confirmed by the statements of British officials. Let us go to the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the British government in 1881.

Lord Granville stated the following and I quote, "the British Crown assumes no dominion or sovereignty over the territories occupied by the British North Borneo Company, nor does it purport to grant to the Company any powers of government thereover. It merely confers upon the persons associated status and incidents a body corporate, and recognizes the grants of territory and the powers of government made and delegated by the Sultans in whom the sovereignty remains vested."

The Americans recognized this, and in 1920, through Governor Frank Carpenter, also recognized the sovereignty of the Sultan of Sulu over North Borneo. There was an agreement. First, there was the Bates Agreement during the revolution confirmed by the Carpenter Agreement in 1920. This Carpenter Agreement was further confirmed in a statement by Governor Carpenter when he said and I quote:

“It is necessary that there be clearly of official record the fact that the termination of the temporal sovereignty of the Sultanate of Sulu within American territory, which is Sulu proper, is understood to be wholly without prejudice or effect as to the temporal sovereignty and ecclesiastical authority of the Sultanate beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the U. S. government, especially with reference to that portion of the island of Borneo which, as a dependency of the Sultanate of Sulu is understood to be held under lease by the Chartered Company which is known as the British North Borneo Company.” So both the British and the American governments recognized this territory as under the Sultan of Sulu.

In the conversations or negotiations conducted in 1963 we made the following summary of our claim to the British and I quote:

“To put it in capsule form: it is our legal position that the Sultanate of Sulu had been recognized by the United Kingdom as the sovereign ruler of North Borneo; that the aforesaid contract of 1878 whereby the Sultan of Sulu granted certain concessions and privileges to Overbeck and Dent in consideration of an annual tribute of 500 Malayan dollars was one of lease; that whatever be the characterization of the contract, Overbeck and Dent did not and could not in any event acquire, as they could not have acquired, under applicable rules of international law, sovereignty or dominion over North Borneo; that the British North Borneo Company did not acquire as in fact it was not authorized to acquire, sovereignty or dominion over the North Borneo territory; that the British Government consistently barred the British North Borneo Company from acquiring sovereignty or dominion over North Borneo by maintaining that the same resided in the Sultan of Sulu; that as a consequence, the British Crown, on the strength of the North Borneo Cession Order of 1946 did not and could not have acquired from the British North Borneo Company sovereignty or dominion over North Borneo, since the Company itself did not have such sovereignty; that the said Cession Order was a unilateral act which did not produce legal results in the form of a new title; and that the Sultanate of Sulu, which in 1957 publicly and formally repudiated the Cession Order and terminated the lease contract of 1878, continued to exist, in reference to North Borneo, until the Philippines, by virtue of the title it had acquired from the Sultanate—and this was the formal Deed of Cession signed by the Sultan of Sulu in favor of the Republic of the Philippines in 1962—became vested with sovereignty and dominion over North Borneo.”

Colonial Paradox

What we appear to have here, my countrymen, is a paradox of colonialism. At the time when we were still a colony of Spain, and then later of the United States, the sovereignty of the Sultan of Sulu over North Borneo, or Sabah, was recognized and accepted as a fact by both Great Britain and the United States of America.

But with our national independence, when we could claim at least what was ours, we are told that the sovereignty of the Sultan of Sulu—and in consequence, Philippine sovereignty over North Borneo—has ceased to exist. Why is this so?

And then I am made to understand further that we should not press this claim because the great nations are against this claim. Great Britain is against this claim, apparently the United States is against this claim Russia is against this claim. If this be the test of the validity of claims then I am afraid that small nations in this world have no chance whatsoever to claim what is rightfully theirs. I maintain that as a basic principle, claims to territories, claims to boundaries and borders, should be decided on their merits and on the rule of law not on the rule of power and the rule of force.

There was much ado about the presence of British naval units, 25 of them, British and Australians, passing through our territorial waters. And with it also came the passage. the fly-by over our territory of jet fighters of the British. It could not have been too much of a burden to us or an imposition upon us, a small country who seeks nothing but peace, were it not for the statement that this was a show of force.

What is the meaning of a show of force? A show of force by the British indicates that this was an attempt to coerce us, to follow the will and the intention or the decision of the British to declare Sabah as Malaysian territory. Accordingly, therefore, as your President, I filed a protest with the British Embassy against the misuse of our territorial waters. The British, the United States and other countries are our partners in the SEATO, and therefore it is my hope that there will be no more show of force against a friend and an ally. Was it necessary to coerce us with this show of force? To compel us into quitting our claim? I have always said that no amount of show of force, provided that we are in the right, will compel me to change this decision because it is a decision based on law. It is a decision which is supported by the people and by Congress, by the representatives of the people. I am unable to change such a decision because with this show of force came the demand that we repeal a piece of domestic legislation. Can, therefore, or should a show of force, be allowed to compel a sovereign nation like ours to change its own domestic legislation? If the answer is yes, then ladies and gentlemen, our world is back to the law of the jungle, with the rule of law abdicated. And, therefore, even if ours be a small nation, we must stand firm behind the rule of law, especially international law.

But are we pressing our claim in order to prejudice the will of the Sabahans? No. Our intention is, at the appropriate time, we shall allow the principle of self-determination to apply. Meaning that we will allow a referendum or a plebiscite, properly safeguarded in order that it will be correct, true, authentic and reflective of the will and choice of the Sabahans for the future. But before we can go into this, just as what has been done with respect to West Irian, there must be a proper period within which preparations will be made for a proper referendum. Before this can be done, the legal question must first be decided, preparatory to giving away territory. You must first find out whether you own the territory or you have dominion over the territory which you will give away. Before, therefore, any political action can be undertaken the legal question of who has sovereignty and dominion over Sabah must first be decided.

And our position is this: we do not want war, we do not want tensions, we do not want crisis, but we do want our rights first to be adjudicated, and to be adjudicated by the proper tribunal.

When the three heads of state met in Manila, meaning the heads of state of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines in 1962, they entered into an agreement about Sabah. The Philippines was going to recognize Malaysia as a federation and as a separate state on condition that this would not prejudice the claim of the Philippines over the Sabah area which the three heads of the nations agreed shall be settled in a peaceful way through negotiation, through judicial intervention, through conciliation, or any other peaceful means agreed upon by the people.

This is our position: we want a settlement of this case by peaceful means. We don't want a cavalier rejection of our claim because that is not included among the means with which to settle such a claim. A party litigant cannot decide his own case, and yet that is exactly what has been done in the present case. There are two prejudiced parties, both claiming the same territory, and yet one of them rejects the other's claim and says that is the final decision on this case. How can this be accepted as such? Even if merely as a matter of principle, and because we maintain that the rule of law supersedes that of power, and aggravated by the fact that there are apparent attempts to coerce us as a nation and as a people into supporting such a violation of international law, it is necessary that we maintain our dignity, our sovereignty, by insisting on a decision by the proper tribunal. From our point of view, the proper tribunal is the International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice is composed of international jurists who can be considered as the most prestigious in the world. They will not side with anyone, they will decide the question on its merits. If I, a party litigant, am sure of my case and of my evidence, why should I be afraid of bringing this case to the International Court of Justice? This is the question that we have asked the Malaysians and they have not answered.

We are, as a nation pledged to peace. Our Constitution renounces war as an instrument of national policy. We adhere to the United Nations principle of deciding territorial disputes by peaceful means. We have signed the Manila Accord and the Joint Statements of the heads of states and therefore we insist upon the referral of this case to the International Court of Justice. We believe in the validity of our claim. We believe we have every evidence necessary to plead our case. Now, if the Malaysians believe in the same way that they are right, let the court decide.

I have called for a summit conference; I have said I am willing to meet the head of state of Malaysia anywhere, any time, on any subject. They have put up many obstacles; they said there must be a ministerial conference first,

meaning at the level of the secretary of foreign affairs. I directed the secretary of foreign affairs, Secretary Ramos of Pangasinan, to meet with his counterpart, Tun Abdul Razak, the foreign minister of Malaysia. Immediately, we are told that Tun Abdul Razak will not go to the United Nations. In short, they are avoiding this issue. I, therefore, place the responsibility on the Malaysians. It's up to them now; we have invited them. I have said I am willing to negotiate. I hope that they will negotiate, they 'are our brothers. We don't mean to do ill to them, we don't wish ill on the Malaysians, but certainly it is necessary that we decide the Sabah question before we go into any other problem between Malaysia and the Philippines.

Now, I conclude with the statement that I shall continue to hope that we will be able to settle this question without delay and in an atmosphere of amity and friendship. I do not expect any war because neither country—the Malaysians nor the Filipinos—are capable of waging war or invading Sabah. But, certainly, both are capable of causing incidents that may lead into graver hostilities. So, the earlier we terminate these tensions, the earlier we settle these misunderstandings, the better for both countries. Both sprang from the same Malayan stuff, both live in the same area, and are neighbors to each other.

Of course, you may want to know why this claim was filed by President Macapagal, and I will tell you. President Macapagal, when he filed the claim in 1962, said that Malaysia is a part of the mainland of China. Presumably, therefore, if the mainland of China should be overrun by communists, Malaysia will also be overrun by communists. If Sabah belongs to Malaysia, then this entire state would come under the control and the hands of the communists. If this should come about, and Sabah falls, into communist hands, we would have a communist territory within six miles of our southernmost border. It would be a threat to the security of the Philippines. This was the position of the Philippines, this was the position of President Macapagal and the security agencies when the claim was filed in 1962. I do not know whether anybody can say that the situation has changed in the years from 1962 to the present. I believe the situation remains the same.

For a young and small nation, we have never shirked from our responsibilities in the family of nations. The treaties we sign are national pledges, and we adhere to them even if subsequent events indicated that they may be disadvantageous to us. We never abrogate treaties for we believe that the life of treaties must be lived through, if we are to behave responsibly. Our allies could always count on us in any undertaking, in peace and in war. We heeded the summons to Korea, because we had agreed in advance to the principles of the United Nations. We have gone to Vietnam, because we believed that it was consistent with our commitments. Perhaps, naively, we always wed our deeds with our words. But we believe that the consistency between word and deed is an imperative necessity for international cooperation and understanding.

We cannot believe that insincerity is the principle of the modern diplomacy that will save the world from the flames of war.

Does this mean that the Philippines is a La Mancha, a Don Quixote among nations.

If peace is a windmill and world understanding an unreachable star, if the quest for peace anywhere is an impossible dream, then let us prepare for the nightmare that is to come upon us.

The Continuing Hope

But, I must commend to you the continuing hope of this government that our brother Malaysians may yet perceive that our times call for the highest statemanship.

I commend to you the hope that, here, in this small section of the world, there are people and nations who know how to take the first step to international peace and brotherhood.

And to this hope—and prayer—I, with your consent, commit each and every Filipino.

Thank you and good day.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1968). Extemporaneous speech at the Lions Convention in Dagupan City, September 26, 1963. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 64(40), 10021-A-10021-I.

Speech of President Marcos, Sabah: The Test of Our Independence, September 26, 1968

SABAH: THE TEST OF OUR INDEPENDENCE

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

(EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEECH AT THE LIONS CONVENTION IN
DAGUPAN CITY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1963)

I am very happy to be here. I always enjoy coming to Dagupan and to Pangasinan. Your sense of humor, your pleasant habits and instincts inspire me into believing that if we have more people like you, we should have a more pleasant way of developing the country. I presume that there are also Liberals among you. I wish your habits would contaminate the Liberals that I know.

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I have agreed to an open forum because whatever I say here will be further embroidered and probably made more interesting by direct confrontation with the leaders of your area. I always accept an invitation from District 301-C. You will remember I was with you on your last convention, and I was afraid then of being involved in the politics of your association, which is as intense and as bitter and as partisan as anything in the Philippines. But I was also with you during the campaign in 1965. I think my being with you now is the third time around. I hope this insures your support for me in whatever aspirations I may have in the future.

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For instance, the project for the control of floods here in Central Luzon, you can't finish that in five years. Because you will have to go into the sources of water in the Cordilleras, in the Sierra Madre, which serve Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, and Pampanga. And yet one has to plan. For instance, again, one has to plan on the economic relations between the Philippines and Japan, the Philippines and the United States, the Philippines and the Benelux countries, the Philippines and the common market; one has to make the foundations of all these plans. And yet one may not be there when the plans are implemented. Suffice it to say that the leader, if he is a leader, must initiate the first step towards the right direction, for the leader is chosen in order that he shall assume this initiative. And more often than not, assuming the initiative is a thankless task.

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situation, by the way you have reacted to the statements of the would-be governor of Sabah, Mayor Manaois. I think he was a little mistaken when he said that I'm the only President of Sabah. This is one of the things that I want to put right. Because the belief is that I suddenly pressed our claim to Sabah without any historical and without any legal foundation. This is not true. Of course if you ask our people, they will say we are unanimous in this decision to pursue the claim to Sabah. And you ask them why, and their answer is, we believe in Marcos, we will follow Marcos. And I think that is the attitude, too, of Mayor Manaois. Perhaps because it is also likely due to the fact that he is one of my closest friends, and the fact that I have given this city about a million pesos in aid. And whispered to me, I have not asked anything from you, Mr. President, at this luncheon; I shall reserve it for my next visit to Malacañang. And knowing him, he will probably be there tomorrow.

But am I the only President that has identified the Philippines with Sabah? No. Am I the only head of a sovereign state that has made a claim to the Sabah? No. Have we taken steps before to acquire Sabah? Yes. The Sabah territory is historically and legally an area and a territory to which we have, from the beginning of the 18th century, laid claim and over which we maintain dominion and sovereignty.

According to Dr. Tregonning, the Sabah region or what is properly known as North Borneo was ceded by the Sultan of Brunei in 1704 to the Sultan of Sulu as a sort of a reward for the help of the Sultan of Sulu in suppressing a rebellion in North Borneo.

Let me read from the "Diario Español" of January 28, 1876, wherein it said, clearly that the Sultan of Sulu was "lord of all the part of Borneo between Quimanis Point in the island of Labuan itself, and the Bay of Santa Lucia that is to say, 150 leagues off the north coast of the said island of Borneo, recognized by all statemens, including the Dutch, who were the owners of the nearest possessions. The title of the Sultanate of Sulu over North Borneo was recognized by Spain, Great Britain, and other European powers through a series of treaties entered into in the 18th and the 19th centuries. I need not go into them now. There at least 10 to 20 documents in the possession of the Republic of the Philippines indicating that the Sultan of Sulu was recognized as the ruler and the sovereign over North Borneo.

On what do we base, therefore, our claim? We have based it primarily on this: that this area was leased to the two adventurers, Baron de Overbeck and Alfred Dent, one an Austrian citizen and the other an Englishman. And this lease was recognized as such, merely a lease. This lease continued because of the payment of 5000 Malaysian dollars annually. Up to now this amount this amount is still being deposited. If this land was not leased out by the Sultan of Sulu why is it that up to now the rent is being paid? And the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu, of course, are quarreling as to who should receive this rent.

Did Baron de Overbeck and Alfredo Dent acquire sovereignty over the territory? No, because they were not acquire sovereignty and dominion over territory like this.

The question that arises next is when the North Borneo or Sabah territory was transferred by the North Borneo Company to the British Government, what was transferred? Could the North Borneo Company transfer anything more than what it had acquired from the Sultanate of Sulu? No, because you cannot transfer what is not yours. Since the Baron de Overbeck and Alfred Dent did not have sovereignty, they could not transfer sovereignty to the British government of British North Borneo. This is confirmed by the statements of British officials. Let us go to the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the British government in 1881.

Lord Granville stated the following and I quote, "the British Crown assumes no dominion or sovereignty over the territories occupied by the British North Borneo Company, nor does it purport to grant to the Company any powers of government thereover. It merely confers upon the persons associated status and incidents a body corporate, and recognizes the grants of territory and the powers of government made and delegated by the Sultans in whom the sovereignty remains vested."

The Americans recognized this, and in 1920, through Governor Frank Carpenter, also recognized the sovereignty of the Sultan of Sulu over North Borneo. There was an agreement. First, there was the Bates Agreement during the

revolution confirmed by the Carpenter Agreement in 1920. This Carpenter Agreement was further confirmed in a statement by Governor Carpenter when he said and I quote:

“It is necessary that there be clearly of official record the fact that the termination of the temporal sovereignty of the Sultanate of Sulu within American territory, which is Sulu proper, is understood to be wholly without prejudice or effect as to the temporal sovereignty and ecclesiastical authority of the Sultanate beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the U. S. government, especially with reference to that portion of the island of Borneo which, as a dependency of the Sultanate of Sulu is understood to be held under lease by the Chartered Company which is known as the British North Borneo Company.” So both the British and the American governments recognized this territory as under the Sultan of Sulu.

In the conversations or negotiations conducted in 1963 we made the following summary of our claim to the British and I quote:

“To put it in capsule form: it is our legal position that the Sultanate of Sulu had been recognized by the United Kingdom as the sovereign ruler of North Borneo; that the aforesaid contract of 1878 whereby the Sultan of Sulu granted certain concessions and privileges to Overbeck and Dent in consideration of an annual tribute of 500 Malayan dollars was one of lease; that whatever be the characterization of the contract, Overbeck and Dent did not and could not in any event acquire, as they could not have acquired, under applicable rules of international law, sovereignty or dominion over North Borneo; that the British North Borneo Company did not acquire as in fact it was not authorized to acquire, sovereignty or dominion over the North Borneo territory; that the British Government consistently barred the British North Borneo Company from acquiring sovereignty or dominion over North Borneo by maintaining that the same resided in the Sultan of Sulu; that as a consequence, the British Crown, on the strength of the North Borneo Cession Order of 1946 did not and could not have acquired from the British North Borneo Company sovereignty or dominion over North Borneo, since the Company itself did not have such sovereignty; that the said Cession Order was a unilateral act which did not produce legal results in the form of a new title; and that the Sultanate of Sulu, which in 1957 publicly and formally repudiated the Cession Order and terminated the lease contract of 1878, continued to exist, in reference to North Borneo, until the Philippines, by virtue of the title it had acquired from the Sultanate—and this was the formal Deed of Cession signed by the Sultan of Sulu in favor of the Republic of the Philippines in 1962—became vested with sovereignty and dominion over North Borneo.”

Colonial Paradox

What we appear to have here, my countrymen, is a paradox of colonialism. At the time when we were still a colony of Spain, and then later of the United States, the sovereignty of the Sultan of Sulu over North Borneo, or Sabah, was recognized and accepted as a fact by both Great Britain and the United States of America.

But with our national independence, when we could claim at least what was ours, we are told that the sovereignty of the Sultan of Sulu—and in consequence, Philippine sovereignty over North Borneo—has ceased to exist. Why is this so?

And then I am made to understand further that we should not press this claim because the great nations are against this claim. Great Britain is against this claim, apparently the United States is against this claim Russia is against this claim. If this be the test of the validity of claims then I am afraid that small nations in this world have no chance whatsoever to claim what is rightfully theirs. I maintain that as a basic principle, claims to territories, claims to boundaries and borders, should be decided on their merits and on the rule of law not on the rule of power and the rule of force.

There was much ado about the presence of British naval units, 25 of them, British and Australians, passing through our territorial waters. And with it also came the passage. the fly-by over our territory of jet fighters of the British. It could not have been too much of a burden to us or an imposition upon us, a small country who seeks nothing but peace, were it not for the statement that this was a show of force.

What is the meaning of a show of force? A show of force by the British indicates that this was an attempt to coerce us, to follow the will and the intention or the decision of the British to declare Sabah as Malaysian territory. Accordingly, therefore, as your President, I filed a protest with the British Embassy against the misuse of our territorial waters. The British, the United States and other countries are our partners in the SEATO, and therefore it is my hope that there will be no more show of force against a friend and an ally. Was it necessary to coerce us with this show of force? To compel us into quitting our claim? I have always said that no amount of show of force, provided that we are in the right, will compel me to change this decision because it is a decision based on law. It is a decision which is supported by the people and by Congress, by the representatives of the people. I am unable to change such a decision because with this show of force came the demand that we repeal a piece of domestic legislation. Can, therefore, or should a show of force, be allowed to compel a sovereign nation like ours to change its own domestic legislation? If the answer is yes, then ladies and gentlemen, our world is back to the law of the jungle, with the rule of law abdicated. And, therefore, even if ours be a small nation, we must stand firm behind the rule of law, especially international law.

But are we pressing our claim in order to prejudice the will of the Sabahans? No. Our intention is, at the appropriate time, we shall allow the principle of self-determination to apply. Meaning that we will allow a referendum or a plebiscite, properly safeguarded in order that it will be correct, true, authentic and reflective of the will and choice of the Sabahans for the future. But before we can go into this, just as what has been done with respect to West Irian, there must be a proper period within which preparations will be made for a proper referendum. Before this can be done, the legal question must first be decided, preparatory to giving away territory. You must first find out whether you own the territory or you have dominion over the territory which you will give away. Before, therefore, any political action can be undertaken the legal question of who has sovereignty and dominion over Sabah must first be decided.

And our position is this: we do not want war, we do not want tensions, we do not want crisis, but we do want our rights first to be adjudicated, and to be adjudicated by the proper tribunal.

When the three heads of state met in Manila, meaning the heads of state of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines in 1962, they entered into an agreement about Sabah. The Philippines was going to recognize Malaysia as a federation and as a separate state on condition that this would not prejudice the claim of the Philippines over the Sabah area which the three heads of the nations agreed shall be settled in a peaceful way through negotiation, through judicial intervention, through conciliation, or any other peaceful means agreed upon by the people.

This is our position: we want a settlement of this case by peaceful means. We don't want a cavalier rejection of our claim because that is not included among the means with which to settle such a claim. A party litigant cannot decide his own case, and yet that is exactly what has been done in the present case. There are two prejudiced parties, both claiming the same territory, and yet one of them rejects the other's claim and says that is the final decision on this case. How can this be accepted as such? Even if merely as a matter of principle, and because we maintain that the rule of law supersedes that of power, and aggravated by the fact that there are apparent attempts to coerce us as a nation and as a people into supporting such a violation of international law, it is necessary that we maintain our dignity, our sovereignty, by insisting on a decision by the proper tribunal. From our point of view, the proper tribunal is the International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice is composed of international jurists who can be considered as the most prestigious in the world. They will not side with anyone, they will decide the question on its merits. If I, a party litigant, am sure of my case and of my evidence, why should I be afraid of bringing this case to the International Court of Justice? This is the question that we have asked the Malaysians and they have not answered.

We are, as a nation pledged to peace. Our Constitution renounces war as an instrument of national policy. We adhere to the United Nations principle of deciding territorial disputes by peaceful means. We have signed the Manila Accord and the Joint Statements of the heads of states and therefore we insist upon the referral of this case to the International Court of Justice. We believe in the validity of our claim. We believe we have every evidence necessary to plead our case. Now, if the Malaysians believe in the same way that they are right, let the court decide.

I have called for a summit conference; I have said I am willing to meet the head of state of Malaysia anywhere, any time, on any subject. They have put up many obstacles; they said there must be a ministerial conference first,

meaning at the level of the secretary of foreign affairs. I directed the secretary of foreign affairs, Secretary Ramos of Pangasinan, to meet with his counterpart, Tun Abdul Razak, the foreign minister of Malaysia. Immediately, we are told that Tun Abdul Razak will not go to the United Nations. In short, they are avoiding this issue. I, therefore, place the responsibility on the Malaysians. It's up to them now; we have invited them. I have said I am willing to negotiate. I hope that they will negotiate, they 'are our brothers. We don't mean to do ill to them, we don't wish ill on the Malaysians, but certainly it is necessary that we decide the Sabah question before we go into any other problem between Malaysia and the Philippines.

Now, I conclude with the statement that I shall continue to hope that we will be able to settle this question without delay and in an atmosphere of amity and friendship. I do not expect any war because neither country—the Malaysians nor the Filipinos—are capable of waging war or invading Sabah. But, certainly, both are capable of causing incidents that may lead into graver hostilities. So, the earlier we terminate these tensions, the earlier we settle these misunderstandings, the better for both countries. Both sprang from the same Malayan stuff, both live in the same area, and are neighbors to each other.

Of course, you may want to know why this claim was filed by President Macapagal, and I will tell you. President Macapagal, when he filed the claim in 1962, said that Malaysia is a part of the mainland of China. Presumably, therefore, if the mainland of China should be overrun by communists, Malaysia will also be overrun by communists. If Sabah belongs to Malaysia, then this entire state would come under the control and the hands of the communists. If this should come about, and Sabah falls, into communist hands, we would have a communist territory within six miles of our southernmost border. It would be a threat to the security of the Philippines. This was the position of the Philippines, this was the position of President Macapagal and the security agencies when the claim was filed in 1962. I do not know whether anybody can say that the situation has changed in the years from 1962 to the present. I believe the situation remains the same.

For a young and small nation, we have never shirked from our responsibilities in the family of nations. The treaties we sign are national pledges, and we adhere to them even if subsequent events indicated that they may be disadvantageous to us. We never abrogate treaties for we believe that the life of treaties must be lived through, if we are to behave responsibly. Our allies could always count on us in any undertaking, in peace and in war. We heeded the summons to Korea, because we had agreed in advance to the principles of the United Nations. We have gone to Vietnam, because we believed that it was consistent with our commitments. Perhaps, naively, we always wed our deeds with our words. But we believe that the consistency between word and deed is an imperative necessity for international cooperation and understanding.

We cannot believe that insincerity is the principle of the modern diplomacy that will save the world from the flames of war.

Does this mean that the Philippines is a La Mancha, a Don Quixote among nations.

If peace is a windmill and world understanding an unreachable star, if the quest for peace anywhere is an impossible dream, then let us prepare for the nightmare that is to come upon us.

The Continuing Hope

But, I must commend to you the continuing hope of this government that our brother Malaysians may yet perceive that our times call for the highest statemanship.

I commend to you the hope that, here, in this small section of the world, there are people and nations who know how to take the first step to international peace and brotherhood.

And to this hope—and prayer—I, with your consent, commit each and every Filipino.

Thank you and good day.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, The Philippines and the World Health Organization, October 1, 1968

THE PHILIPPINES AND THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

(SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE THE 19TH SESSION OF THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE WESTERN PACIFIC REGION OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, PHILAMLIFE BUILDING, OCTOBER 1, 1968)

The Philippine Government takes pleasure in being the host to the 19th Session of the Western Pacific Regional Committee of the World Health Organization.

I am happy to welcome in our midst Dr. M. G. Candau, director general of the World Health Organization. I am likewise pleased to welcome the representatives of member countries and their delegations and the representatives of other international, bilateral and non-governmental organizations attending this regional meeting.

May I extend to you, Mr. Director General, the greetings of the Filipino people, as well as my own, on the successful completion of the 20th year of operation of the World Health Organization. We wish the organization continuing success in its effort to promote the health of all people of the world.

20th Year of Membership

I recall with justifiable pride the association of the Philippines with the World Health Organization almost from its inception. We were represented in 1946 at the international health conference, the body which presaged the World Health Assembly and which drafted the World Health Organization constitution. My government signed this constitution in 1948 and so the year of 1968 marks also the 20th year of our membership with the organization. Our people remember the honors bestowed by member governments on our distinguished sons: Dr. Juan Salcedo, Jr. who was elected president of the Fifth World Health Assembly in 1952, and Dr. Francisco J. Dy who was nominated to the regional directorship of the World Health Organization Western Pacific Region. Our country also appreciates the opportunity for service afforded a number of our citizens in the medical and allied professions who are working in other countries under the auspices of the World Health Organization.

Identity of Interests

One need not elaborate to explain the identity of interests that the Philippines has found with the World Health Organization. The organization's principle that health is a fundamental right of every human being which governments should guarantee recalls a basic concept in our own Constitution.

The Philippines became a member of the World Health Organization barely two years after acquiring its independence in 1946. We had just gone through a war which devastated our country and dislocated our population. Sickness prevailed in many areas and health problems tended to slacken our efforts towards national rehabilitation. We were, however, fortunate in receiving goodwill and assistance from external sources and among these was the World Health Organization. Since then, the organization has collaborated with our government in many ways.

Collaborative Efforts

The list of our collaborative efforts with the World Health Organization is long and only a few can be cited here.

In the late forties, yaws continued to be widely prevalent. With the World Health Organization and UNICEF assistance, the government initiated and pursued a nationwide control program. I am happy to report that, at present, this disease has been virtually eliminated from our land.

“Snail-fever” or schistosomiasis is a long-term wasting disease which is found in the east-central and southern part of the Philippines; these are areas which have been singled out for development and/or re-settlement. As this disease posed a threat to the government’s long-range plan, the World Health Organization was requested to assist in devising control measures. A pilot area was established in Leyte province which soon afterwards acquired international repute as a center for the study of schistosomiasis. It has been a few years since the project was terminated, but even as the government continues with the studies in this field, the experience previously gained continues to be useful to the country. Schistosomiasis control measures are at present being incorporated into the development activities being undertaken in the endemic areas.

I have specifically singled out, this project because the control of schistosomiasis is a pre-requisite to development in many critical areas. It is also significant that the control methods are associated in a large measure with developmental activities such as drainage operations for land reclamation, proper irrigation design and construction and scientific rice culture methods, not to speak of the regular sanitary measures which are a responsibility *of the National Health Services.*

Pivotal Areas of Activity

We are at present engaged, in association with the World Health Organization, in three pivotal areas of activity: malaria eradication, cholera control studies and the planning of a sewerage system for the Greater Manila area.

With international and bilateral collaboration, our national malaria program is fast building up into an effective national operation. The effort will be a difficult one. I am confident, however, that with application of the technical and administrative experience of the World Health Organization and the sustained effort and ingenuity of our people, the objectives of the program can be accomplished. We will then be able to overcome another barrier to our agricultural development program.

Over the past few years, the Philippines, with the collaboration of the World Health Organization and the government of Japan, has been undertaking cholera research with a view to eliminating once again the disease which we previously had eliminated fifty years ago. Unfortunately, cholera was re-introduced into the country in recent years and has now become endemic. I am informed that under existing circumstances, time and a great deal of effort will be required before cholera can be eliminated. We are determined, however, in continuing this task with external support until the disease is eliminated once and for all.

The development of a master plan for the sewerage system of Greater Manila is an undertaking financed under the technical assistance component of the United Nations Development Program with the World Health Organization as the executing agency. It is a preliminary step to facilitate, among others, the reduction of gastro-intestinal infections, including cholera, in our metropolitan population. The project should also lead to satisfying the service demands of our metropolis, relieve sanitary and other environmental nuisances and ensure aesthetic and other conveniences essential to the urban dweller.

Many Demands

Like many countries endeavoring to accelerate their development, the Philippines is faced with many demands for which its still scant resources are required. We are giving emphasis to expanding and strengthening the general infrastructure and increasing food production as they constitute the underpinnings for accelerating our economic development.

It is a fact, of course, that these efforts have also favorable social implications. Better roads and means of communication facilitate population movement between communities and thus promote national unity, stimulate the growth of commerce and the spread of culture. More and more people from formerly inaccessible areas are able to

widen their mental and social perspectives, while educational opportunities for the young are enhanced. There are offered, in addition, greater opportunities for rural folks to avail themselves of better health and medical facilities existing in the larger centers of population.

Better Nutrition

As a result of concerted national effort and technological development over the past three years, we have for the first time achieved a surplus in our rice production. We are thus assured not only of an adequate domestic supply but have ushered into our economy a new export product which we hope to increase in volume in the coming years. We have understandably concentrated on the rice production initially, but even now our agricultural sector is turning to the production of protein-rich foodstuff. By this token and with the resources available to us, I envisage that in the not too distant future our workers in the field of nutrition will be confronted with the problem of how to utilize scientifically and effectively the foodstuff already available rather than in worrying as to when and where the essential food elements will be secured.

In this connection we have launched a five-year nutrition program primarily designed to combat malnutrition among children of pre-school age.

Mental and Social Well-Being

The World Health Organization's concept of health, now the goal of many national health efforts, looks beyond the physical and comprehends, in addition, optimal mental and social well-being. Adoption of this concept would behoove governments to satisfy also the social wants which will promote the complete well-being of their citizenry.

In promoting the well-being of our population we have, for instance, a land reform law which aims to improve the lot of our agricultural workers and help them acquire incentives to higher production. They are thus enabled to acquire the wherewithals for their social upliftment. Our potentials for growth require not raw but skilled manpower: the present administration is mobilizing this essential resource potential through extension of our health services and training facilities in order that our manpower can provide the sinews for an intensive and enlightened socioeconomic development.

Health Services

In response to our people's needs, our national health services development has received ample attention in the allocation of our resources.

In the previous year we witnessed the expansion of health services in the rural areas, with the deployment of more physicians, nurses, midwives and sanitary inspectors in our barrios, the establishment of more rural health units, and the procurement for this particular period of P16 million worth of medicines and other supplies, given free to the rural population.

Hospital services were increased and upgraded as 17 government and private hospitals were opened and 76 hospital plans and designs approved for immediate construction. Supplies and medicines worth P1.5 million were channeled to government hospitals for the benefit of our less fortunate countrymen.

We also established a cancer center with the cooperation of the private sector, the first of many cancer centers to be established in various parts of our country.

Medicare

The Congress of the Philippines has under consideration a medicare legislation which seeks to broaden medical care services and extend their coverage to our population. As our resources increase, better coverage and more health

facilities will be provided for the health protection of our population as this remains a fixed and a continuing policy of our government.

I have endeavored to give a panoramic view of our national health effort in the belief that our example typifies the efforts of other developing countries in our region. The fact is that much as we would like to accelerate the development of our economic sector, this would not be feasible until and unless we promote the health of our population and train them for their individual roles in the national development effort.

Programs of Common Interest

I understand that deliberations of the regional committee will be concerned not only with individual country programs but also with programs of common interest to member countries. My government is interested and would be prepared to support programs which will provide benefit to all. The Philippines had in the past contributed to a vaccine pool established by the World Health Organization to combat diseases like smallpox which breaks out from time to time in a number of countries.

My government is prepared to continue this participation in the vaccine pool as may be technically and administratively possible. My government is also prepared to share the facilities it possesses for the promotion of health in our region whether this be for the control of diseases, the training of health workers (as exemplified in the Malaria Eradication Training Center in Manila which is a joint government/WHO/US-AID undertaking), research or any health activity of common interest.

I am looking forward to the completion of the present negotiations between the University of the Philippines and the World Health Organization for the organization of courses on national health planning. These courses, I am informed, will be made available to international participants. It is my hope and wish that further- opportunities will become available to my government to cooperate with the World Health Organization and member countries in the area of health. Our common task will be to promote the health of the peoples living in the western Pacific region.

I express the sentiments of the Filipino people, and gratitude to all those in the World Health Organization, especially to the director-general, Dr. Candau, for the self-sacrifice and dedicated effort they have offered in the name of health, but actually in the name of all mankind, And I presume that the sentiments of the Filipinos are paralleled by all peoples of all nations, and all countries of our world.

To all of them, therefore, again, I say thank you, and welcome to our country.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, The Way to Change, October 2, 1968

THE WAY TO CHANGE

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

(SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONIES OF THE 20TH JAYCEE
NATIONAL CONVENTION, UNIVERSITY OF SAN CARLOS,
CEBU CITY, OCTOBER 2, 1968)

It is entirely appropriate that this convention of leading citizens is being held in this old and historic city because the Jaycees are a modern organization founded on the ancient principle of neighborly love. Your services to the community and to the nation have been synonymous with modern progress. For the Jaycee, modernism without spiritual loss is not a dilemma but a challenge.

Samaritans in Modern Setting

It is most significant, therefore, that you, the Samaritans of our age, have congregated here, in this city where the Cross of Christianity first entered the life of the ancient Filipino.

I note that the theme of your convention is "Leadership by Example." I hope this is not merely a reminder to me as the President of the Philippines; if it is, I accept it gratefully. Coming from you, it is not a rebuke either to me or to any other leader but an expression of confidence for it denotes your belief that we can be leaders by example.

Spiritual Heritage

I prefer to view the theme of your convention, however, in another light. I think it reinforces the spiritual heritage that as pointed out at the beginning, we owe to this city as the cradle of Christianity in this country. For there can be no doubt that the example you speak of is example with a moral content.

Only on this understanding can leadership truly perform its appointed role, in any community and any nation, in every field of human endeavor.

Leadership By Preachment

The alternative to leadership by example is, of course, leadership by preachment. It is an alternative that, not being entirely without charm or appeal, has lured many men and many governments.

Human history, indeed, would be incomplete, and less instructive, if it did not include the large and small tragedies that have grown out of this alternative. Thus, in describing the various movements and upheavals in human society before the first World War, the historian Barbara Tuchman has outlined precisely that failing of leadership that led to the collapse of nations and regimes.

Those "Natural" Leaders

On the one hand, there have been rulers in the age of privilege, who proclaimed themselves as "natural" leaders and held authority accordingly. Invariably, such leaderships degenerated because of inaction, indolence and luxury, until they were completely ruined by the weight of their own decay, or by the force of violent social change.

On the other hand, there have been the leaders of revolutionary movements whose leadership consisted entirely of "marvelous paper models" and "tirades of hate and invective." These were revolutionaries of what has been called

“the anarchist millennium.” with its episodes of violence and vituperation, a period that sanctified the idea, without the ideals of change.

The “Devils of Loudun”

On the other extreme, in a period characterized by an excess of righteousness, there have been leaderships which perfected the edict as the foundation of authority. This was the kind of leadership that produced “the Devils of Loudun,” those fanatics of divine rulership about whom the late Aldous Huxley wrote with extraordinary vigor and eloquence.

Self-Important Leaders

A common characteristics of the leaderships I have cited is their enormous capacity for self-adulation. Their phenomenal sense of self-importance was their only mandate for leadership. It was inevitable, as history has shown, that society would repudate them before long. This kind of leadership producing nothing for the common good, is self-destroying.

By definition it is incapable of providing an example of conduct that would redound to the public benefit.

The Other Leadership

It is the leadership, on the other hand, that regards itself as the instrument of the public good which is able to lead by example. It is, necessarily an unselfish, self-abnegating leadership.

Fortunately, this leadership can flourish and be meaningful only in an atmosphere of freedom. The sense of responsibility which freedom generates is an indispensable element of sound and productive leadership.

With this sense of responsibility, a leader can in good conscience lead the way to innovation and progress.

Quality of Philippine Leadership

For this reason, a creative and persuasive leadership in this country is doubly difficult, but also, when it succeeds, doubly rewarding in terms of the public welfare. For, as the first democracy in Asia, we have a duty to prove by example the worth of the democratic life.

No matter what the difficulties are, therefore, I have always insisted that the national leadership under my administration shall engage the interest as well as the active support of the citizenry through the only means possible in a democracy—through partnership between government and people through continuous dialogue between the leaders and the followers,

The Administration's Record

It is imperative in this partnership that government, in fulfillment of its classic role, shall lead the way and show it to be fruitful and effective. Over the past two and a half years, the government under this administration has endeavored relentlessly to provide the initiative for social and economic growth.

In line with this objective, we have redoubled the effort in many fields of the public service essential to national progress—in infrastructure, education, health, in the removal of social inequities, and more than anything else, in the renovation of the soul, the heart, and the mind of the Filipino people.

The New Perspectives

To arouse citizen action in putting these and other programs on a firm and continuing basis, the government has had to provide examples of conduct to introduce and to make new perspectives acceptable.

When we started the rice development program, the farmers refused to follow the scientific methods necessary if we were to increase our production. Example was the answer to this refusal. In every community, practically in every barrio chosen for this crash program, leaders were asked to set up examples, model farms, wherein all the inputs necessary in this production program for the field were placed and explained to the local farmers.

In all the programs where we have succeeded, as in infrastructure, in education, and now in the manpower training or human resources, conservation, and health programs, we discarded mere exhortation in favor of action, convinced that only by demonstrating the willpower and the discipline and sacrifice that purposeful action entails may we alter the habits of dependence and complacency that have for years impeded our advance.

Imperative of Progress

To inculcate self-reliance as an imperative of human progress, this administration from the very outset mobilized the skills and resources of government itself in an effort to set an example to the citizenry of the Filipino capacity to work out his own destiny. Fiscal restraint, the elimination of the pork barrel system, the conversion of the different organizations into a working theme, the vigorous action taken by the government within government itself have been instrumental in producing valuable changes among the people themselves.

The Moral Dimension

It is not physical growth that may have been produced that comprises the most significant accomplishment of our people over the past two and a half years. Rather, it is the moral dimension that we have given to Philippine society through the various acts of renewal and self-improvement that people and government have performed together. The will to prosper, the willingness to do the things necessary to transform vision to reality, the ability to withstand trial and face challenge both from friends and enemies— these valuable traits we have preserved and enriched; and through them we have re-stated the faith in ourselves and the strength of character that we as a people have always possessed but often have forgotten.

The People's Role

The government claims no credit for these national traits; I claim no personal credit for them, for it was merely the role of the leader in government to reactivate them for the tasks at hand. And, as befits a free and progressive society, even this has been possible only with the support and encouragement of leaders like you in the Jaycee organization. The people, however, have been the principal instrument for change.

With this mutual cooperation between the national leadership and the population, and the intermediate leadership especially in the private sector, such as the Jaycee, I have great confidence that we shall reach the objectives we have set for government and our people.

(Open Forum)

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, The Right to Human Dignity, October 23, 1968

THE RIGHT TO HUMAN DIGNITY

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

SPEECH BEFORE THE MANILA LIONS CLUB, FIESTA PAVILION,
MANILA HOTEL, OCTOBER 23, 1968

It is always, for me, an edifying experience to join the Lions in observing an occasion of public significance. Your collective experience, drawn from numerous careers and professions, never fails to add a special quality to the event which has inspired your celebration.

Testimony to U. N. Value

United Nations Week gains such extra dimension as you gather today to add your own observance. To those whose hopes about a world organization may have occasionally faltered, I am sure it is reassuring that the Lions Club of Manila, itself a part of a globe-girdling agency of man's advancement, is giving its own testimony to the importance of the United Nations.

I am happy to participate in your observance of U. N. Week today.

The U. N. as Agent of Change

As innovators in many fields, you are undoubtedly in a position of authority to call, as you do with this observance, for increased support of the aims and ideals of the United Nations. For the United Nations, in the 23 years that it has existed, has been consistently engaged in works of innovation and change.

Our celebration of the founding of the United Nations this year is particularly significant, because 1968 has been declared by the General Assembly as International Year for Human Rights. The significance of this lies in the fact that the entire mission that the United Nations has set out to fulfill is addressed to the betterment of human life, and its entire work has consisted of safeguarding and promoting all those rights which make for a better human life.

The Right to Human Dignity

The whole concept of the United Nations is, it seems to me, summarized in that provision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted 20 years ago, which speaks of "the right to an existence worthy of human dignity."

Though the activities that have been undertaken to enhance human dignity are numerous and varied, I think the activity that holds the pivotal role in the whole complex of United Nations projects is the war on Poverty. Put in another way, it is the U. N. program to accelerate the growth of the underdeveloped nations.

The Development Decade

It is a program to which, indeed, an entire decade was dedicated in 1961. The Development Decade of the 1960s has already, before it is even completed, produced more lasting and significant changes in the conditions of human life than in any other period in history.

This fact alone attests to the two most important assets of the world organization—the spirit of change and the spirit of cooperation. Without the vigorous desire to alter the oppressive conditions in which the majority of the world's

population have lived all their lives; and without the unifying influence of the United Nations, which has produced tin-growing cooperation we have seen crossing old barriers of color, race and even ideology—without these two propellants of human progress, the change that has taken place in this decade of development might well have waited for another eternity.

Need for National Development

At the core of the U. N. development program is the campaign to make every nation self-sufficient in food. It may sound paradoxical that the United Nations, where aim is to surmount the boundaries of geography, should work with such intense emphasis on national development. But as I have said earlier, the essence of the United Nations is the promotion of human dignity. The U. N. spirit is nothing if it is not the humanitarian spirit.

This sense of humanity requires that the individual in any nation should live in comfort and decency. Since food is the first measure of a decent life, numerous organs of the United Nations have directed their energies and resources to the program to feed the hungry and the undernourished.

The World Food Program

It is therefore appropriate that the beginning of the Development Decade was also the beginning of the World Food Program, established by the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

In a way, the World Food Program may be said to be a “crash” program, because of the element of emergency that motivated the U. N. and the FAO to organize it. However, this program has now developed into a farsighted undertaking, with the positive aim of providing support for the development program of every member nation.

Problems of the Year 2000

In the past few years, both in and outside the United Nations, there has been increasing effort to look ahead and anticipate the problems of the future. The nature and scope of the problems in the year 2000, for instance, have been the subject of special studies in universities and research foundations, particularly in the United States.

The requirements in food supplies, housing, city planning, employment, and education, in the light of advancing technology, are now being studied and projected. In the more advanced countries, these studies embrace even the future uses of leisure. But in the still underdeveloped countries, the primary concern will remain for many years to come the adequate solution of continuing food shortages.

Solution to Food Shortage

The United Nations for its part is leaving no stone unturned in its search for effective measures to alleviate these food shortages, and, as quickly as possible, usher in an era of abundance. Next year, the so-called Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, a study of the world's economic needs and how to meet them, will be released as part of the FAO's Freedom From Hunger campaign.

Hand in hand with this effort is the work being undertaken through the United Nations Children's Fund. Approximately 300 million pre-school children in the world are undernourished, and therefore easily susceptible to a host of diseases, such as yaws, trachoma and tuberculosis. UNICEF is engaged in a world-wide program to correct this dreadful condition.

The Work of the UNDP

Among the leading U. N. projects today to accelerate national development among the growing countries is the United Nations Development Program, started in 1966 to combine the work of two earlier development projects, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the United Nations Special Fund.

The UNDP is proving itself increasingly more useful to the developing nations. At the end of last year, the UNDP had completed 39 surveys of national resources. These surveys are extremely valuable in guiding member nations towards the wisest possible use of their natural resources so as to quicken the growth of the national economy.

Guidance to Investment

Particularly important have been the UNDP's studies and proposals for the proper rate and direction of capital investment in various developing nations. Many successful development projects in these countries were undertaken, and many more promising ones are set for launching, on the strength of UNDP findings.

At the same time, technical assistance, which is, as you will agree, one of the major needs of the growing nations, has been provided by the UNDP. The Philippines itself continues to benefit from this particular UNDP support. Before long, we expect our manpower program to gain new momentum with the support of the UNDP.

Our Potential For Progress

All these add to my resolve to accelerate the development of our country and realize as rapidly as possible the large potential we possess for economic growth. We have procrastinated too long in embarking on this task.

The poverty and deprivation that we are seeking to minimize or eliminate have remained with us for too long. In a sense, this long delay in changing the status quo in our country is the story, on a smaller scale, of the vast hiatus that two-thirds of the world has experienced for centuries.

The Earth's Poor Millions

I have therefore been immensely heartened by the great activity going on under United Nations auspices to rescue the earth's poor millions from the clutches of poverty, disease and ignorance. This too is our aim for the masses of our people; to bring them out of degradation and misery is also the prime endeavor of our government.

I am glad that the opportunity and the means to achieve a greater measure of human dignity for many of our people are growing. But we must realize, as the various organs of the United Nations have long realized, that the work is never quite finished. We must simply continue seeking more opportunities and more means to improve human life. The knowledge that this is necessary, and the willingness to fulfill this necessity, are in the final analysis perhaps the best source of that human dignity whose lasting protection we are all striving for.

Good day and thank you.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, The Contemporary relevance of Antonio Luna's Military Doctrines, October 29, 1968

THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF ANTONIO
LUNA'S MILITARY DOCTRINES

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

(SPEECH AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE 102ND BIRTH ANNIVERSARY OF GENERAL ANTONIO LUNA, OCTOBER 29, 1968, FORT SANTIAGO SHRINE, MANILA).

ANTONIO LUNA, the man whose birthday we mark today, occupies a relatively minor rank in the pantheon of Filipino heroes. This is due not certainly to lack of personal gifts—he was just as talented as the other renaissance men that our country produced in the nineteenth century—nor to the quality of his contributions to the Filipino nation but mainly to the controversy that surrounds his violent death in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija. Whether justly or unjustly, the mysterious circumstances of his assassination have obscured his very distinct personality and his valuable contributions to the making of the Filipino nation.

A Man of Many Parts

Antonio Luna was a man of many parts. He was a scientist, a writer, an athlete, and a soldier. His accomplishments in the fields of science and literature were slight but they bore the imprint of an original and meticulous mind. However, Luna will be remembered not for his scientific and literary achievements, but for his military accomplishments. It was as a soldier that Luna was transcendent; it was as a commander that he towered above his contemporaries; it was in the field of battle that he was able to express fully the drives of his complex personality. He was certainly our first military genius.

Seven Battles

In the battle of Santo Tomas on May 4, 1899. Luna was wounded in the leg. He was given a medal and on this medal was engraved the legend:

5	de	Febrero	1899—La	Loma
10	de	Febrero	1899—Caloocan	
25	de	Febrero	1899—Caloocan	
24	de	Abril	1899—Pulilan	
25	de	Abril	1899—Calumpit,	Bagbag
27	de	Abril	1899—Apalit,	Rio Grande
4 de Mayo 1899—Sto. Tomas				

Seven major battles in four months! And all of them fought with such skill, cunning, and gallantry that even his enemies were moved to proclaim his genius. Seven major battles that are now epics of Filipino heroism!

His Military Contributions

His famous three-tiered defense, known now in history as the Luna Defense Line, succeeded in prolonging the life of the First Philippine Republic and hence of a free Filipino nation. His ideas on guerrilla warfare have remained relevant to the present day.

On Guerrilla Warfare

In *La Revolution Filipina*, Mabini said: "After the capture of Calumpit bridge by the American forces, due principally to the scarcity of munitions, Luna came to see me in San Isidro and entreated me to aid him in convincing Aguinaldo that the time had come to adopt the system of guerrilla warfare."

Luna had worked out a plan for guerrilla warfare which Aguinaldo later implemented in part. The Luna plan was astonishing in its foresight, in its grasp of the essentials of guerrilla warfare. His ideas on guerrilla warfare anticipated many of the ideas of Mao Tse Tung, Giap and Che Guevara, three of the world's leading authorities on guerrilla warfare.

It was the memory of Antonio Luna that inspired me to reactivate the Special Forces units of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, like Luna, I came to the conclusion that in case of another war, we have to resort ultimately to guerrilla warfare. These Special Forces units are designed to harness to full advantage the resistance capability of our people in the event of war.

Three Lessons

The Philippine-American War and the Second World War have taught us that an organized guerrilla effort, conducted by a properly motivated and ably led population can fight a powerful enemy to a standstill or even possibly defeat him.

These two wars have also taught us that guerrilla warfare must be conducted and coordinated to support and to augment the operations of regular military forces. In this sense, guerrilla warfare must fit into the defense plans of the nation.

And finally these two wars have taught us that the preparation for the waging of guerrilla operations as an instrument of national defense must begin during times of peace or well before the anticipated outbreak of any war.

The Special Forces

The Special Forces units of the Armed Forces are small teams of well-trained, highly skilled, and dedicated men whose tasks in wartime are to organize, to train, to equip and to employ guerrilla forces within designated operational areas. In time of war, they will be the core around which the resistance potential of the people can be developed and they will serve as the link between the resistance groups and the regular military forces. Each Special Forces unit has specialists in operations and intelligence, communications, demolitions, weapons, and field medicine—five skills which are essential to the long-range, independent actions which Special Forces units are expected to carry out. To increase their mobility, they are also trained in parachuting and aerial delivery techniques. In addition to his basic specialization, the Special Forces soldier is trained in one or more additional specializations so that he can readily take the place of any other member of his team who may become a casualty. It is furthermore a requirement for each man to be a good teacher, for a great deal of his time and effort will be spent in training persons with little or no military background. He also undergoes training in public relations in order to help him deal with the civilian population. But above all this, the Special Forces soldier is a skillful and tough combat soldier who knows how to fight with almost any kind of weapon and, if necessary, with his bare hands; who is equally at home in the jungle or in the city, and who can move fast and stealthily through any kind of terrain.

A Network of Resistance Fighters

If we should again be involved in another war, these Special Forces units will immediately organize a network of trained resistance fighters that will respond to a central command. A well-organized and trained citizenry, fighting according to a national strategy, is a powerful force that no aggressor, however superior, can easily defeat.

Homage to Luna

We can pay no greater honor to Antonio Luna than to make our national boundaries secure. We can pay him no greater homage than to absorb his military doctrines into the defense plans of the nation.

Like Luna, we, too, must be capable of saying: "The Filipino people want independence. I will defend it until I die, thus complying with the oath to my flag."

Thank you and good day.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos at the Opening Ceremonies of the Convention and Symposium Workshop on Modern Police Administration and Crime Prevention, April 14, 1969

The Policeman as Professional

IT IS A pleasure to greet the participants in this seminar and workshop. I am conscious of the great contribution that you are making, even merely through your attendance here, to the solution of the peace and order problem. The new insights, knowledge and skills that you will gain from this seminar-workshop will hasten the process of reform that our police system has long needed.

The essence of this process of reform is modernization. I am glad that this seminar-workshop is concerned with modern police administration and modern crime prevention, because the entire problem of police efficiency today consists of how we can change the antiquated methods and attitudes that have prevailed in our police system for years. In their place, we must now implant new ones into the 1,478 police departments around the country.

It is this need for modernization in our police forces that lies behind the passage of the Police Act of 1966, which created the Police Commission. It was one of my immediate aims as soon as I assumed the Presidency to obtain congressional approval of this law, so that we could begin without further delay the crucial work of reform in our police services.

Until 1966, our police forces were operating under a system created in 1917. With the establishment of the Police Commission, we made the first real attempt to break away from that ancient system and formulate a new one turned to the large and complex needs of our time.

The statistics gathered by the Police Commission immediately after it was organized in September 1966 give a vivid picture of the deterioration that had in as a result of inadequate police methods and facilities. Of 30,033 policemen around the country, only 13,516, or 45 per cent, possessed any form of civil service eligibility. What is even more appalling, 19,822, or 66 percent, had not undergone any kind of training relevant to police work.

Local police forces were, in almost every respect, unprepared to perform effective police work. Politics, more than anything else, determined the leadership and composition of a local police department. Men with no more qualification for the job than a slavish loyalty to the political lord of the community were appointed to the police force. When they were not bodyguards of their patrons, or terrorists for election purposes, they grew fat on the job, nourished by corruption and the comfortable knowledge that they were protected as long as their political sponsors remained entrenched.

The needs of the community were seldom, if ever, taken into consideration in the organization and maintenance of the local police force. In numerous towns around the country the local police force had only anywhere from three to 10 members. Out of the 1,478 police departments, only 248 had more than 20 members.

Inadequate equipment has always been one of the major deficiencies of police forces everywhere in the country. While criminals constantly improved their own means of speedy escape and mobility, most of our local police forces had absolutely no motor vehicles.

In the field of communication, the situation was even more deplorable. With respect to firearms, smugglers, pirates and other criminals have been known to be better equipped. Where any kind of respectable firearms were in the possession of local policemen, most if not all of them were in either untrained or ill-trained to use them effectively.

It was the incredible lack of equipment that compelled me to release P10 million from the savings of the Executive Department to alleviate the primitive conditions under which local police forces had to work. You will recall that no funds were provided by the Appropriations Act for this purpose.

To be sure, many of these conditions still remain today. But a very encouraging start has been made. Much of the headway we have already made is in the form of training courses and facilities to increase the knowledge and efficiency of our police forces. As a corollary, we have also undertaken a vigorous “weeding out” program to remove policemen found to have commuted venalities.

I must stress the importance of police training because it is the key to a truly effective and dependable police force. The Police Commission, in response to the need for skilled and efficient law enforcers, has launched a number of training courses. Among these are the Chiefs of Police Course, the Supervisory Development Course, the Personnel Development Course, and specialized courses, including those for criminal investigation, juvenile delinquency control, questioned documents examination, firearms investigation, police records management, weapons and marksmanship, and traffic control administration.

Today, we have, besides a national police academy, five regional police academies. We have also inaugurated a basic training program for policemen in the lower grades and for recruits. We expect to train about 1,000 policemen every quarter under this program.

I am determined that professionalization be brought into the ranks of policemen all over the country. As participants in this seminar-workshop, you will surely realize the importance of new knowledge gained. The satisfaction I brought by continuous self-improvement, which is really all that professionalization means, makes not only for increased self-respect but a greater vigor in the performance of one’s work.

To provide an even more stable foundation for the policeman’s profession, I propose to the various universities that they establish a program for the training and education of police officers. This will be an important and decisive step towards the professionalization of our police forces. The training program we are at present undertaking are, by their very nature, acts of expediency, to accelerate our efforts to transform existing police forces into more effective agencies.

A college course in police methods and management will be the best guarantee for the creation of a professional officer class in our police forces. I call on our universities to make this significant contribution to a stable and progressive society.

Again, let me express my pleasure in discovering that you are actively cooperating, through this seminar-workshop, to make the Administration’s police improvement program a success. You are pioneers in the historic mission to restore police work to its rank as a profession, undoubtedly one of the noblest in society.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos at the opening ceremonies of the 4th Annual Convention of the Public Schools Health Personnel Association, April 20, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening ceremonies of the 4th Annual Convention of the Public Schools Health Personnel Association
[Delivered on April 20, 1969]

Health and the Nation's Future

FOR MOST OF us, we are only as good, as useful and as effective as our health today. Health is therefore the very foundation of an active and useful life. Therefore the promotion of health is always an urgent business of society, and under the present administration it has occupied, from the start, the very highest priority.

I am therefore deeply gratified to see health promotion rising to a new importance in our public schools. This convention is the warranty of this fresh emphasis on the upbuilding of the health of our youth.

It is not always true, of course, that health is the foundation, of human achievements. Physical adversities can sometimes shape a character of steel, such as we saw in Apolinario Mabini, and it was a consumptive, Marcelo H. del Pilar, who gave us the glory of *La Solidaridad*. Sometimes, men under great emotional strain that is injurious to health unexpectedly outdo themselves in achievement and performance. I found myself in such a situation, many years ago, when inside a prison cell, wracked by the traumatic events of a court trial, I gave myself entirely to the task of reviewing for the bar with results that surpassed my own best expectations.

But these exceptions merely prove the rule — that the health of the nation determines its own level of energy and vigor and industry, and therefore, ultimately, its performance in social and economic development.

This is especially true in the countryside, where most of our people live. I have seen malnutrition taking a heavy toll in wan and enfeebled children, and have confirmed for myself the observation that a very high proportion of our people in the rural areas are malnourished. As you know, I have been occupied lately with visits to the rural areas and have taken advantage of these trips to meet with the leaders of our people at the grassroots — the barrio captains and the barrio councils. They tell me that their leading problem is still the lack of adequate health and medical care facilities. I am glad, incidentally, that I have been able to visit our people in the rural areas to learn first-hand from them the problems that they face. The office of the Presidency is always in danger of being isolated and insulated from the realities, and it has been my purpose and determination from the beginning to prevent this.

As I have always indicated in my public statements including my message to Congress, the improvement of health services for the people, especially for those in the rural communities, is a principal program of this administration.

The reason for this emphasis on rural health is clear. About 82 per cent of our people are medically indigent, that is to say, this inordinately large segment of our populace live and die without the benefit of proper medical attention? And about 80 per cent of our people reside in the rural areas. Hence, it is obvious that the people most affected by inadequate medical care are rural people.

Just to highlight a point about the rural health situation, I should cite the finding of a Mindanao survey in 1966 which showed that 60 per cent of our people die without ever seeing a doctor or a nurse.

And yet, the Philippines is one of the major providers of medical and nursing skills abroad. Each year we find hundreds of our doctors, nurses, and medical technologists leaving the Philippines to serve, ironically, in more

developed societies like the USA. This “brain drain” adversely affects our health program, and this is a problem that I have directed the Manpower Development Council to attend to.

At the present time, our Department of Health is engaged in a rural health program that seeks to provide health and medical services to 80 per cent of our people. As of July 1967 a total of 1,352 rural health units served the same number of municipalities. By July of last year although additional units were created to increase the total of 1,459, still a number of municipalities remain unserved. Furthermore, of the existing rural health units, one thousand are not completely staffed and are operating with inadequate supplies and medicines. We are seeking to correct these inadequacies this year. And I am calling on our doctors and nurses and medical technologists who are inclined to go abroad because of material inducements to consider that they have a role to perform here — not in the cities where medical and health services are adequate but in the countryside where the bulk of our people live and where facilities leave much to be desired.

We are trying to do our best. Through our rural health program the government is providing free medicines for the people. In 1965 the per capita expenditure of our government was four centavos. Today for free medicine we spend 52 centavos per person. In other words we are distributing throughout the country about P16 million worth of free medicines as compared to only P1.3 million in 1965.

We have also made arrangements with the U.S. Agency for International Development for the establishment of 500 nutrition centers for children all over the country. At the same time we are engaged in a campaign to show the need for better food, for we are all well aware of the nutritional deficiencies of our people. We are particularly concerned about malnutrition among children of pre-school age.

We are at present engaged, in association with the World Health Organization, in three areas of public health — malaria eradication, cholera control studies, and the planning of a sewerage system for the greater Manila area.

We have also established a cancer center with the cooperation of the private sector, the first of many cancer centers to be established in various parts of the country.

We have continuing programs for the control of snail fever or schistosomiasis and the control methods are associated in a large measure with developmental activities such as drainage operations for land reclamation, proper irrigation design and construction, and scientific rice culture methods, not to speak of the sanitary measures which are a responsibility of the National Health Services.

I am gratified to see the medicare bill passed by Congress which seeks to broaden medical care services and extend their coverage to our population. As our resources increase, better coverage and more health facilities will be provided for the health protection of our population as this, remains a fixed and a continuing policy of your government.

I have endeavored to give some of the highlights of our national health program which you will observe to be crucial to our national development effort. The fact is that much as we would like to accelerate socio-economic development this is not feasible until and unless we promote the health of our population and train them for their individual roles in nation-building.

You who are in the public school system perform important roles in the national health program.

There is a need for the education of our students on the health needs of the nation and how they themselves may, during and after school years, participate in the national effort at improving the health of our people.

We need healthy bodies as well as healthy minds, but while these are desirable in themselves, these are pre-requisites for our ultimate desire to have a highly developed society, enjoying the fruits of its labor and rendering quality to the lives of the people.

I trust that this convention will not just be an excuse for having a well-deserved respite from your duties in the public schools but an occasion for focusing truly on the health needs of the nation.

You are called upon to exercise a tremendous responsibility — building the health of the young. This is one of the most important tasks that your nation can I assign to any one. I have no doubt that in this convention you will take fresh inspiration and acquire a stronger resolve to excel in the performance of this vital responsibility to your schools, to the children in the schools, and to the future of your country and people.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the First Session of the 10th Governing Body Meeting of the Asian Productivity Organization, April 29, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the First Session of the 10th Governing Body Meeting of the Asian Productivity Organization

[Delivered on April 29, 1969]

The Ethic and Discipline of Productivity

I HAVE ALWAYS welcomed every opportunity to speak before international conferences held in my country. Over the past months, I have had occasion to address a number of such conferences, and each time it has been a great pleasure for me. I am, however, especially delighted to address the Governing Body Meeting of the Asian Productivity Organization first, for sentimental reasons, because the APO came officially into existence in this country by means of the Signing Conference which started in April 1961; and second, because your aim is identical to the major objectives our government has set for itself the past three and a half years.

On behalf of our people, I welcome you to our country. I am certain that your deliberations will again, as all your other meetings have done, evolve historic solutions to many of the economic and social problems shared; by the countries of Asia.

I have said that the Philippine Government for the past three and a half years has been engaged in a program whose objective is identical to yours, which is, as the Preamble to your Charter states, the improvement of living standards. I have long recognized that greater productivity is the key to the attainment of this goal. Accordingly, the first endeavors of the government after I assumed office as President more than three years ago were concerned with stepping up production, especially in foodstuff. These endeavors are continuing, are in fact now being carried out on a broader front to include production for export.

The projects of the Asian Productivity Organization, particularly those seeking to inculcate new attitudes and develop new skills for greater productivity, are therefore of special value to me, as a confirmation of the validity and the urgency of my country's own efforts to faring greater economic security to four people.

I believe you are aware of my country's keen interest in regional cooperation as a means of accelerating progress among the peoples of Asia.

Last year, I visited three of our neighboring countries in the hope that, with the leaders of these countries, I could find new means with which the partnership forged among them earlier could be strengthened and broadened. In the course of these visits, I had occasion to explore with the leaders of each host country the possibility of bilateral as well as multilateral arrangements which would increase economic cooperation between and among the countries of the region.

I discovered that there is a unanimous desire among Asian nations to harness their rich, natural and human resources as quickly as possible and convert their long existing potential for prosperity into actual conditions of greater comfort and abundance. This unanimity of purpose, coupled with the vast reservoir of goodwill based to a large extent on ancient blood ties and historical associations, is our best assurance that cooperative endeavor among the countries of Asia will engage our best skills and energies.

I am glad that organizations like the Asian Productivity Organization (APO) are constantly adding to the will and competence for Asian development, because the problem of Asian poverty poses an enormous challenge which

cannot be met except by the utmost in human resources. In point of population, we are the most numerous inhabitants of the globe. The spectre of famine is constantly with us. A regional average birth rate of 3 per cent increases this already terrifying spectre every year. On the other hand, we have not, in terms of goods and services, grown at a pace even approaching our annual rate of population increase.

It is clear that the problem of survival in Asia, in the face of the odds that confront us, calls for revolutionary changes in the traditional patterns of economy and social life in this part of the world. It calls for a miracle surpassing the miracle of the seven fishes. This is the miracle of modern productivity.

It is a miracle that, fortunately enough, we are capable of bringing forth. For the overcoming of the problem of Asian poverty is miraculous only in the sense of exceeding the limits of achievement established by the habits of the past. It consists of radical transformations which would change the techniques of production and increase the capacity for work.

To my mind, productivity is therefore both an economic and a spiritual fact.

In its economic sense, productivity is designed to produce maximum results with a minimum investment of money, men and resources. In other words, if we could obtain maximum output of goods and services from a minimum input of capital, we would be achieving that revolutionary, and in a sense miraculous, development in our economic life — which is to win the race against poverty.

It is indispensable to increased productivity that we invest more money and energy in research and in acquiring new scientific and technological knowledge. The essence of productivity is efficiency, efficiency in management and productive labor as a means of lowering costs. It is inevitable, in the process of economic growth, that wage increases are asked, and given. Unless management and labor fulfill together the responsibility of bringing about cost-decreasing measures to overcome inevitable wage increases the entire economic life of the nation may be nothing more than a spectacle of stagnation. A great modern sage once said that the nations of Asia must run just to stand still. The productive capacity of a people, if they are to go beyond mere stagnation, must therefore be pushed beyond a trot, into a full sprint. For this, the peoples of Asia need endurance and sacrifice.

In its economic sense, productivity must therefore take into consideration that in the long run the factory that uses better trained men and employs the most efficient industrial technology and management know-how will turn out more and better quality products that will sell at lower cost and yet assure maximum profits to the entrepreneur and maximum benefits to the country at large.

I think you are now familiar with the breakthrough we have achieved in making the Philippines self-sufficient in its basic food. Through the development and cultivation of a new variety of rice, the IR-8, or the so-called “miracle rice,” we have not only transformed our country from an importer to an exporter of rice, but also enabled other countries to achieve the same transformation or, at least, attain the objective of rice self-sufficiency.

As late as 1965, the Philippines imported P264 million worth of rice. In the three and a half years since then, the revolution in rice production has enabled the Philippines to do away with its traditional yearly rice imports. On the contrary, last year, for the first time in this country’s history, we exported rice. A total of 42,700 metric tons of rice were sold abroad, where the demand, particularly, I understand, in Indonesia, Singapore, Ceylon, India, Burma and Hongkong, has been increasing.

I have been told that in Burma, the Philippines “miracle rice” is now called Rizal rice. I consider this particularly apt, and symbolic, because my country’s national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, sounded the most eloquent and consistent summons to the Filipino people to exercise those qualities of mind and spirit which eventually, in our time, produced and spread out the “miracle rice”.

I understand, too, that Pakistan, which used to import rice, now exports the cereal, from harvests that were possible with “miracle rice” cereals obtained from the Philippines. South Vietnam, I am told, has replaced its traditional rice

varieties with IR-8; and Hongkong, which used to purchase much of its rice requirements from the United States, is now beginning to obtain rice from the Philippines instead.

By way of celebrating the idea of productivity, I am happy to announce too that we in the Philippines will soon obtain self-sufficiency also in corn, fish and meat production. Our past condition with respect to these basic food items reflected the great irony in Asia, that while there was a wealth of resources, as for instance in fish, we nevertheless had to import them from other countries. We are determined, and I am sure every other Asian nation is determined, that by means of a relentless productivity program this situation will soon cease to exist.

I need not tell you that whatever gains are achieved in one Asian country in its efforts to increase productivity in basic foods will automatically redound to the common benefit of the entire Asian region.

Owing to our country's own rapid expansion in population, which, at 3.5 per cent a year, is said to be among the highest in the world, we in the Philippines are also endeavoring to upgrade the efficiency of our factories and industrial plants, establish new industries and find new uses for the waste from our factories.

We are embarked on a program of industrialization, creating more job opportunities both through industrial expansion and manpower development. Aware of the importance of investment in accelerating the growth of productivity, we passed last year a comprehensive Investments Incentives Law, under which a new Board of Investments is now at work to determine the areas of investment priority and provide direction to entrepreneurship in the country.

Similarly, we need more technological and management know-how, both of them basic ingredients in the process of discovering how maximum results may be obtained by way of improving the standards of living of our people. We have just established some of the institutes, in economics and business administration, that are required by this objective of increased productivity.

I have been informed that your organization, in trying to promote productivity consciousness among peoples of the member-countries, has found it necessary to launch a continuing information program. It is because I am thoroughly in agreement with such a program that, nearly two years ago, I readily approved the establishment in Manila of the Regional Information Unit. For its operations and maintenance during its first two years, we have contributed \$100,000, so that it can effectively serve its purpose as the development and distribution center of productivity knowledge and information among the APO's member-countries.

I understand that your intensified information program will be highlighted by the celebration of Asian Productivity Year in 1970, and the publication of general as well as technical literature designed to quicken scientific and technological awareness in the region.

I assure you of continuing Philippine support and sympathy for this important program.

There is also, as I said at the outset, a spiritual significance to productivity. Beyond the new and expanded technology that goes into increased productivity is the new outlook that a whole set of revised or altered habits and values inevitably produces in every man. Increased capacity for production is in direct proportion to the growth of individual, and ultimately national, sense of achievement. This is the ethic and discipline of productivity.

Until enough individuals in one nation shed the habits of sloth and complacency, progress will remain an illusion. The hard facts of contemporary life, and I dare say of the life that our children face in the years ahead, summon everyman and woman living today to carry a part of the burden of reorganizing the economic order to enable as many human beings as possible to live in greater dignity and abundance. There is no place today for indifference and idleness; work and action have become the moral obligation of every man.

To lead a really meaningful life today, to rise above mere physical existence, to participate in the work of progress, is to me the ultimate aim of productivity. The will power, the self-respect, the constancy of one's belief in self-

advancement: these are the principal tools with which every single undeveloped nation can redeem itself from the tragedy and humiliation of eons of poverty. That we have begun to realize this, and to suit our conduct to this new awareness, seems to me to be the most important and most decisive step we have yet taken towards Asian progress.

I congratulate you for your historic role in increasing our place since that step was first taken, towards that long and desired goal.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Opening Program of the 1969 Annual Convention of School Superintendents
April 30, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Opening Program of the 1969 Annual Convention of School Superintendents

[Delivered on April 30, 1969]

Education As Social Involvement

ADDRESSING YOU HAS almost become an annual ritual. Every year I come to deliver a speech and every year you gather to listen to it. This has come to be so regular that I am sure I would be very unhappy if next year you will not invite me as your guest speaker.

Whenever I speak to the public schools superintendents of this country, I am aware of the singularly critical role which they play in whole communities in this country — the work of communicating knowledge and of keeping our population open to the possibilities of education.

It is as educators that you are gathered here today, and I should like now to inquire with you into the problems of public school education today and how these problems have vastly complicated your work as educators and my work as an executive of government.

In the past, the foremost problem that we have had to confront was the question of providing free education for all and on the elementary school level only. That is a goal that has now been, I hope, largely realized.

This is one of the reasons why we had the Marcos prefabricated school-building program. Now, I heard a critic say one time, “But why are these prefabricated schoolhouses called Marcos prefabricated schoolhouses? This is unfair, this is unusual, the President utilizing, and attaching, his name to the school with which he has nothing to do.” Well, I have some interesting news for these critics. I designed the Marcos prefabricated schoolhouse and I designed it way back in 1945, towards the end of the war. I designed it here, in this part of the country, Northern Luzon.

Every time that we recovered a province, or a city, from the enemy I had to establish a civil government, and establishing a civil government, the first problem that faced me was education or more precisely, rebuilding damaged or destroyed schoolhouses. The schoolchildren and the parents and the teachers would come to me and say, it’s time now that we start to teach and to educate our children again. We have had four years delay but we must now start.

And so we started building these schoolhouses but they were unwieldy, and the engineers could not come up with a handy design, so I finally sat down and designed the Marcos prefabricated building. It has been improved upon since then.

And the same thing happened in 1965. When I became the President, I asked for a design of a new schoolhouse. I wanted a prefabricated unit so that it could be built in not more than three days. And they could not come up with a good design; all the designs submitted needed one week to build, or were so complicated that they did not meet the requirements I demanded. So I went back to the old design of the liberation days, the Marcos prefabricated school building. But neither that or anything else explains the problem that we had at that time.

If you will remember, when I became President, the deficiency in schoolrooms was 92,000 schoolrooms. All of you are aware of the fact that this deficiency was recorded in your respective jurisdiction, 92,000 schoolrooms. And the previous administrations, of course, just folded up their arms and said, "we cannot meet that deficiency now." But under my administration, we had to start somewhere, and that is the very essence not only of leadership but also of government.

Government, I have discovered, cannot close its eyes to the nagging problems by merely not taking action, because this compounds the injury upon the body politic, and to our society. A leader has to accept the weaknesses of our people and build up strength. It is futile for a leader to say, we will do that tomorrow, we will do that next year even if the resources will not allow it. The problem must be thought out now, today. And thinking out such a problem, the first step must be taken, no matter how short such a step may be.

But in the Marcos prefabricated school program, we had had the advance from the war damage payments, plus the reparations payments to prime our efforts. I insisted that the reparations payments that were going into factories for the industrialists be rechanneled back to the people, to whom the reparations payments from Japan were in fact supposed to be paid. I do not know if you are up-to-date on the reparations payments, but do you know the total payments that Japan was supposed to make to us? Well, the total reparations payments to us by Japan were supposed to amount to \$550 million. Now this is more than two billion pesos and this is supposed to be paid over a period of 25 years.

Then, a loan was supposed to be extended to us in the amount of \$250 million or P1 billion. Now, before I came in as President all this money was being frittered away in bills, providing, I presume, assistance for the industrial sector. I will not go into the pros and cons of this assistance, but I decided that reparations should be paid back to the greater majority of the people, for whom the reparations payments were being made. The total payments annually are \$25 million dollars or P100 million.

Now, this is not very much compared to what we actually spend on the school building program. We have spent in the past several years anywhere from P150 to 250 million. And there are many people who always ask me where did you get all this money? I did not steal this money, I often say, but we cut expenditures and we removed a large number of the pensionados in the government. This is one of my basic speeches in meetings with any group whatsoever, and I emphasize how we removed from the service, pensionados numbering about 7000. I don't believe that many of you know about this.

There are many critics who now seem to find many faults in the administration. I discovered only lately that some of them were those whom I removed from the government for being pensionados in the government. What is a pensionado? They do not go to office, except on pay day when they get their salary. And you will be aghast and shocked at their numbers. There were 7000 of them, and do you know what their salaries were? Double that of your salaries. Some of them were getting from P500 to P1,500, even P2000, a month.

I called the leaders of the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party, and even the Independent Party, and I pleaded with them. I told them, "You know, we are all agreed that we have to cut expenses. We cannot continue paying this unbelievably large group of pensionados, and so we have to remove them, all 7000 of them. We cut out 17 generals from the Armed Forces of the Philippines, as a start. I was taken aback, therefore, though I laughed about it, when I saw a press release later, to the effect that some of the Generals who had been removed in the first year of my administration were now supporting the opposition candidates. Well, that is their choice.

But I wonder what would have happened if we had kept those Generals. They would be on my side now, but they would still be smuggling contraband into the Philippines. Because one of the reasons they were removed was that they were involved, as some reports indicated, in smuggling. And when I asked them for alternatives, to choose either facing court martial or resigning, they resigned. If they were not really guilty they could have chosen the court martial. They were my friends, very close friends of mine, some of them were with me in many battles. But that is one of the burdens of the Presidency; sometimes you cannot decide on the basis of friendship, and sometimes discoveries about friends compel you to the old classic conclusion: "God protect me from my friends, I'll take care of my enemies."

And so we did all of this and now have probably about 50,000 schoolrooms out of the 92,000-schoolrooms deficiency but we are still moving forward.

This year we are going to build about 14,000 schoolhouses of three rooms each, most of them coming from reparations. But now we have the problem of high schools. When I became President, there were only four barrio high schools. The present enrollment in barrio high schools is 200,000 whereas before it was only 2000 students. This is an increase of 100 per cent, from 2000 to 200,000.

Now, there is a new development: the community colleges. I don't know if all of you know about this yet but in 1966 there was one in Urdaneta, Pangasinan; in 1968 another was set up in San Fernando, La Union, then still another in Lucban, Quezon. In 1970, there will be an estimated 20 community colleges. Now this is something new and we are trying to support it with all the funds available from the national government. I would like to congratulate Mr. Orata here, publicly, and all the superintendents who have had anything to do with the colleges.

I have always espoused the policy of dispersal of high schools and universities, but now we are met with a problem, and this is the problem of the quality of instruction.

Increasingly, our attention has turned from the expansion of educational opportunity to the question of what kind of education we must provide our youth. Increasingly, we have had to re-examine our educational goals under prevailing social conditions and realities, in the context of a society undergoing rapid change.

This has been, in fact, the special concern of our educational system during the past decade. Great changes have been effected in that system, including such things as the revision of the curriculum, the improvement of teacher training, and the expansion of educational services. We have even lately attempted a manpower development program and on an emergency basis.

At the heart of this new thinking, this new orientation, we can perceive, I think, the under-current of an emerging involvement on the part of our schools with the work of changing and building a nation.

It has been said time and again by critics of Philippine education that education in this country has, as I have said, succeeded in changing the destinies of individuals, of raising them to lives of prosperity, but it has not succeeded in transforming their society; that it has not helped this nation rise above its history.

This is not a new call to action. There exists today within our educational system the seeds of such a renewal on which we can build. But they are seeds threatened by drought, by apathy on the part of the men who make them grow and should make them bear fruit. There is new life throbbing in our midst, and it is up to us to see that it does not die.

But I'm afraid that I speak in generalities.

In the specific, this means to my mind that you and the schools must live "in" society. Our schools must play a real role in the shaping of the communities to which they belong, and you as stewards of these schools must ever open them to such involvement.

Manpower training for instance. As you know, only 33 per cent of those aged 13 to 14 are in school; the 65 per cent are out of school. Now this problem is being met by some of the programs we have established, principally by manpower training. Manpower training was an idea that I had hoped to have implemented back in 1966. It is a part of our policy of conservation. Many people are taken aback when I say manpower is a part of our conservation efforts. They ask me what it has to do with conservation. And I reply that conservation of natural resources includes the conservation of the most vital, the most valuable of all natural resources — human resources.

The out-of-school youth, as it were, are a part of our human resources, of our natural resources, which we seem to have discarded or abandoned. They become burdens for you and me, when they are neglected. In time, they will

pose a threat to peace and order, a threat to our stability, to our free institutions, I if left to drift aimlessly. Yet we did nothing about them in the past. We delayed, action. Nobody wanted to come to grips with this problem. Always we delayed, we postponed, we procrastinated until the problem had grown to very serious proportions.

You play a very important role in this, and perhaps since the percentages indicate that 35 per cent are affected by our educational program and 65 per cent are not, the manpower training program may ultimately become a very vital force for the survival of our democracy. And this is, of course, in your hands.

Allow me to congratulate you again, and to thank you for your generosity in everything that you have done in the conduct of public affairs. Rest assured that you have in me a friend, who will place at your disposal within legal and moral limits the powers and prerogatives of the Presidency, to advance our march to the objectives of the educational plan.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Macapagal on the Philippine Air Force Day, May 2, 1962

Address
of
His Excellency Diosdado Macapagal
President of the Philippines
On the Philippine Air Force Day

[Delivered on May 2, 1962]

THE PHILIPPINE AIR FORCE

I APPEAR before you today on this the celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the Philippine Air Force, in three capacities: first, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines; second, as President of our young Republic; and third, as a fellow citizen.

I have followed with great interest the progress made by the Philippine Air Force. Our Air Force of today is a far cry from the small section of the Philippine Constabulary that it was 27 years ago. Because of the foresight, ambition, and devotion to duty of that handful of pioneers that started the Air Force in 1935, nurtured by the skills and valor of your comrades and yourselves during World War II, the Philippine Air Force has now reached the stage of rapid development in keeping pace with the accelerated progress in science and technology. I am happy to note that under the able management of its Commander and his staff, the Air Force has its modernization program well under way. It is a credit to all of you that our fighter units flying modern jet aircraft and our aircraft control and warning radar sites are now combat-ready.

Noncombat missions of the Philippine Air Force have been well accomplished. Fresh in our minds is the calamity that struck our countrymen recently in Eastern Mindanao.* I note with satisfaction the great help extended by the Air Force in the speedy distribution of medicines and relief goods. Almost daily, I know of patients being airlifted to Manila from different parts of the country.

Neither spectacular nor publicized, yet important contributions to our economic development, are the missions performed by the Air Force in coordination with other branches of the Government. The Philippine Air Force has been working with appropriate government agencies in the Photogrammetry Project, in industrial survey and planning, in irrigations, in reforestation, and in plant pest and disease control.

I am glad that your Commanding General, General Pedro Molina, has started an air education program, aimed such that the potentials of air transportation may be availed of to integrate many dispersed and remote areas into our country. I do not mind disclosing (although before I already had esteem for General Molina) that after knowing more of him my esteem has developed into admiration and a liking for him as a person and a respect for his leadership as a military officer. Because of this and because of my high assessment of the role of the Air Force in the defense and development of our country, you can be sure that although our Air Force is already a fine one, yet with me as your Commander-in-Chief, my Administration will give full support to the Philippine Air Force to become an even finer organization than ever before.

While I am interested in the Air Force as a whole, I must confess that I have special concern for the enlisted men in the Air Force. I wish to mention, therefore, that it has given me joy to be able to provide in the national budget which I have submitted to Congress an increase of pay for the enlisted men, and in addition, I and General Molina have agreed on plans to provide better housing facilities for the enlisted men and their families.

The primary mission of the Philippine Air Force is to provide air defense for our country. Under present conditions where weapons systems are either being developed or are obsolescent, it would take enormous sums of money to even approach the state of weaponry of many other countries in the world. However, this should not detract from our responsibilities to our people, to our friends, and to those that follow us. We have to maintain an efficient and

respectable, although compact, Philippine Air Force, with sufficient military posture to be able, if need be, to defend our country, and also to be a capable partner to fulfill our commitments to our many allies in this part of the globe. May I assure our allies, the representatives of some of whom are present, that if and when the call of freedom is sounded, pilots of the Philippine Air Force will be in the air to fight with the nations of the free world in defense of liberty, human dignity and the free way of life that we all cherish.

At this point, I would like to extend my appreciation to the United States Government for the assistance rendered in the development of our Air Force. The present state of modernization of the Philippine Air Force would not have been achieved were it not for the \$78 million worth of aircraft, electronic and other valuable equipment, supplies, and training of personnel received by it from the United States. As weapons systems become even more sophisticated and expensive, further expansion and modernization of our air arm would well depend upon additional assistance from our allies and friends.

Because active air defense is its primary role, the Philippine Air Force has to be continuously on its toes—keeping its personnel proficient and maintaining the weapons and support systems in shape. However, other commands of the Armed Forces, the civilian component of the Government, and the population as a whole, have roles to play in air defense. The Philippine Air Force can help these elements perform their passive air defense functions by actively assisting in their training, and by passing on information to our people so that all our efforts may be integrated in the event our sacred skies are transgressed.

Our country is today faced with many serious and pressing problems. Even as you of the Philippine Air Force keep yourselves in fighting trim and render the other socio-economic functions you have been performing, there are still other fields in which you could contribute towards the solution of some of our country's problems. Since air power includes everything in aviation, the development of civil aviation in our country may parallel that of the Philippine Air Force. I feel that the Philippine Air Force as the military air arm of the country should take a more active part in the development of civil aviation. Because of the very nature of our geography, air transportation, among all modes, appears the most charged with the probability of effecting far-reaching changes in our cultural and economic life. The numerous mountain ranges and seas that separate our provinces have long posed grave problems of transportation. These same natural barriers to free movement of persons and property tend to hamper the socio-economic progress of our country. The government is embarking into an ambitious airport and airways development program, but you must realize that our coffers are not unlimited. There are other ways in which civil aviation could be promoted.

You of the Philippine Air Force have the technical skills, you are familiar with the inherent advantages of air transportation, and you travel to different parts of the country in the accomplishment of your different missions. You can assist by actively encouraging the patronage of airplanes for transportation, thereby bringing about an increased demand for air travel, thus making it attractive enough for more investors to organize airline companies, and complete the cycle by bringing down costs and therefore rates to enable the mass of our people to afford air transportation. In this manner, the contribution to the economic development of our country will be tremendous because not only will an air transport industry to be developed, but the inherent benefits of the airplane shall reach each and every part of our country and the majority of our masses could afford to travel by air for reasons of pleasures, convenience, economic advantage, or necessity.

The Philippine Air Force has made magnificent progress during the past 27 years. The future demands an even faster rate of development. You, as the first line of defense of our country, have a unique responsibility to our countrymen. I shall continue to support your efforts as I have done in the past. However, do not expect everything handed to you on a silver platter. You shall have to work even harder; in these difficult times, you shall have to do without some of the things you need. I know that you shall meet the challenges without flinching, knowing that the material rewards shall be meager. Rest assured, however, that as you accomplish your different missions, you shall have the undying gratitude of your country and your people.

Again, I salute the officers and men of the Philippine Air Force. Our Air Force has a glorious if brief record of dedication to country. The exploits of its combat airmen under appallingly adverse circumstances compare with the saga of valor displayed by air heroes in other lands. As I see our pilots in their planes rise in majesty through our skies, I thrill to the thought that you symbolize the dream of our people for a better life. In the same manner that our

airmen in their missions rise higher and higher into the infinite skies, let us all at this critical time of our history labor together so that our people too shall rise higher and higher in their level of livelihood to the end that all Filipinos shall enjoy a life of abundance in dignity and freedom.

* The President was referring to the flood that wrought heavy damage to property (estimated at more than P12 million).

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the Closing Ceremonies of the 16th National Convention of Manufacturers and Producers, May 16, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Closing Ceremonies of the 16th National Convention of Manufacturers and Producers

[Delivered on May 16, 1969]

An End to Economic Isolation

I CONGRATULATE THE producers and manufacturers for a very successful convention. I am happy to be here with you to keep this annual appointment. It is my hope and intention to be able to keep the same appointment next year. It is going to be your 17th convention, and the number 17 is sacred to many religions and, as you know, it is also a symbol of good luck, especially to me.

Your convention this year is, in my opinion, above all, an act of courage and honesty on the part of Philippine industry. I say this because this year, you have dared to make a candid reappraisal of your role in national development, and, particularly, your social responsibility as the economic organ of our society.

It is often said, cynically, that the modern corporation is an entity without a soul. The implication is that business is bereft of conscience and is impervious to any appeal except that of profit. This convention has asserted the conscience of the Philippine industry, in relation to national goals, proving that private enterprise, as the agent of innovation and social change, can be directed by larger purposes than individual self-interest.

To paraphrase one of the greatest leaders of the 20th century, Philippine industry has decided, in this convention, to ask not what the country can do for our businessman but what our businessman can do for our country; not what the government can do to help Philippine industry but what the Philippine industry can do to help itself. A soul-searching of this nature is one of the healthiest exercises that a group like yours can engage in. For Philippine industry, and for the Philippine economy as a whole, it is time to shed attitudes of dependence and to assume a posture of self-reliance and strength.

This soul-searching, I believe, comes at the proper time, perhaps a little later than just the precise time. A large proportion of our manufacturing industries were born during the period of controls. They grew up initially under the inducements and the protection provided by an undervalued foreign exchange and in an atmosphere where the degree of competition and the number and size of enterprises were determined by the exchange licensing machinery. It was also at this time that the Philippine Chamber of Industries was born. Its limited task then was to press for the reorientation of exchange control policies toward the protection and promotion of Filipino manufacturing enterprises.

The lifting of exchange controls has changed not only the atmosphere under which Philippine industry may operate, but also the role of economic associations such as the PCI. Having lost the protective umbrella of controls, Philippine industry has had to readjust itself to the new climate, partly by calling for substitute protective measures in the way of increased tariffs, and partly by developing its own muscles, increasing its own efficiency, and strengthening its competitiveness.

This has transformed the very rationale and character of an organization such as yours, requiring a broader outlook, and this convention has served as an occasion for a reappraisal of the new role that the PCI and similar organization must play in the coming decade.

I believe that this role should reflect the need for Philippine industry to unite in one basic task: to go on from the “inward-looking” industrialization of the past to the “outward-looking” industrialization of the future. This will involve looking at ourselves not in isolation but as a part of the Asian region, the economics; of which are being pressed by circumstances towards increasing cooperation and even some measure of integration. It involves breaking down the walls of isolationism which we have managed to build during the past two decades, and seeking our proper place in Asia and the world.

Our industrial development so far has been inward-looking in the sense that it has sought primarily to serve the domestic rather than the export market. It has been geared, towards internal competition among ourselves, rather than towards competition in the world markets. It has tended to sustain its viability by means of exchange controls, for instance, and at other times by means of tariff increases. It has managed to sustain the appearance of viability, but this viability has never really been tested. For our manufacturing industry has grown but in isolation from external competitive forces, almost — one might say — under greenhouse conditions. It has never demonstrated whether it would survive the withdrawal of the protective shields under which it has thrived so far.

It is now time for Philippine industry to stress protection less and competitiveness more. By competitiveness, I mean not among ourselves but with the outside world, for on this depends, in the end, the viability of the entire Philippine economy. We must stop looking inward exclusively and start looking outward. We can no longer allow ourselves and our industries to develop in complete isolation from the forces that shape the world economy. We must respond to the challenges of external change, capitalize on the opportunities presented by the outside world, and develop strength and the capabilities for doing so. We must demolish our greenhouses and open our windows to the fresh winds of change from abroad.

An “outward-looking” industrialization program will involve not only the need to compete but also to cooperate. In order to compete, we must not just look at our own domestic market but at those of other countries. We must diminish our dependence on domestic protection and concentrate on strengthening ourselves for external competition. This will mean the restructuring of our industries, and in this, I expect the private sector to take the initiative although I commit the full assistance of the government.

There are some important areas of industry, however, where competition among individual nations, particularly in this part of the world, has become a meaningless concept. Indeed, there are now a number of areas where Asian countries with similar objectives and compatible political systems should cooperate, cooperate in the sense of harmonizing their investment, production and marketing plans instead of developing individual over-capacities by independent action.

It should be stressed that the developed countries are themselves in the process of consolidating their economies and, at the moment, are turning increasingly their attention to their own economic problems and away from those of the developing worlds. The survival of the developing countries under these circumstances will depend on their ability to cooperate and to integrate their plans in order to avail of larger markets among themselves, the best manpower wherever they can be found among themselves, and the most ideal resources wherever they may be located.

It is in this spirit that the Philippines headed the movement during the recently concluded 25th session of the ECAFE in Singapore, to advance the concept of ASEAN, and to explore the areas where cooperation among the five ASEAN countries was immediately feasible. The developing countries, after all, should depend less on assistance from the industrialized countries and should seek their own progress through self-reliance.

Finally, an outward-looking industrialization strategy must recognize the realities in the foreign capital markets, at the same time that it acknowledges the need for greater domestic efforts to finance our own development; Even as we increase our savings to finance our development, we must seek to tap sources loans and equity capital from abroad rather than shut our doors to them. Just as we must avoid opening the floodgates to the indiscriminate entry into the Philippines of foreign interest, we must avoid the opposite danger of stifling our growth and suffocating our economy by depriving ourselves of any form of foreign capital.

Our strategy on foreign capital will be twofold: to tap loan capital for projects that need no foreign equity, and to invite foreign equity for ventures that could not otherwise proceed were we to depend on Philippine capital alone.

This is the basic foreign investment philosophy that underlies our Investment Incentives Act. We should not allow the forces of isolationism to retard our growth and delay the spread of prosperity to our masses. The Filipino businessman is competent enough, self-confident enough, and business-like enough to be able to use foreign capital either in the form of loans or equity, for the benefit and not for the subjugation of the country.

In all these tasks, the Philippine Chamber of Industries can play a vital role. It can encourage the expansion of the Filipino businessman's horizons, from his individual business interests to that of his country, and to shift his efforts from promoting not just his own but his country's competitiveness. We cannot continue to develop our economy behind the shield of excessive protection, for we have reached, perhaps, the limits of that type of growth. We must break out of our shell, look outward to the world, seek to compete in its markets, seek to cooperate with other countries, and seek to tap their funds, their expertise and their technology. The price of isolation is economic suffocation.

The evidence of our economic growth, under the spur of modernization in both industry and agriculture, is already impressive, both palpably and statistically. Not a few of the firms represented in this convention were among the nearly 2,000 that were distressed at the beginning of my term. Massive doses of financial assistance and moral encouragement from the public sector, have restored their "health and vitality. The indices show a constant upturn in our modern productive capacity. The performance of agriculture has been more spectacular than in the manufacturing sector during the past three years but both have cooperated to bring about a record rise of 6.4 per cent in our gross national product in 1968. We feel, however, that this record can still be improved upon his year.

Not only has this performance proved the resiliency of our economy, through a creative partnership between the private and the public sector, it has demonstrated beyond doubt the capacity of Filipino entrepreneurship to achieve the most complex and the most challenging tasks. I like to believe that imbibing this same entrepreneurial spirit, the government has proven the same capacity for the nation as a whole. The government has met and often oversubscribed its ambitious goals in cereal production, infrastructure building, community development and land reform, education and manpower training. In every one of these fields, the record of the government in the past three years is unprecedented and unsurpassed by any administration.

But it is precisely our joint responsibility to surpass ourselves from day to day and from year to year—until the answers catch up with our problems, until jobs can catch up with the population explosion, until rising real incomes can follow in the wake of steady rises in productivity.

By such purposefulness, hard work and endurance alone can we control our problems before they overwhelm us. In this great task, Philippine industry is called upon to assume a pivotal role, not only in terms of productive capacity but also in genuine commitment to the foremost goals of our nation, namely accelerated development in an atmosphere of freedom and dignity for all.

This convention of Philippine industry has assumed willingly the burdens of such a leadership. We welcome this manifestation of a new social conscience in Philippine industry. I know no better augury for the nation's future.

Once more, I congratulate you and wish you continuing success in the service of industry and of the national community.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Closing Dinner Program of the Philippine Military Academy Alumni Association, May 17, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Closing Dinner Program of the Philippine Military Academy Alumni Association

[Delivered on May 17, 1969]

A Corps of Advisers

ANYONE WHO REACHES a position of leadership acquires the habit of deliberate thinking. One of my favorite mental exercises, which others may find useful, is to foresee possible problems one may have to face in the future and to determine what solutions can possibly be made to meet these problems.

For instance, if I were suddenly asked, to pose a given situation, to decide in five minutes when and where to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, I have decided that there should be at least five questions that I would ask, and depending on the answers to these five questions, I would know when and where to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

The same thing is true with the declaration of martial law. Incidentally, martial law has just recently been declared in Malaysia. It is a useful mental exercise to meet a problem before it happens. A leader must foresee a problem coming up long before the ordinary citizen even expects it to surface, and expecting this, it is incumbent upon the leader to anticipate the circumstances surrounding such a crisis so that he may be able to meet the full impact of the crisis with coolness.

This is true, too, of military men. When you anticipate, for instance, the capability of the enemy and then you are met with sudden withering fire, while the others — the men under you — who have not anticipated it recoil in shock, you meet the situation with a little coolness and deliberation because you expected it, and you are well fortified, for although expecting the best, you are prepared for the worst.

I have also looked upon contemporary opinions and criticisms not as final judgements but simply as materials for the historian to utilize in forming a perspective, at some future time, when the eyes are not dimmed with passion and the heart, once motivated by partisanship, is no longer moved to inform the judgment of those who write and those who comment upon the past with distinct bias.

I congratulate the outgoing officers of the Philippine Military Academy Alumni Association for their achievements in fostering a stronger spirit of brotherhood among its members.

I am gratified to note that of the alumni associations in the Philippines, the Philippine Military Academy Alumni Association is one of the most active. This association has helped promote the interest and the development of our military establishment. It has helped clarify important military issues.

Going over the list of resolutions taken up during your convention last year, I observed that you created a committee to study basic military problems.

I should like to see such a committee work hand in hand with other agencies of the government.

For that matter, I should like to go further by suggesting the organization of a study group within your association. Such a group, unrestricted by normal inhibitions of formal organizations, can develop ideas and concepts freely and creatively. The special studies of such a group can perhaps be submitted for consideration to the proper office in the

military establishment. In fact, I have suggested to your President that such studies be presented to me personally. I would like to know your views on many matters and here you have a built-in pool of talent to consider matters that may not affect the military but may affect the entire government. As you know I have a habit of asking almost every group of our society, including the barrio captains, to give their views on certain important issues.

I had a very exciting discussion at one time when I went to a barrio convention, and I asked the barrio leaders present to speak out on national problems. I wanted to test the capability of our barrio leaders, so I asked about, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization: what they thought of common, defense, whether we could convince Japan to exercise leadership in the economic and military development of Asia—things which you might think the barrio people would not know about. I was surprised therefore by the self-confidence and perspicacity of the barrio leaders, which just goes to show that this is, indeed, a changing world.

But I am serious about this proposal for you to organize several study groups because, I repeat, if you want to continue doing your share in helping run the government and in establishing policy, as well as the means and procedures for implementation of policy, I certainly cannot see why such study groups, quietly working, will not influence the policy-makers of our government. I would be the first to listen to your recommendations. It is my hope then that you will consider this proposal very seriously.

And this brings me to the subject of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Members of the Philippine Military Academy Alumni Association have served as military, advisers, coordinators, and action officers in the military conferences and exercises of SEATO. Young members of PMAAA look forward to serving in the different units of SEATO.

At this point, perhaps the PMAAA would like to ask itself what it has done by way of reviewing the 15-year life of SEATO and its significance upon the security of our country and the treaty area in general.

Because of the threat of communist expansion in this part of the world, eight nations organized SEATO in Manila some 15 years ago.

The flag of the SEATO has waved as a symbol of commitment of its members to defend the values they cherish. It has also stood for the promotion of the economic and social well-being of the peoples of the region.

Probably because of SEATO, the Communists have avoided open armed aggression in Southeast Asia.

To test how determined this flag would fly and how long it would endure, Communist forces closed in on the frontiers of Thailand about seven years ago. You will remember that within 48 hours, combat-ready forces from four SEATO allies were in position in the area. This action proved that SEATO could respond instantly and effectively.

Although it has been severely criticized, SEATO has met the Communist threat in this area and it has prevented this threat from worsening into a more unmanageable form of insurgency.

But this threat, the Communist threat, is a present and clear danger. It is for this reason that, for the moment, we cannot support any move to lower the flag of SEATO and to abolish the organization it stands for.

During my last visit to the SEATO headquarters in Bangkok I said that there was no other organization that could take the place of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

I also expressed my firm belief that until the nations of Southeast Asia can get together and organize a machinery for their own defense, it is necessary to maintain the existing alliances that have so far prevented the loss of an inch of soil to those who seek to subvert their respective governments and societies.

The representatives of our nation will sit with their counterparts from SEATO member nations next week to discuss the problems confronting the alliance. They will support all moves for the retention of SEATO. They will support

steps that will enhance the effectiveness of SEATO as a shield in this area behind which economic and social development can be carried out unhindered by threats of armed aggression.

They will support initiatives to strengthen the organizational structure of the alliance but they will be prepared to subordinate intricate organizational formalities in favor of practicable measures that will help in the attainment of objectives and benefits for the nations in the treaty area.

They will join in the exploration of avenues that can lead to wider Asian membership in the organization. And they will maintain an open mind in the search for new defense alliances, perhaps in line with the current sentiment of Asians to seek Asian solutions to Asian problems through regional cooperation.

This was but one of the policy areas on which I wished you had given your recommendations to me at the time when I was meeting with my advisers.

Again, I encourage the PMAAA to carry on its good work. Our country and our people depend upon you for the planning, direction and execution of our security measures while the civilians concentrate their energy on industry and productivity.

However, while the military is supposed to attend to security matters, I repeat, more and more, the military must also participate in the basic activities of development. For, as all authorities are agreed, not only is development the first line of defense of a developing country, it is perhaps the only effective defense against our ideological enemies. So, as I have said in the past, this association, which is identified with the military, certainly must be congratulated for realizing that the military has a role to play in these changing times. Since this association embraces within its fold leaders in the military, as well as leaders in other areas of activity, including the economic, political and social fields it is my hope that your association will continue to work in beneficial partnership with the government. On my part, I have nothing but best wishes for your association and its members.

I have the greatest respect for the graduates of the military academy, as my decisions on matters of promotion and assignments have indicated. I look for guidance from your association in areas where such guidance may be needed. Rest assured that I will listen to your advice and to your recommendations.

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Address of President Marcos at the 72nd Annual Assembly of the Veterans' Federation of the Philippines, June 22, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 72nd Annual Assembly of the Veterans' Federation of the Philippines

[Delivered on May 22, 1969]

The Veteran's Due

WHENEVER I SEE you, I remember those times when we wondered what God really held for all of us, what future and destiny he held in his hands for us. There were many soldiers who were probably better men than ourselves, better men than I, better men than Nick, better men than Manong. But the trouble with war is sometimes the better men are the ones who die, the better men are the ones taken by God. What do they say? Bad weeds never die. Well, we did not and that is why we have been left behind to receive the medals, and we sometimes forget our fallen comrades.

However, in a way we remember them too, and it is to remember the gallant dead that I set up the cross in Bataan which we now call the Dambana ng Kagitingan, or the Altar of Heroism, and I have directed that battle monuments be set up to mark every important battle.

What was it that we said whenever we went into combat? Do you remember the prayer? God I come to you on my knees to admit I am human and therefore I have sinned. Having sinned, I ask you to forgive me as I go into combat, to sustain me and strengthen my arms, sharpen my eyes as I meet my enemies who are more formidable than our forces and whom we may not be able to conquer. But if you cannot sustain me and I must fall in this battle, allow me, Lord, to fall with honor and nobility. And if my bones shall lie in some unknown field, let me enrich the land, so that his field may find the rice stalks in that particular spot where I have fallen a little greener, his harvest a little more bountiful. Thus, if I had not helped my country more, at least in this small way, I have heightened the fertility of my beloved land, by giving my body and my blood.

I remember all of this today. I remember this because I have come to speak to you today of the veterans who are now second class citizens in their own country. Second class citizens in the country for which they fought. Yes, history teaches us that six months after a war, the veterans are forgotten; one year after a war the veterans are looked down upon; but history does not say that 20 or 25 years after a war, the veterans are condemned to being second class citizens. But that is exactly what we are today, we are second class citizens. We are gathered here in this hall, the remnants of the hundreds of thousands of men who fought in the last war. More than four hundred thousand were recognized, but how many fought with the USAFFE? One hundred thousand. How many died during the death march and in Capas? Perhaps more than those who died in Bataan. How many died in the underground? The total, I understand, of all those who died among our people in the last war was one million and a half. One million five hundred thousand people, and they died hoping and praying that even if they fell and the standards dropped from their hands, there would be others to pick it up, perhaps with stronger hands, and raise it again, alone and proud.

There are many questions now being raised as to what each and everyone of us did in the last war? And the trouble is that we, the veterans, never talk about this. We veterans have been humble about this, and you and I never even talk about it. We feel that the record should speak for itself. Let every man claim honor who wants to claim honor. Let us not do it. I will not do it. I will not claim honor for myself. Let the records of the United States and those of the Philippines stand as they are.

How many of you went to the Luneta, as it was called then, now the Rizal Park, on July 4, 1945? The USAFIP-NL men, I see some of them here, were still fighting in the mountains. I was still somewhere in Bontoc or Kiangnan on

July 4, 1945. Bessang Pass had fallen on June 14, but the units pursuing Yamashita and the forces blocking his withdrawal towards the Cagayan Valley were still intact in Kiangnan.

And so some of you went to the Luneta, still in your tattered uniforms, perhaps. How many of you were wearing regulation shoes?

We had just come down from the mountains and I was a displaced person. I could not return to the practice of law. I was offered the position of Prosecutor in the People's Court. I was supposed to prosecute the men whom I had investigated at Camp Spencer, including all those who now claim that they were not there as prisoners. But I did not have the heart to do it. I had never had the heart to prosecute any man since that case of mine where absolutely false and absolutely baseless evidence was presented against me. So I was a displaced person.

I could not settle down. I was troubled, first of all, by the sight of veterans who had not yet received their backpay. Looking at these veterans who had not received any benefits (the Filipino Veterans Bill of Rights had not yet been approved) I raised all the trouble that I could raise. I had to; my men were holding it against me.

Towards the end of the war you will remember that the problem at that time was that we received the surrender of almost all the Japanese forces in Luzon. There must have been about 200,000 originally, and about 150,000 surrendered to us. And we put them in the prisoners-of-war camp, bigger than this Veterans Center. First, at KP-77, kilometer post 77 and at kilometer post 90. That is pretty close to Mount Polo. (According to the latest studies, it is now considered the highest mountain in the Philippines. Not Mt. Apo, but Mt. Polo. When they remeasured the peaks, they found that Mt. Polo was higher by a few feet. But I never saw the sunlight in Mt. Polo during the entire time we were fighting there.)

Anyway, we rounded up all the prisoners of war, got all the war booty, we even got hold of what is now known as the Yamashita treasure. We got all of them, gold bullion and diamonds, all sorts of gold and undoubtedly some of these were given away to the officers and men. These officers and men were thus remunerated; otherwise they would have gone back to their homes without any pay or allowances. Most of these men had not received a single centavo in compensation whatsoever.

You see, after the fighting, I was supposed to set up a civil government in the nine provinces that we had taken. If you will remember, I appointed janitors, I appointed teachers, I appointed Justices of the Peace, I appointed the Mayors. I even appointed the Governors, and that is how I started in politics. I am not saying I don't like being in politics and I am not saying that I wish that I were not President of the Philippines. But that is how I started. I did not want to go into politics, but I was assigned to the task, after being a combat officer. Suddenly, after what is known as the Battle of Panapdupan, a flanking movement executed all the way to Kiangnan, I was suddenly pulled out of combat, and they said, "You organize a civil government and go after the guerilleros who are turning into bandits, and stay in Camp Spencer." And I asked why. I didn't want to stay in Camp Spencer for there was still a lot of fighting to be done. I kept going back to Commander Balao and his command, but they always said, "No, we want you to organize a civil government." That was sometime about the first week of June Just about before Bessang Pass fell, about June 5 I think it was, and they asked me to organize the civil government.

Well, we got all the war booty, we got all the money, we got all the diamonds, we got all the bullion, we got all the gold. I don't know how much was the worth of that treasure. Several truckloads of this treasure were passed, and the men asked me, "What are we going to do with these?" "Well, said it was war booty and it belonged to the government. And they asked me to which government it belonged, and since we were fighting under the United States government, I said it should be sent to the proper officers. And they asked me who was the proper officer to take custody ? And I said the intelligence officer, the G-2 was in-charge of war booty, and probably there was a special officer assigned by General Kruger. You see, we were attached to the Sixth Army which landed in Lingayen. I said that this special officer should be the one to receive all of these valuables.

So, after getting a few souvenirs, the officers packed the treasure for transport. Later, I saw some of the officers playing poker with diamonds as their chips. They had nothing else, no money, up there in the Mountain Province.

I ordered, I think, about 14 truckloads of gold bullion, 14 truckloads of money, some of it genuine currency, 14 truckloads of jewelry delivered to the US command.

Where is Governor Guerrero? He was with the Judge Advocate General Service, and I think he also knew about all this. No, he was not one of those who got souvenirs. But I ordered all the trucks to go to San Fernando and deliver their cargo to the headquarters of General Kruger.

And so when the officers and men did not receive their pay, I was blamed for it. You don't know the anger and the bitterness that was directed against me as the men asked why did I not tell them that they were not going to be paid. If we had known this they said, we would not have reported the booty we got from the Japanese. The 14 truckloads you sent back there must have been worth at least \$500 million. And here we are; we are merely asking for our salaries and nobody can help us.

And because of this I was unable to return to normal life. Many times I had to go back to the Mt. Province and stay with the soldiers that we still had there and sleep there with them in the huts. Then, I would come down to Manila until finally I decided that I had better forget everything. I would think of myself for once and go to Harvard University and get my doctorate degree and I would stay clear of public life. I refused to have anything more to do with public life I would be a professor, I would teach, I would write books.

Anyway, even as I decided to go to the United States, the then President Roxas, and all the other veteran leaders, including Marking, Peralta—Peralta was the leader of the Veterans Legion at that time—and Kamlon and Montelibano, and all the others, they all told me, “YOU are a good lawyer. Now, why don't you go with the mission to the U.S. and get our salaries, get our arrears pay.” Because a law had been passed in the United States which excluded the Filipino veterans from payment of salary arrears, although I don't think it was intentional. But by some miscalculation, the Filipino veterans were excluded from receiving arrears in pay. And from educational benefits complete.

And so I was on my way to Harvard when President Roxas called me and said, “You are going with that mission to Washington.” And I said, “No, I am through serving my country. I have served her enough, and what I have seen of the gratitude of the Filipino people to the veterans does not encourage me to serve any further. The Philippine government has been very ungrateful and so has the United States government been ungrateful to the Filipino veterans. I will not have anything more to do with working on this.”

But, he said, we are going to right the wrong that has been committed.

I was being blamed for the wrong my men suffered so I refused to go to the United States. A group from the USAFIP-NL came to me then and said, “You see, you're turning out to be a coward.” I said, “What are you talking about? I am through serving my country. I have fought enough, I have been wounded enough, and I don't care about these medals anymore. Look at the way they are treating us. They are treating us like second class citizens. They laughed at us when we made our plea before Congress.” I had earlier appeared before a Committee of the Philippine Congress at the time, and they would not listen to us. They refused to listen to us, and it was only when I practically cried before President Roxas that he insisted on the passage of the Veterans Bill of Rights.

But, anyway that was another question. The USAFIP-NL came to me and said that if I had not returned or given to the American authorities the war booty we got, after the battle of Bessang Pass, that we captured at Kilometer 90, we would not be begging for money now. “All of us,” the men said, “are impoverished. Our children are crying for food. We don't know of any source of livelihood. Our women may even turn into bad women if we do not help them.” And this to me was terrible, the impact on me psychologically was so awful that I turned my back and I had to go into my room.

Later, I was told in a cable that I had been called back to active duty. “You're hereby directed to put on your uniform and report to duty,” the cable said. And I went to Washington to work for the amendment of the Missing Persons Act. In fairness to the American Government, I must say that when they learned about this injustice committed against Filipino veterans, the U.S. Congress immediately amended the Missing Persons Act in order to

give arrears in pay to the USAFIP men. And do you know how much this was? This was one hundred sixty million dollars.

I am very proud of this because it is seldom that a man can give up his dream order to help his comrades. But I must tell you, I must speak of this now, because nobody seems to know about it.

But why do I say this? Because from the very beginning, the Filipino veterans have always been treated like second-class citizens. I say so because every time any group of veterans, for instance, would seek to organize, say, a Veterans Federation or a Veterans Bank, I noticed the attitude of the legislators, even the veterans who were legislators; I noticed how they looked down with a patronizing attitude on the veterans. No, I do not say that one particular legislator or this particular group of legislators were not sympathetic to the Filipino veterans; but there is this tendency, this inclination now to demean, to debase, belittle, your achievements in the last war. Everywhere you go, you see this attitude. For instance, the attitude on those watching a parade. When the veterans pass by, I usually stand up to salute, but I notice that in the grandstand, there are those who stand laughing at the marching Filipino veterans. Even at those who are disabled, even those who are walking only on one leg, even the war widows, the Gold Star men. So that the attitude seems to be: they have done their job and we don't need them anymore.

Now, if this is the attitude of the Filipino people and the Filipinos government toward the Filipino veterans, I dare say that should the country ever be invaded again, no one, none of her sons will stand up and defend this country. Rather, more of us will choose to collaborate with the enemy, and in saying this, do not think that I am trying to connect it with politics. No.

You look around you, observe people's attitudes, even in the provinces, and you will be disquieted. When I first filed the Veterans Bill in 1954, for that was the first time that I filed the bill creating the Philippine Veterans Bank here, do you know that I met quite a violent opposition? When I stood up in committee to explain that this was going to be the veterans' finance arm, with special trust funds of \$20 million, that was supposed to be paid in reparations, and created by the Reparations Treaty, and created by the special Reparations Law of the Philippines, when I stood up, I was met with insulting remarks about the veterans. And I fought back with all the tools I had at my command. But the bill never passed the committee until I became Senate President, and then I insisted, as an act of confidence and faith in the leadership of the Senate, that this particular bill be approved, because it was a bill for the Filipino veterans Senator Almendras of Davao was my co-author in the creation of the Filipino Veterans Bill.

Only recently, on June 14, two days after the Independence Day celebration, I conferred on the leaders of the guerilla movement and those who had organized and initiated armed resistance against the enemy, a special award.

This award is called the Iron Cross of the Resistance, and it is given to any man who organized troops other than the regular troops, to take part in armed action, in field combat against the enemy invaders. And I had the prerogative the privilege of waiving this Iron Cross for me, so that people may not think that it was created for myself. But it was created for all other men who since 1941 fought the enemy. Some of the guerilla bands, like the. Ablan Guerillas and perhaps the Dimzon guerillas, were organized as early as 1941.

I remember when we were still in Bataan, we were already in contact with several guerilla units. We were in contact with Governor Ablan, we were in contact with Aduro before the fall of Bataan. And immediately after the fall of Bataan, resistance organizations such as Marking's Guerillas were immediately in contact with other people who had gone underground. And it here was the Bulacan Military Area under Manong Santos.

Why did I take it upon myself to create the Iron Cross of the Resistance? Because there is not a single complete and genuine listing of all the recognized guerilla organizers and leaders in the Philippines up to now, yes, up to now. Do you know why we delayed, why we had to delay the issuance of the stocks of the Philippine Veterans Bank? Because there was no complete listing. They are still quarelling as to who shall be included and who should not up to now. Why? Because we in government never took it upon ourselves to acknowledge and recognize the services of the veterans. That is why, I have said, that there is this tendency to treat you as second class citizens of our Republic. Do you think the 'politicians do not have a complete listing of former members of the House, former Governors? But do they remember any of the guerilla leaders anymore? No, they don't. Do we have a complete listing of all

those who served in the resistance? No. Do you know what we had to use as the basis for granting the Iron Cross of the Resistance? We had to use as basis the report of General Willoughby, the G-2 of General Douglas MacArthur in the Southeast Pacific Area Command, specially the listing made in October 1944, before and after the landing of MacArthur in Leyte.

Do we have a complete listing of the genuine and recognized guerilla leaders? No, we don't because the government never cared to acknowledge the services of the guerillas and the underground.

Now, where and in what country has this ever occurred? When I gave 50 hectares to the veterans, the pressure I got from many sectors was unbelievable. There were some who came to me asking why I gave the veterans this particular area? They don't have the money to spend on the development of this area, a very valuable area, they said, which costs P100 per square meter. Do you know what I said in reply? For every square meter of those 50 hectares, there must have been about 1000 who died in order to win this particular area. I added that this was not a matter which I intended to debate. I had given it and I would continue to sustain this decision. And if the veterans don't have the money, I am ordering right now the Philippine Veterans Bank that any savings, any profits of the Philippine Veterans Bank shall go to the development of the Veterans Center.

But it makes me feel very sad because you see how the reaction of these people is to you and me. Do you realize what this means? This means that they just don't care anymore. Why? Because we have never written about our part in the war, they don't know how many wounds you suffered.

It is easy now to say that it was easy to be a guerillero, but during those days you had a difficult time trying to convince others to join you. It is easy now to say that the guerillas are asking too much, that they are a little overrated, that they never really helped, that they were out there in the barrios merely hiding.

I'll be retiring from public life and I'll be doing nothing but write about the war here. I intend to write the history of our country. And I intend to include in that history a part of the events which I have come to know personally. And it is necessary that we do so because not too many people know about what you have done. That is why I am very grateful to all of you because in all the instances when I ran for public office, each and everyone of you, all the veterans, always came to me, and helped me win.

And this is the thing which strengthens me in my resolve that whatever may happen you will find in me, whether I am President or not, you will find in me more than anything else a veteran. More than a lawyer I am a veteran; more than Senator or Senate President, or more than even a President of the Republic, I am most proud of the fact that I am a veteran. Because those were the noblest days that we knew. They were days that we never actually counted. We did not ask, is this to my advantage, will this be to my prejudice, will that give me a few more votes, will this give me more money, will that get me this, will this give me that? You never asked those things when you were fighting. Noong tayo ay mapapalaban kung mamatay ano ang magagawa, ano ang magagawa natin? Patay na kung patay, wala na.

And these are the things that trouble me now. How many of the young people today do you think feel the same way we did when we were fighting for our country? How many of them, do you think, will say, "My God, they are invading our country. We cannot allow this. If we cannot meet them on the shore, we will pull back and fight them in the town; if we cannot fight them in the fields, we will withdraw to the mountains but we shall not surrender, and we shall fight the enemy to the death."

I congratulate the President, Simeon Medalla, and the other officers of this organization, as well as the past Presidents. You and I must protect the interest of the Filipino veterans, not for ourselves, not for our own selfish interest, but because if the veterans are not respected, if the services of the soldiers are not acknowledged, ladies and gentlemen, I assure you that the younger generations will never take up arms to defend our country, as we did. God forbid, but if there will be another war, another invasion of our country, will Filipino youth fight as we did, seeing how poorly veterans, are regarded?

I am proud of being a soldier, and that is why I wear my medals today. I seldom wear my medals. You never see me wear my medals, never since the war. But when they started questioning those medals, I started wearing those medals.

However, we should not be bitter about this. It is the way democracy works, ours in an open society. Everybody is at liberty to speak his mind. But as one wise man said, no other than Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States: "The best test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted in a free market of ideas." Let every man say what he will, let those who will try to demean us, let those who want to debase everything we have done, let those who feel compelled to do so question all our deeds question all the records of the Philippine Armed Forces or of the United States government. Let anybody say anything. My belief is truth will always come out and when the truth comes out, the Filipino veteran will stand up, proud and sure of his loyalty and patriotism which he demonstrated on the battlefield.

You and I have gone through many trying days. We have worked and sacrificed together. You and I must prove to those of our comrades who cannot protect themselves, those who are dead and disabled, especially the disabled, that our cause will prevail.

Fellow veterans, whether gone forever or still among us, I shall speak for you. I shall be your tongue, I shall be your spokesman, and I shall speak of your nobility and of your greatness in whatever position I may be.

Source: National Library

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Address of President Marcos at the Joint FAO/ECAFE/ ILO Seminar on the implementation of Land Reform in Asia and the Far East, July 12, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Joint FAO/ECAFE/ ILO Seminar on the implementation of Land Reform in Asia and the Far East

[Delivered on July 12, 1969]

Land Reform and Democracy

IT IS COMMON in almost every country in Asia that when a society or a group of men meet any kind of obstacle, they seek to exorcise with ceremony the evil spirits connoted by the obstacle. I am certain that seminars like this do not partake of the nature of these ceremonies that we know. I am certain that this seminar has not been a futile exercise of theory and philosophy, or a practice in the use of words, and that is why it is my happy privilege as President of the Republic of the Philippines to extend to you my belated welcome.

I understand that I was supposed to open this seminar on the first day. Unfortunately I was called by other commitments to the Southern part of our country which as you know is composed of 7,1000 islands. Most of these islands must be visited by a President if he is to remain President. The Vice-President, I gathered, very appropriately and with distinction took over the task of opening this seminar.

We receive you in our country with open arms because our country has always been an ardent believer in the United Nations, particularly in the principle of regional cooperation. Whatever may now temporarily deter the usual diplomatic usages and protocol that allow the exchange of diplomatic representatives between some countries in this part of the world, we know that regional cooperation must always be the obsession of every country in Asia.

I cannot imagine a seminar for Asia more necessary and more useful than this one that you conclude today in the city of Manila. For as it is often professed but seldom acknowledged, land reform lies at the very center and at the very heart of national, social and economic development in the whole of Asia, and not only in Asia, perhaps, but in all the regions of the world.

This seminar proves the expanding role of the United Nations as an active force for development in our region. But more than this, this shows that the United Nations, through its specialized agencies such as the FAO, ILO and ECAFE, is increasingly coming to grips with the basic causes of world instability and conflict. Poverty and injustice remain the chief causes of world unrest. And while man claims dominance over everything that he sees and now seeks to penetrate the firmament and land on the moon, he still grovels, at the feet of his ancient enemies — disease, poverty, ignorance. In making land reform one of its major preoccupations, the UN, as they say, is going for the jugular in its' approach to the problems of development.

Gone are the days of procrastination and the days of tentative solutions, for while men may be met with the same old problems, the ancient formulas have been found wanting and it is now necessary that man, so ingenious in science, must equally be ingenious in the handling of man.

By means of seminars like this, and through its technical assistance programs, the UN has ceased to be a mere debating society. It has emerged as a wise, practical and effective counselor to the needy nations, touching the lives not only of the great but also of the humble people of every nation.

In the Philippines, land reform has become a major objective and commitment of the government. As you know, the Philippines has introduced a land reform program under our Agricultural Land Reform Code which took effect five years ago. From an over-cautious and timorous attitude at first, the government has in more recent years initiated a

bolder and more energetic approach to the implementation of land reform. As a result, land reform is no longer just a political shibboleth, useful during elections, but a practicable and workable program of social justice and economic development, especially in Central Luzon, our traditional rice bowl and the historic hotbed of social protest in this country.

I, for one, have not adopted land reform, even when I was in our legislative body, only for the purpose of fighting an ideology that seeks to subvert our Republic. No. Land reform is right, land reform is wise, and land reform is perhaps the one single factor that will determine the success of our free and open society.

As recently as a month ago, the government declared the entire Central Luzon region a land reform area. Today proportionate resources are being allocated to support this proclamation and help facilitate the transformation of life for the poor peasant and his family.

This accelerated action on land reform is of course denounced as in almost any other country by certain vested interests as a precipitate, naive action on my part. But — and this is a sad commentary on our politics — these very same vested interests, although privately denouncing land reform, publicly affect a posture of concern over the “slow implementation” of land reform and denounce the very same interests hampering the program — denouncing themselves, therefore, but blaming the government for their own obstructionism.

But the politics of land reform probably deserves a separate seminar for itself. Of one thing I feel sure: land reform will be effective only in the Asian setting where there is a firm and resolute political will backing up the land reform program. And this is preeminently the responsibility of the government leadership.

The need for an integrated approach to land reform has been brought out repeatedly in the deliberations of this seminar.

I like to believe that the land reform program of the Philippines provides both in legislation and in implementation one of the most comprehensive and integrated programs in this region. The National Land Reform Council and the Land Reform Project Administration provide an integrated machinery to ensure the coordinated delivery of a package of services under the program to the farmer in his field. As I noted earlier, we have recently extended the land reform program to the whole of Central Luzon, an area in which tenurial and agrarian problems are especially acute. This represents an enormous expansion of the existing program, and evolves considerable additional commitments in staff, personnel as well as in funds.

In the implementation of this program, we have, as expected, encountered the difficulties inherent in a complex and controversial program such as this. We, therefore, welcome the opportunity afforded by this seminar to discuss our problems and difficulties with representatives of other countries that have had similar experiences.

Let me recount briefly what we have done. When the present administration took over in 1966, the land reform areas were thinly spread out in barely a dozen small towns or municipalities. We therefore decided to proclaim the entire Second District of Pampanga as a land reform area; this was later followed by 23 municipalities in the province of Nueva Ecija. Last year, we proclaimed as land reform area the entire First District of Laguna Province and just recently 63 towns in Central Luzon and elsewhere. At present, the program covers a total of 125 municipalities, involving 190,237 farmers of whom 165,749 are palay or rice farmers working an aggregate area of 337,989 hectares.

In 1966, we also ordered the immediate upgrading of settlement projects and landed estates under the administration of the Land Authority. At present, the Authority is administering 19 settlement projects, 50 agricultural landed estates, 48 residential estates and four EDCOR farms consisting of 131, 834 lots with an approximate area of 456,830 hectares involving 73,510 beneficiaries. The Land Authority has undertaken extensive development in these projects by constructing buildings, artesian wells, irrigation projects, settlers' houses, school buildings, health centers and other agricultural facilities. Veterans of the Vietnam war especially those who are engaged in construction, with the engineer construction battalion, have been assigned to these projects. We have adhered to the policy of establishing owner-cultivatorship and economic family-size farms as the bases of our agriculture. In line

with this policy, the Land Authority has issued 1,944 land patents. We have pushed through the resettlement of agricultural lands of the public domain begun by earlier administrations.

At present, 12 estates in Central Luzon comprising about 3,000 hectares have been acquired by the Land Bank.

The implementation of land reform in this country was reinforced by a law passed by Congress upon my request empowering the President to dispose of all government properties, not urgently required through public bidding, to generate more funds for the Land Bank and the Agricultural Credit Administration. We are seriously considering the possible sale of military camps in Manila or in surrounding cities like Quezon City, Caloocan and Pasay, where lands have increased in value, and the proceeds from which shall be channelled to the program.

The National Land Reform Council is coordinating with a consortium of Filipino consultants for the preparation of project studies and business ventures which are within the context of the Agricultural Land Reform Code. The completed studies will be presented to the landowners so that they may have a range of choices for investment of capital and Land Bank bonds.

We are studying the possibility of exchanging occupied landed estates in Central Luzon with virgin lands in unsettled areas and territories.

From our limited experience we have found that land reform removes the factors inhibiting agricultural progress, and therefore brings about substantial production increases.

We have no illusions that we have solved the problem. The Philippine Land Reform Program is relatively young and we are an open and free society. But we have shown that land reform can in fact be implemented on a meaningful scale, sometimes in the face of insurmountable odds. And that, it seems to us, is certainly a good beginning and we intend to continue this effort in the years to come.

In the last years of implementation, we have already noted defects and deficiencies in our land reform code. Since we are committed to expand this program to a more substantial and meaningful scale, we are prepared to effect amendments in the Code. One of our objectives is to streamline the machinery for the administration of agrarian reform and to provide funds for this organization.

On the opening day of the seminar I understand that Vice-President Fernando Lopez suggested a continuing dialogue between and among Asian countries in the field of agrarian reform. Perhaps this dialogue can be better sustained if Asian countries will work out a program of exchange, first, in technical men. Land reform technicians at the field level can work with fellow technicians in other Asian countries. This may be necessary to give our field men in land reform better insights into the actual application of accumulating theories in agrarian reform. It is vital for a program such as this to sharpen the working knowledge, the perception and the diagnostic skills of field men actually carrying out reform. One way to do this is to expose our workers to similar situations in foreign lands. On our part, we shall be glad to accept field technicians from your countries, to work with the land reform project teams in our land reform areas. In the next several years if I continue to be President, I shall pursue this program.

I am also glad to find that FAO and other agencies of the United Nations have taken responsibility for delivering expert services and training facilities in the field of land reform. We in Asia have over the last two decades demonstrated both the will and the capacity to absorb technical assistance in every sphere of activity. We definitely can use more assistance in land reform. I should like on this occasion to urge the United Nations Development Programme and the appropriate Executing Agencies to give higher priority to the needs of land reform in their financial allocations and operative programs.

Our particular needs in the Philippines — and perhaps this is true as well of other Asian countries — are in the fields of research, training and program implementation. I understand that the National Land Reform Council is processing requests for technical assistance in these fields, and I am confident that the UN agencies will as usual respond positively to our needs.

One of our recurring problems is how to energize and activate the bureaucracy with new and adequately trained manpower. We urgently need to professionalize the bureaucracy. To give our rural areas the best agricultural technicians and the best legal experts, for example, we have to compete with the private sector which provides them better opportunities not only for advancement but also for a continuing renewal of their skills, but most important of all, we have to give them better pay.

To professionalize our agrarian reform bureaucracy, we will soon setup an agrarian reform institute in our state university. This institute will conduct seminars, survey the agrarian reform program in its entirety and provide objective criticism of the program irrespective of the narrow interests of politicians and landlords and of the bureaucracy itself. This institute will supplement the activities of the Land Reform Training Center already in operation. The problems of land reform will be with us for a considerable length of time, and we should build up reserves of technicians from the universities as well as from the training centers of United Nations agencies.

This seminar is especially fruitful for us because we have gathered here the best minds that have been for many years focused on agrarian problems not only in Asia but in all the world.

I understand that the brilliant minds which have participated in the successful implementation of the land reform program in Japan and in Taiwan are here. To them, I say not only welcome, but I extend an invitation to come again to our country whenever they wish in the coming years. We hope to profit in full — as do the other governments represented — from your deliberations, from your conclusions, and from your experience.

All the countries represented in this seminar seek the fullest development of their peoples in dignity and freedom. This commitment can be meaningful only in the framework of efforts to change the social and economic structure based on antiquated and regressive land tenure systems. There is no other path to genuine democracy and to the true, lasting enfranchisement of all citizens in a national community.

Even universal suffrage is insufficient if it is merely granted to a traditional and feudal agrarian society. Then the true expression of the popular will is thwarted by the social and economic oligarchies that impose their own choices on the party system and make their own will appear as the popular will. Thus, democratic institutions might actually appear to the masses of the people as a fraudulent cover for what is basically and in fact anti-democratic orientation of the government.

Only through genuine land reform may this necessary social restructuring towards fuller democracy be attained. That is why I have earlier said that land reform lies at the very center of the development process.

There has been some spirited discussion on the question of whether land reform is social or economic or both. But regardless of its content, there is need for a dedicated and firm leadership to implement agrarian reform. There must be a sufficient energy of-will on the part of the political leadership in any country or every country implementing the program and also a leadership that will stimulate a passive bureaucracy.

In this extremely difficult and challenging task, we certainly can and should draw on one another's experience for lessons and guidance, and also for encouragement and support.

I would like to leave you this morning not only with my sincere best wishes but also with a word of hope. Some of the technological advances of the past two decades have enabled us to face the problems of over-population with new resolve. We know now that with technology properly transmitted to the rural areas, we will be able to become self-sufficient in food, in all of Asia and perhaps all over the world. All these things became possible because there was imaginative leadership ready to try new and novel solutions. But above and beyond this, I think that change has been hastened because there is a fund of goodwill expressed not only by international agencies but by an international community of scholars and technicians whose science and whose dedication transcend the boundaries of country and race. For as long as this goodwill exists, we in Asia have less cause to worry about the future and its uncertainties. We only have to recall the collective wisdom amassed by you and already translated into comforting economic facts to reassure ourselves that, indeed, the good things of the earth are ours to harvest because men of goodwill like you have planted the seed.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 17th anniversary and annual Mid-Year Convention of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), July 17, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 17th anniversary and annual Mid-Year Convention of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement
(PRRM)

[Delivered on July 17, 1969]

Liberation of Our Barrios

SEVENTEEN YEARS AGO, a great Chinese scholar, Dr. Y.C. James Yen, brought to these islands a revolutionary concept of rural rehabilitation. His formula for this goal was to enlist the people's own aspirations and mobilize their initiative for their own reform. A group of civic-spirited Filipinos, led by Dean Conrado Benitez, responded to the idea. Thus the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement was born.

However, the idea was not new to the Philippines. It was in Dapitan some 77 years ago that the first rural reconstruction project in the Philippines came into being. Dr. Jose Rizal — exiled to this town as an act of retribution for his advocacy of democratic liberties for his people — found the community a backward place and decided to change, to improve it. By spreading the values of food production, hygiene and education through actual work, Rizal succeeded in arousing the spirit of self-help enterprise in the community. Rizal left Dapitan a model town in community development.

Rizal's pioneering achievements in Dapitan left an indelible impression on my mind as a student. When I was a new Congressman, I introduced the concept of rural development through self-help in my home province and watched the potential of the people liberated by this approach.

When I took over the stewardship of the nation in 1966, therefore, my first concern was to improve the quality of life in our barrios. Our first priorities in attention and resources were allocated to the barrios. One of my first official acts was to promote the Office of the Presidential Assistant on Community Development to Cabinet level — to give full impetus to our programs for the barrio people.

In so doing, we borrowed from the ethic of PRRM. Your four-fold integrated program of promoting literacy, health, livelihood and self-government has been one of the most vital factors in reinvigorating the lives of our people at the grassroots.

You have demonstrated the power of individual initiative and enterprise in the villages. By your example, you have shown to a great number of our barrio people a choice — an alternative to their passive, barren and self-enclosed existence. In the climate of resignation that once pervaded the barrio, you have brought a new sense of purpose and will.

We have sought to amplify this spirit in our programs for the barrio. Not paternalism but the spirit of self-help permeates our undertakings for our far-flung communities. While our purpose is to extend immediate help, our long-range goal is to develop in our people the ethic of independence and self-reliance. We are therefore partners in a common undertaking.

At no time in this country's history has the government committed more resources, or more willful energies, to the cause of rural improvement.

The administration has broken all existing records in rice production, infrastructure building, and the building of schools. All these are aimed at the emancipation of the barrios.

The administration reclaimed thousands of abandoned road-building projects, including feeder roads linking the barrios to the towns, and completed them. We have built more concrete roads in just three years than all previous administrations in our history since the start of the American regime in 1902— or a span of 63 years.

But we are undertaking a more basic kind of reclamation — the social and economic reclamation of the long-forgotten tenant farmers, through land reform. In the past politicians merely talked about land reform. Today, backed up by the resolute will of the government, land reform is being seriously implemented in this very heartland of the nation — Central Luzon, and is exerting a profound and transforming impact on the lives of the people.

In the field of rural health, the effort we exert, no matter how great, will always be insufficient in the face of the awesome fact that an estimated 82 per cent of our entire population are medically indigent. But we have beefed up our; rural health units; we have built more and more rural hospitals, and the per capita expenditure of the government for free medicine has been raised from; four centavos in 1965 to 42 centavos in 1969. In the previous administration, P1.3 million were spent for free medicine; today, we distribute free medicine to the barrios worth P16 million.

One of the most spectacular advances in our rural programs is in the field of community development or barrio self-help projects.

The PACD under this administration serves 16,000 barrios, as against only 3,600 barrios during the previous regime, or a gain of more than 450 per cent.

Also under PACD auspices, our people in the barrios completed a total of 128,000 projects worth P47,500,000 compared with 24,000 projects valued at P13,000,000 during the previous regime. This is an increase of 427 per cent in the number of projects and only 156 per cent increase in project costs.

In the past year, we introduced in the rural areas the concept of manpower training as a positive measure for the promotion of employment. There are now 137,000 free training centers all over the country which graduate about 100,000 jobless young adults and out-of-school youth in gainful occupational skills a year. Most of these trainees find employment and a new sense of personal worth as responsible members of society.

As a matter of fact, the impact of all these creative activities in the rural areas is reflected in the employment statistics. Under a previous regime, the average rate of employment creation in the rural sector was only 250,000 jobs a year; at present, the average has been raised to 350,000.

But all of these programs of the government cannot take the place of private initiative and enterprise in the barrios. In fact, they are designed to provide a climate in which citizens of the barrios will be encouraged to exercise their own initiative for their own accelerated development. The government fully realizes that no amount of effort and expenditures in rural development will ever be meaningful unless they excite and impel the people to wake up to their own possibilities, to activate their dormant wills for self-improvement, to mobilize their initiative for their own well-being.

It is for this reason, too, that the government, with all the best intentions in the world, can never take the place of civic organizations such as the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement. On the other hand, I have always believed that the participation of the private sector has been the key to the success of most of the rural development programs that the government has sponsored.

Such participation is essential not only from a pragmatic point of view, but also from the standpoint of developing a genuine participatory democracy in our country. The enfranchisement of citizens is not complete unless they voluntarily take up the burdens of their own improvement, and the improvement of their own communities. The

PRRM promotes this kind of democracy, this kind of freedom that is real because it grows from within and is therefore capable of sustaining itself.

I think the seventeenth anniversary of your organization is an opportune time for me to make a solemn pledge. If its tenure is extended by the people by another four years, this administration will surpass itself in rural and community development. Building upon the present results, and utilizing the momentum of our advance, we shall go to realize a peaceful revolution in our barrios. And to this, both you and the government are so intensely committed.

I do not know what alternative the other major political party offers the nation to our present programs of rural development. Neither this party nor its leading standard-bearers have come out with a program of government, much less a program of community development. If you accept their deeds, rather than the words, as the true gauge of their intentions, it will profit us to recall that in the previous sessions of Congress, the Opposition fiercely opposed the barrio development fund, and questioned the ability of the barrio councils to manage these funds wisely for their own good, in short, their ability for self-government.

And yet, democracy, reduced to its essence, is nothing but self-government, self-determination. We must enfranchise the barrios in our economic and social programs. This is no less essential to the promotion of a broadly based democracy in our country than their enfranchisement by the ballot. There can be no true democracy without the participation of the barrios in the conduct of their own affairs and specialty of their own development.

I stand by this belief, which unites us with the PRRM in a common cause. We shall continue to act on this belief—to commit increasing resources to the liberation of the barrios from the neglect of centuries, to the creation of new opportunities for barrio self-fulfillment.

Sometimes, as President, I ask myself what I should like to be remembered by in history. And I conclude, in such moments, that were I to write my own epitaph — I hope not for many, many years yet — this is what I shall choose: Ferdinand E. Marcos, who helped the barrios discover themselves and the power to change their lives.

Then I would be content.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos before the Convention of Filipino Businessmen sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, July 21, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Convention of Filipino Businessmen sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines

[Delivered on July 21, 1969]

A Larger Vision for Filipino Business

I MUST SAY, first of all, that this is an impressive gathering, a gathering with a significant purpose — which is to discuss, as your theme states, constitutional reforms for national progress.

With this larger vision, the Filipino businessman graduates from the babbity which the American writer, Sinclair Lewis, satirized in the thirties; he has developed sophistication and a social awareness that can only augur well for the future of this nation.

I welcome this emergence of the Filipino businessman as a conscious social force and an innovating class in our national life. Now we can be more confident of attaining Rizal's dream of a society in which the pursuit of private gain can be reconciled with the promotion of the public good.

I am particularly interested in the proposition and challenge contained in the report of your committee on social justice. The report asks: "How then do we keep the political order from disintegration?" While the premise behind this question can be debatable, there can only be agreement in the answers that follow: "Only by economic democratization," the report says: "making a just allocation of economic opportunities; giving the masses independent means to support the exercise of political rights; allowing national welfare to seep down to the broadest base of population; correcting the lopsided social order; giving the masses a voice in resolving public issues; placing them in a position to use public authority in promoting the general welfare; making the masses feel that they, too, have a stake in the existing political order and that they, too, are a part of this nation."

Allow me to say, however, that all this is an enumeration of some of the aspirations and purposes of a modern state. The question, it seems to me, is not one of aspiration and purpose but of process. The basic question is: "How?" You may say that the process, the "how" of national progress is essentially the function of leadership; and in this, you are right. Assuming that the national purpose has been clearly defined, it is the obligation of national leadership to see to it that the purpose is achieved. While the people clamor, the leader must perform.

For this reason, the quest for the leadership that will subscribe to these ideas, which, in the final analysis are ideas for change — is paramount. Going over the principles behind the reforms you proposed, I am touched particularly by those which repudiate the time-honored motivation of business enterprise — the profit motive. In one section, you would even propose the regulation of property and capital ownership: Welfare state or not, this proposition clearly repudiates the *caveat emptor* motto of *laissez faire* of the cold proposition that business is business, profit is profit, and it makes me wonder whether your quest is not already loaded against a certain kind of leadership.

For under this principle, government cannot be run like a business enterprise, with an eye single on the books of accounts. The journals of administration reflect not debits and credits but national results. It is not what the government as a bureaucracy has gained, but what the people as a nation have benefitted. And for this, the measure is national morale.

Given all the problems that this nation still faces, I can still say to you, with the conviction of personal experience, that the national morale is higher now. Our achievements as a nation have made us impatient for more because, for

the first time, we have come face to face with our potential as a people. When our people say that more should be done, they mean that they want to do more because they believe that they can do more.

We have broken the dam of apathy and despair that have been the national mood for decades. Now, flushed with initial success, we are impatient for more successes. Some may lament this. But many of us choose to be heartened, for we can sense that such a national mood can only lead to more achievements, more triumphs — and, yes, even more challenges.

Do you cry for change?

Well, let me tell you, my friends, that the change has come. Our people have changed. They have become achievement-oriented. And not all the rhetoric, in whatever guise, can make them return to what I recently described as the old politics, the old economics, the old social ways.

All of you are part of that change, that transformation of the Filipino businessman. He has expanded his horizons; he thinks now in terms of global rather than local opportunities. He has become more venturesome, bolder, espousing ideas that would have been judged heretical as lately as five years ago. His is a new measure of confidence.

Who made the government consider the possibilities of trade relations with the Socialist countries but the modern Filipino businessman — like your own Teofisto Guingona. While your government, through the Department of Foreign Affairs, was conducting studies along these lines, Mr. Guingona himself came up with concrete proposals, upon returning from an unofficial trade mission from Soviet Russia.

Let me just repeat to you the observations of Mr. Guingona at the Foreign Policy Council meeting held November 7 last year.

He remarked that the potential of trade with Socialist countries was great; that all factors vital to trade considered, such as prices, customs duties, taxes, shipping facilities and freight, banking and handling charges and competitive sources, many Philippine exports can find ready markets in these countries; that trade between the Philippines and the specified Socialist countries be initiated and normalized as soon as possible; that in view of the lack of government recognition or diplomatic ties, the chamber-to-chamber agreements on trade be approved by the President of the Philippines as an initial, or interim, step towards trade until such time as diplomatic relations are established; that an administrative order be issued by the President of the Philippines enjoining all government agencies to help implement the trade with Socialist nations on such a basis; that diplomatic ties be established when feasible; and that the offer of assistance and economic aid of the Socialist countries be studied and explored for preferential use in projects geared towards helping the nation's development either for government or private entities.

I have enumerated these observations and recommendations to show that there has been a thoroughness in studying the possibilities of trade with Socialist countries in the government as well as in the private sector. On balance the government is taking the more circumspect approach due to unavoidable political problems. The government would consider such trade relations only on an experimental basis and on a case-to-case approach. The only transaction that has been allowed so far is the export of coconut oil to an East European country, Bulgaria.

If these views are shared by a majority of Filipino businessmen, I would like to know where their quest for leadership compatible with this enlarged vision would lead them. Such a quest, I feel sure, will not stop at the doors of those leaders advocating a policy of blind resignation to the status quo.

Let us remember that it won't be the government itself which shall be trading with the Socialist countries; its role, in this respect, is merely permissive. It is our own Filipino businessmen who will be negotiating the terms on a case-to-case basis; it is they who will determine the profit and loss. I leave the question of capability to you. If you cannot handle it, as some people would make us believe, because you are not as capable as the businessmen of other nations, just say so.

But I place my confidence in the ability of the Filipino businessman to handle his affairs — while we in government take care of the, political complications.

As I said earlier, this is just one example of the transformation that this nation has seen. There are many others: the militancy of the youth, the growing responsiveness of the masses towards their own problems, their conviction that, given the leadership, they can work out their own destiny. In sum, this confidence and optimism of Filipino businessmen is an infectious spirit.

This wider, more mature outlook of the modern Filipino businessman cannot be said to imply an ideological change of heart — unless one wishes to muddle the issue. It is the height of meanness to infer, from the position taken by responsible leaders of the business community, that they are sympathetic to the communist ideology. Similarly, the policy of the government for widening our trade and cultural horizons does not imply an abandonment of our traditional opposition to Communism.

The major Western powers, including the United States, France, and Great Britain, not to mention Japan in Asia, trade freely and reciprocally with selected Communist countries. No one has accused them of being inclined to Communism. To make this accusation of our country is to imply that the freedom we grant to other nations should be denied to ourselves because we are inherently inferior and incapable of exercising mature judgment. This is better known as the colonial mentality.

This, I am sorry to say, is the characteristic mentality of a certain type of critic of the Administration. We cannot move forward in progress and dignity when we habitually persuade ourselves that we are inferior to other countries, that we must seek refuge always behind the familiar and the traditional, that we must never entertain new ideas because what is new is dangerous.

Seen from another standpoint, this is the disease of inaction. A political party afflicted with such a disease is unable to put up any credible program of government. Therefore it must fall back on systematic hackling, the weary belaboring of antiquated issues against any party in power, the irresponsible and reckless smearing of reputations, the wanton use of black propaganda even against women and children.

This nation has never been cowed by the largest challenges. In 1898, in the political wasteland that was Asia, our forefathers dared to establish in these islands the first democratic republic outside the Western world. Mabini wrote that the Philippine Republic was a torch of freedom that would light the way for Asia and Oceania. This is the large and the noble vision that our greatest heroes shared. Our greatest achievements like those of any other nation, were realized not from an excess of caution and timidity, but from the fearless, wide-ranging and bold expressions of the Filipino spirit. I maintain that today, it is this bold spirit of the nation that is at work in the government and in our communities. This is also the spirit of the modern Filipino businessman.

This new social awareness and larger sense of responsibility will, I hope, lead the business community also to cooperate with the government in upgrading our tax structure. We are seeking an overhaul of the National Internal Revenue Code, not because we want to raise taxes, but because we must increase the collection of taxes. You are familiar with the fact that out of 83 amendments to the Revenue Code in the past two decades, no fewer than 50 were for tax, exemptions in one form or another. We should like to plug these escape hatches through which the government loses a tremendous amount of revenue for social and economic development. The purpose of this overhaul is to raise revenues, not necessarily taxes, and at the same time promote justice in taxation.

Tax reforms are an urgent priority because they help build the roots of a genuine democracy. Then we must husband all available resources to meet the mounting requirements of national development. It is my hope that you will support these reforms.

Businessmen — and the spirit of enterprise — have always been the agents of reform — of change. Was it not the galleon trade which brought new ideas to colonial Philippines near the turn of the century? These were the ideas that excited our heroes, from Rizal to Mabini. It is even said that the greatest single influence that brought the world to

the modern age was the Hanseatic League. When men begin to trade, when they sit down to transact their business, they open a dialogue that is mutually influential.

And yet once entrenched, business may atrophy and lose the spirit of enterprise, if it stays on the beaten path, ceasing to be bold, until, challenged by events, it recovers its dynamism.

This has happened, I dare to think, with Filipino business. It has been jolted from the stagnation of decades. Now it seeks new worlds to conquer.

Our people welcome this development. I, for one, am gratified by this show of concern over the political and social health of the nation.

You have announced your manifesto.

Now let us get to work.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 4th Anniversary Program of "Let's Talk Business," July 30, 1969

The Record of Performance

I THINK THIS is the second time that I come before you on the program "Let's Talk Business." Of course, they have not been the only time when I talked business. I talk business everyday of the week, including Sundays.

I spoke last year on various business subjects including taxes and the like. There seems to be the impression that all kinds of taxes have been approved by Congress. I would like to tell you that there are two special taxes that were approved by Congress: one was the education tax and the other the science tax. I understand that the Opposition has promised the business sector the cancellation of all new taxes. Now if their position is to cancel the science tax and the education tax, that certainly is the most irrational thing ever said in the past several years.

What is the strategy for development adopted by the party in power? And what is the alternative of the Opposition? May I say that we have described our strategy of development repeatedly in the past.

As a way to encourage growth and integration, the integration of the traditional and the modern, the four-year program states in concise and precise terms this strategy. It also seeks to foster the increasing use of rationality in the decision-making process.

That sounds a little highfaluting, but what it actually means is let us put a little more logic and a little more system into the process of making decisions. It also indicates, or insinuates, that there have been other factors in the process of decision making, and that is quite true. One of them is politics.

Well, this year, it is possible that there will be more talk about politics than anything else considering that it is an election year. But, as President of our Republic, I assure you that decisions will continue to be made with the rationality that we feel must always dominate our planning as well as our implementation.

However, in this political year, we must consider the program of the administration as well as the alternative line of action proposed by the Opposition. These are matters that I want to take up with you, the businessmen, who are in a position to understand the issues more than any other sector of our population. You appreciate the need for a leader who clearly and precisely states his position, who states his plan for development, and who proceeds to demonstrate that such a plan can succeed in improving the public welfare.

Now, on the part of the present administration, what were the major lines of action taken in the area of business and economy? The first was to launch a program of increased agricultural production, of rice and corn, and after the staples, of her products. The staples had priority, they were important and necessary not only for a dignified kind of life but for survival, plain and simple.

If the purpose was to increase the per capita income of our people, then the target had to be the majority of our people. The main focus, therefore, was on the agricultural sector. This was one of the priorities in our development program. Thus came rice and corn, the miracle rice, irrigation, infrastructure, etc., about all of which you already know.

After these, or rather simultaneous with these — and I stress this because there are some who think that we have abandoned the industrial sector — came the massive refinancing program of distressed industries.

Now, how many distressed industries were refinanced during the last three years? About 2,000 industries. And how much was poured into these industries? P1,700,000. Where did this money come from? Now, you all know, since you are engaged in business, that for the first time in our history, we have been able to establish a private securities market.

The Development Bank of the Philippines sold what we know as convertible bonds. By convertible bonds, we mean the bonds of the Development Bank of the Philippines which could be converted into stocks of the corporations where the bank had equity or to whom it gives loans. Thus, there was a broadening of the corporate base. Before this, of course, you all know that most of the successful corporations were family corporations. Here, we have an effort to broaden the base by selling stocks to the small people of our country, including the tenants, the janitors and the laborers and the employees.

At the same time, as you who are financiers and those who are experts on monetary policies know, we had to be careful that in financing our industries we did not increase inflationary pressures. We were cautious because there was always the possibility that any further increase in the supply of money coming from the Central Bank would cause prices to spiral and, as you know, when I took over the Presidency, and this we have repeated often, and I would like to say it again, the daily income of the national government was P4 million, while the expenditures daily totalled P6 million. There was a daily deficit of P2 million, therefore, and within a year of this kind of operation by the national J government, the country would have had a huge deficit of about P700 million. This eventuality we had to avoid.

We avoided it by cutting expenditures. The figures that I have with me indicate the massive effort in reducing expenditures. For instance, expenditures for what is referred to as general government expenses were reduced from 25% of the budget to 20%, a reduction of anywhere from P150 million to P20 million.

There are cries from some sectors today about what they see as sudden release of funds. They call these funds the "miracle funds," adding that they I will do a lot of good for politics. Well, all I can say is "miracle funds" are certainly much better than "miracle losses" of funds which happened some years ago.

We also reduced the appropriations as well as the expenditures of the Armed Forces. Now, this may strike you as surprising. Well, it is a bit surprising because the activities of the Armed Forces have increased. We created ten engineer construction battalions in the Army, and an engineer construction battalion in each major service, the Air Force, the Navy, and also the Constabulary. Actually, right now, there are fourteen construction battalions. And we have also created the Home Defense Forces. The civic action centers have increased in number, and yet we reduced the cost of army operations from 17% to 14% of the budget.

We removed 7,000 pensionados, people on the government payroll who didn't go to the office except on payday. Did you ever hear about this? Well, if you did not, let me tell you that some of them are very articulate in opposing me now. You will find some of them in the Opposition. I also sacked 17 high-ranking officers, some of them Generals. I gave them a choice to face a court-martial for past misdeeds or go into retirement. They retired, with some of them again going to the Opposition. I had to do this although some of those I fired were my closest friends. They fought with me in Bataan, they were with me in the underground; but I had to cut the appropriations, cut it to have a more efficient government.

You who are our experts in management realize that this was a necessity. But, of course, to the politicians, this was unthinkable and my political advisers told me at the time I was taking action that I would harvest ill consequences come election time. I'm harvesting them now but I don't expect any deleterious effects on the outcome of the election.

Anyway, what else did we do? Well, as I said, the second line of action taken was the massive refinancing of distressed industries, and many of these friends of mine who have been complaining about the present economic situation have meanwhile increased their income. I have figures on this particular aspect, although I shall not mention specific individuals because to do so would be a violation of the Internal Revenue Code. But, in general, we have figures to indicate that there has been an increase in the income of individuals as well as of corporations. And we are ready to cite statistics and facts on this.

The third line of action was the acceleration of industrial growth through the creation of the Board of Investments and the passage of the Investment Incentives Act. I will not speak of the action taken in establishing priority areas

for investment and the clarification of policies made possible by the creation of the Board of Investments. But this was one of the steps taken, which has quietly and inexorably brought about the increase in investments.

Talking about investments, there are some people who think that we have invested more of our limited resources in agriculture than in industry. That is not quite true. At the start, there was this inclination, yes. At the start, let's see, in 1966 we invested, I think, about 49% of our resources in agriculture. But through 1968 and up to 1969, 72% of our resources have been placed in industry and areas connected with industry. And this does not include the improvement of facilities necessary to industry, such as physical infrastructure and the like.

So we have, therefore, sought to accelerate industrial growth. We are now in the process of organizing an Industrial Development Commission under Secretary Roman Cruz who is here; he is the Secretary General of this Commission. At least, I have appointed him and we have prepared the orders.

Secretary Roman Cruz is the kind of technocrat that we need in the government.

What is the fourth? Now, the fourth was the creation of new sources of revenue, the mobilization of the resources of both government and the private sectors for the financing of new economic activities, and, of course, the redistribution of wealth. There is the perennial accusation against our economic system, and against our society, which states that five percent of our people own 33% of the wealth of our country. This is correct, too, and we have to somehow balance the distribution of wealth in our country. This is one of the objectives of the fourth line of action.

What are the most important programs of the administration? Well, you all know what they are. They have been articulated in the press and in public discussions which have gone on for sometime now.

In outline form, or capsule form, they are, first, the agricultural development program which includes production of rice, corn and export products.

Then you have the school program, which is also an investment, a long range investment, for better education will serve to guide our people in rectifying the inequities in our society and in avoiding the disruption of our body politics.

I have gone to all this trouble to explain to you, to outline the plan of action of the administration. I look forward, for instance, if I am re-elected, to a period when I could push the production not only of rice and corn but also of cattle. We have only 1,700,000 heads of cattle for 37 million people. The proper ratio according to the experts is one head of cattle per man, and so we have a long, long way to go in this area. And I would like to be able to push this program, then fish conservation and fish production, as well as the production of hog and poultry, and the like.

Incidentally, we have produced a new breed of chicken that can lay more eggs than any other chicken in the world. We just lack the opportunity to propagate this. And I would also like to be given the opportunity to push through not only the infrastructure program and the education program but the new program of land reform, which has barely been started.

One of the objectives we have is to meet the unemployment problem with the manpower training program. We would like to push through conservation and at the same time we would like to develop industry, the extractive industries, and push a little more the processing industries. Incidentally, in 1965 only 9% of our exports were finished products. Lately, this has increased to about 35%. This indicates that we have been increasing our capabilities for processing our raw materials. And these are the things that my friends in the Opposition don't seem to know at all. They appear to be unaware of these things, these data and statistics.

These are the facts and figures on what we have been working on for the past three years and a half, and which the Opposition just disregard or treat as though they were matters of no importance whatsoever.

Now, you, who know the process of development, you who are experts, realize what these factors are, what these statistics spell out for our future.

I have spoken too long, I think, and I was asked to speak for only 10 minutes. But this being an election campaign period, I think I am entitled to a little more time. Anyway, this is our program, our strategy to meet the common enemy of impoverishment, of deprivation, of disease, of ignorance, and to accelerate our pace. I would like to know whether the Opposition has a program and if it does, how it differs from ours. This, I think, is a valid question. Now I am ready for your questions.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos at the Joint Induction Ceremonies of the Quezon City Chamber of Commerce and the Quezon City Chamberettes, SSS Bldg., Quezon City, August 9, 1969

ENLARGING TRADE HORIZONS

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

(SPEECH AT THE JOINT INDUCTION CEREMONIES OF THE QUEZON CITY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE QUEZON CITY CHAMBERETTES, SSS BLDG., QUEZON CITY, AUGUST 9, 1969).

I find it a great pleasure to be your guest today. The image of chambers of commerce, for some reason, provides a sense of assurance, if not of outright security. It has always been the compulsion of chambers of commerce to stand up for their communities, to speak up against criticism of their communities, and to welcome foreign visitors. I think this is a good thing.

I have a particular interest in the Quezon City Chamber of Commerce, because I see it as a dynamic force within a dynamic force—which is Quezon City itself.

Positive Change

I have the impression that Quezon City change every year, if not every week. It is a positive change—towards growth. I never come to Quezon City without seeing new constructions going up. In the past decade, this city has undergone a tremendous transformation. It is virtually unrecognizable from the city of just ten years ago. And I do not hesitate to say that this change has been due mostly to the initiatives and the venturesome spirit of Quezon City businessmen and industrialists. I believe that the most energetic of these men are members of this Chamber.

I can therefore speak to you with more than a reasonable guarantee of not only being understood, but of being taken to heart, and perhaps supported in my efforts to widen the transformation seen here in Quezon City to all parts of the country.

We need no less than to expand our trade horizons, if we are to maintain the momentum of growth generated in the past few years.

Beyond Self-Sufficiency

The problem before us, at least as far as economic development is concerned, is to drive forward well past self-sufficiency in essential needs, to claim our share of the brisk world trade building up other economies.

I am sure that you are aware of the efforts of the administration to press economic development on two fronts, simultaneously. Even as we develop our agricultural base, we are also developing our industrial capacities. Even as we strive to make our nation self-sufficient in food, clothing, and other needs, we are now intensifying our efforts to scale up our export production.

Groundwork for Abundance

I need not point out that we have cleared the hump in food production. We are now a rice-exporting country, and in the immediate future we shall be exporting rice in quantity and, I know, of higher quality. We are now well embarked on the program to exploit systematically and judiciously our rich fishing grounds, to produce a variety of food crops other than rice and corn, to disperse cattle more widely, such that every farming family may have one pair of cattle as a start. We have charted in detail how we may spark production in dairy farming, in truck gardening, in poultry, and in livestock.

New Import Pattern

For all practical purposes, even now we are reasonably self-sufficient in many of the needs basic to a decent life. That is why I have asked for the curtailment of non-essential exports, mostly in the category of luxury goods. We need to do this if we are to maintain the equilibrium in our balance of payments.

At the same time, we are trying to keep open the necessary importations needed by industry, specifically capital goods. There has been, notably in the last year, a rise in foreign exchange outflow, due to the upsurge in business and industrial activity.

To shore up this outflow, we have adopted certain measures, for instance, the use of available acceptance fines, trade credits, and a more extensive utilization of foreign sources of long-term capital.

Expanded Foreign Trade

But I foresee that our best alternative is expansion of Philippine exports. I need not point out that foreign trade will ultimately bring in the most earnings in foreign exchange. The fecund markets abroad are: in fact, our likeliest source for profits.

Meanwhile, our business community has the responsibility of innovating and initiating their own ventures parallel to the objectives of the government. I know you are with me in the pursuit of these objectives. At every step of the way, in the formulation of the country's strategy of development, I have been in consultation with the leaders of the business sector. I am assured that substantially our program of development has the approval of forward-looking business leaders.

Need for Discipline

I would ask you now to exercise the utmost discipline, as we travel the difficult road to economic stability. This discipline is urgently needed in the effort to change the pattern of foreign exchange expenditure, from the importation of non-essential goods to the importation of only the most essential goods.

I know that to some of us this will entail some sacrifice. But we must surely be aware of the greater stakes involved, and certainly you can see far enough into the future to know that what we are doing is for our children. Indeed, if we succeed even our generation will share in the benefits arising from the present exertions of our people.

East European Trade

In any case, we have started to explore the way forward, relative to the expansion of our export and other trade markets. You must be familiar by now with the feelers we have made toward tapping hitherto remote markets in East European countries. Since this is uncertain ground for us, both politically and economically, we are feeling our way carefully. For the moment, if we succeed at all in establishing trade ties with these countries, we must do so on a case-to-case basis.

What we are doing in this regard is neither radical nor dangerous, as some sectors would like to believe, for other open societies are already trading with these countries, including the United States.

RP-US Trade

Let me pass briefly on the future of Philippine-American trade relations. I know that many of you have this on your mind, particularly in view of the impending termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement. I shall not repeat our stated policy on US parity. Suffice to say that it is not going to be restored in any future agreement on trade relations with the United States. There is consensus on this here as well as in America.

Hopefully, we shall evolve an even more judicious and enduring trade partnership with America. No less than United States President Nixon has given me his word that the U.S. will continue to maintain a viable and equitable business relationship with the Philippines. Given the goodwill and the respect which now characterize our relations with America, there is no reason why we cannot, in the forthcoming talks between the two governments, forge a new agreement vastly more acceptable than the Laurel-Langley pact.

Our Rich Potentials

As you can see, ladies and gentlemen, we are far from lost, far from being impotent despite the difficulties we face, and the long road still ahead. Our problems are implicit in a developing country, and our potentials are native to a country rich in natural resources, a country only barely scratched for the treasures it can yield.

To recall pertinent words from another leader, what we have to fear is only fear itself. Our business community, led today by experienced technocrats, has really nothing to fear, except its own doubts of its capacity to innovate, to renew, to pioneer.

Policy of Consultation

As for the government, I pledge, as President, to continue my policy of consultation. We have given meaning to the partnership between the public and private sectors. We have constantly pleaded for the strengthening of this partnership. God willing, and the electorate providing support, I shall enhance this partnership, and continue with greater vigor the program of development which has already started the widening of our national horizons.

I thank you.

Source: University of the Philippines, College of Law Library

Speech of President Marcos at the Opening of the ILO Asian Roundtable for Labor Administration as a Tool for Development, September 2, 1969

LABOR ADMINISTRATION AS A TOOL FOR DEVELOPMENT

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS

President of the Philippines

(DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE ILO ASIAN ROUNDTABLE FOR
LABOR ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING, WHO
BUILDING, SEPTEMBER 2, 1969)*

As you already know, your conference in Manila coincides with our Presidential election season and I hope you understand that I could not be present in person to greet your conference today. I must go out and meet the voters not out of respect for my opponent, but out of respect for the people—for their right to demand an accounting from their President on his stewardship of the State.

I hope you will not allow this matter to distract you from your vital task in this Roundtable Conference. You will deliberate upon problems and possibilities of labor administration and development planning in the light of prevailing conditions in Asia. The Philippines, as host nation, intends fully to utilize this opportunity to learn from your own experiences and insights. We also hope to share our own modest experience in this field with you.

You could have not chosen a more important theme for your conference. Labor administration is, for most of our countries, relatively a frontier area characterized by many doubts and uncertainties. I think I speak for most of our governments when I say that labor administration is not the most likely sphere of government to receive urgent priority attention in the face of more imperative claims from other development sectors. I realize that on the other hand, in most governments in our regions, the ministry of labor is the most likely to have the lowest appropriation—probably because the human factor is not usually as tangible a thing as a road, a school, or a sack of rice.

And yet the most practical wisdom counsels us to give the highest priority to the human factor in development, not only in the sense that this is morally right. Human intelligence, human judgment and human skill must, after all, direct and mediate the impersonal economic forces that move a nation to progress. Moreover, in performing the function of social conscience for the government, the labor ministry underscores the principle that the purpose of all development is not simply to create wealth but ultimately to benefit, dignify and exalt the human personality.

The difficulties of labor administration in most of our countries undoubtedly inhere in the economic situation itself. For example, chronic unemployment works against the effective enforcement of labor laws and impedes the growth of free trade unions.

There is, moreover, an inclination for most governments in developing countries to establish the highest possible standards in the making of laws for the protection of the workers and their families. In the Philippines, we have had a long tradition of assuring legal protection to our workers. The Constitution of the Philippines must be one of the few written before the second World War which give the State a mandate to promote social justice, especially to protect woman and children labor. In some specific ways, the Philippine Constitution of 1935 anticipated the ILO Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944, which now forms part of the ILO Constitution, and whose substance is expressed in the principle: "Poverty anywhere threatens prosperity everywhere."

This mandate of our Constitution has been substantiated with a body of laws that includes the Minimum Wage Law, the Workmen's Compensation Law, the Woman and Child Labor Law, the Industrial Safety Act, the Magna Charta of Labor granting freedom of association and collective bargaining to workers, and more recently, the Agricultural Land Reform Code which extends all the rights granted to industrial workers to the workers in the agricultural sector.

The normal understanding of these laws is that they are designed to humanize the process of development, to bend the machine to the uses of man. I recall, in this connection, the profound observation made by His Holiness Pope Paul VI in the recent ILO 50th anniversary conference in Geneva, to the effect that technology must serve the worker, rather than enslave him, if we must attain the humane society we all profess to want.

Just as important however, is the fact that the well-being of the worker has been shown to have transcendent economic value. When productivity rises and the workers are allowed to participate in its fruits, the condition is attained for higher productivity and higher economic performance. But the more important reason, as Gunar Myrdal points out in his classic work on underdevelopment, *Asian Drama*, is that the quality of a nation's population, in the end, is more decisive for economic development than most other factors put together.

For this reason, in the Philippines we have decided to make human resources development a major aim and policy of our government. Not only has the educational system been revitalized and augmented with new facilities. For example, during the past three and a half years alone, more schoolrooms were built under our administration than all previous administrations put together beginning with the American colonial administration, in 1902 until 1965. But we have also given a new direction to our educational system. To complement the existing general and vocational schools, we have included a manpower training program which in the past nine months alone has already given occupational skills to about 45,000 out-of-school youth and jobless young adults. The aim of this program is to train about 100,009 young people a year in a range of 44 occupational skills. This is undertaken through a network of 137 training centers all over the country which admit the children of the poor free of charge. I should like on this occasion to acknowledge our profound debt to the ILO and to the United Nations Development Program for their approval of a project to establish a National Skills Manpower Training Center in the Manila area, which will be a pilot demonstration center for vocational instructors in our manpower training centers.

I note that the ILO has launched its World Employment Program which considers manpower training as a necessary measure for the promotion of employment. The promotion of employment is an aspect of labor administration and development planning to which, I hope, your conference will be able to give the fullest possible attention. This is a goal of every government but it can be attained only by giving labor administration full access to the planning board and setting employment targets in the context of development objectives. Under my administration, the National Youth and Manpower Council has been created precisely to ensure that our manpower objectives are fully reflected in our development planning. The Council coordinates the manpower activities of several major departments of the government as well as training policies in the private sector.

All this means that labor administration will become increasingly important in each of our countries, not only for the enforcement of labor laws, but also as a direct instrument for the promotion of economic and social development. I am glad to note that during the past three and a half years of my administration, the Department of Labor in our own government has increased significantly in importance as well as in stature. I know I forecast correctly the trend in all of our countries—a trend towards the increasing usefulness of labor ministries in the planning and implementation of development programs. For labor administration is, at least potentially, a major tool not only for the protection of workers but also for the acceleration of progress—progress in which all can share.

Your task in this Conference is how to sharpen this tool and raise it to its Optimum effectiveness. I know I speak not only for my government, but for yours, too, when I say that we wish you success in this important and innovative task. May I, at the same time, wish you a pleasant and memorable stay in our country which regards you not so much as transient guests but as brothers in a common cause and a common destiny.

Source: University of the Philippines, College of Law Library

Speech of President Marcos at the Opening Ceremonies of the Follow-up Seminar to the 1967 Seminar on Rural Medicine, September 5, 1969

RURAL HEALTH AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

(SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONIES OF THE FOLLOW-UP
SEMINAR TO THE 1967 SEMINAR ON RURAL MEDICINE,
UST, SEPTEMBER 5, 1969)

Two years ago, I stood in this very hall and exhorted you to accept the challenge of bringing medical science to the rural areas.

Much has taken place since that First National Seminar on Rural Medicine.

We have sought to carry out the various recommendations and proposals that emerged from that important dialogue.

Advances in Health

We have strengthened the structure and quality of our rural health services. We have in operation today 1,459 rural health units. But we know that these are still inadequate. To expand the services, we have increased the appropriations for rural health from ₱23 million in 1965 to ₱35 million in 1968 and ₱57 million in 1969. To make the program of free medicine truly more meaningful, we have raised it from four centavos per person in 1965 to 52 centavos in 1968 and 71 centavos in 1969. We shall not tire of raising this continuously, from year to year, to the extent that our government can bear the cost.

Consistent with the recommendation of the first seminar we have pursued a large-scale road construction program. In the three years of this administration we have increased the total span of concrete roads by 100 per cent; of asphalt roads up to 20 per cent; of feeder roads by 15 per cent; and that of permanent national bridges by 17 per cent.

You will recall that the first seminar also recommended an acceleration and intensification of the rural electrification program to promote faster economic development of the barrios. I am pleased to report that I have already signed the rural Electrification Law which will boost the development and economic growth of the barrios. This is immensely significant to us because electrification in the rural areas will enhance the usefulness of hospitals and clinics by making possible the use of X-rays and other diagnostic and treatment apparatus.

We have been able to “nationalize” all positions in the health services which used to be paid out of provincial funds. Now we can afford to give “hazard-pay” to health employees in the so-called hazardous areas. These developments will no doubt promote the efficiency of our health workers.

Special Programs

We have launched special programs to hasten the social uplift of the masses. As an example, your work has become a vital and indispensable component of the Central Luzon Development Program.

We recognize the socio-economic character of the problem in this particular area and therefore have embarked on a large-scale and long-range social justice program unprecedented in the history of that region. It is through the health service component of this program that we reach the individual citizen in that pivotal area and make him feel that the solicitude of his government truly comes to him.

The private sectors have cooperated admirably in this work. The Philippine Medical Society has sent teams of nurses and physicians to the hinterlands. I have received information that many of the provincial chapters of the Philippine Medical Association are very active in their program of volunteer rural health services. The medical schools have responded by revising their curricula. They now require rural internships for their students to prepare them for rural health work. Colleges of dentistry and pharmacy, I am told, have also amended their curricula and have included rural medicine to orient their students to rural health work. Many other agencies, both government and civic, are doing their share and I wish to acknowledge publicly their contributions to our goal of improving health services in the rural areas. The Department of Education, the Department of Public Works and Communications, the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, the Department of National Defense, the Presidential Arm on Community Development, the Department of Social Welfare, the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities, the Bayanihan, the private volunteers—all of them contribute significantly to our humanitarian mission.

Free Clinics

The control of diseases and the extension of health facilities to the remote barrios are major goals to which we intend! to address ourselves with increasing vigor. We have expanded health services and will provide free medicine to all needy citizens on a scale never before seen. We cannot afford to be complacent for we must reach that 60 per cent of our population that die without ever seeing a doctor or a nurse. To reach the people in the isolated areas of our country, I have requested the Department of Health, the Presidential Arm on Community Development, and the Philippine Medical Association to combine their efforts and begin a massive medical assistance project for the rural areas.

Our political charlatans will seek to obstruct us but we shall not be deterred from fulfilling our responsibilities to the less fortunate people of the country.

This program calls for mobilization of all rural health units which will work jointly with the Presidential Arm on Community Development and with the volunteers of the Philippine Medical Association. This will be an example of government agencies merging forces with a volunteer group on a nation-wide scale. Medicine and medical services will be given free to the barrio people through free clinics. This way we can bring medicine directly to the barrio people and to places where it is most needed. This program will cover all the 33,817 barrios of the country. The significant aspect of this program is that from 1,500 to 2,000 medical volunteers will be mobilized in all towns and barrios to give free clinics to the neediest people. This is a fine example of civic action. To insure a smooth implementation of this program of free clinics, a national coordinating committee has been established. In each province the project will be supervised by a provincial coordinator.

High Priority

Our rural health program will continue to enjoy the highest possible priority. No nation can achieve its goals unless the people are strong and healthy. The moral character of a nation and the effectiveness of a government are bound up with the physical fitness of its people.

The economic development and progress of any country depend to a large extent on the health of its manpower. Our nation cannot achieve genuine social and economic stability without an effective program of public health that will reach every Filipino.

I, therefore, urge you to redouble your support of the goals of our rural health program. This is how, on both the personal and official levels, you can help your country. For our program of social and economic development is, in a manner of speaking, anchored on the health of our people.

Thank you and good day.

Source: University of the Philippines, College of Law Library

Address of President Marcos at the Conferment of the Order of Kalantiao on Don Quintin Paredes, September 9, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Conferment of the Order of Kalantiao on Don Quintin Paredes

[Delivered on September 9, 1969]

A Tribute to Don Quintin Paredes

MOST HEROES ARE appreciated and honored too late. Too late, sometimes, because they are long dead when the homage comes; too late, perhaps, also for the living hero if at all he is recognized and acknowledged, because it comes long after the time of crisis and long after the triumph. And when the tribute does come, it is also always inadequate, a small measure of a deed that it seeks to honor, for the measure of a man is his genius, his competence, his strength and his capabilities. He is often marked only by the essence of the man or by tragedy.

Today, we are gathered in such belated and inadequate tribute to a man who devoted more than half a century of his life to the service of his people and of his country. He abides and he endures, a legend among his people. And there is surely nothing that we can do or say that will add to the stature of this man, save the fact that in trying to honor him thus, we honor the great heritage of our country.

For it is rightly said of such men as Don Quintin Paredes that the satisfaction of their lives does not consist in recognition of their work, but in the very work itself including all its drudgery, its sacrifices, and all its suffering, in the ceaseless and in the continuous crisis of action.

Yes, it is in the glory of achievement without reward that one finds heroism. Greatness without self-pity demands distinction or recognition.

We see his kind in men like Jose Rizal, Apolinario Mabini, Emilio Aguinaldo, Claro M. Recto and Jose P. Laurel, all Filipinos like us, but all of them also in some degree different and isolated from the rest of us. They are with us in their humanity and in race; but something also elevated them above the multitude, leaders walking several ten feet taller than their contemporaries, among their people, in the very affirmation, of their identity with them.

When we look at the history of this nation of ours, it is their faces and their omnipresence that we invariably see in the periods of crisis and in the periods of greatness. When we look for the sources of their greatness, we find them in the fortitude and wisdom of their mind, as well as the valor of their arms.

They were uncommon.

There were some who like Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo expressed this largeness, this greatness of spirit in the field of strife. Others like Jose Rizal, Claro M. Recto, Laurel, and Mabini expressed it through their pens and awakened their countrymen to our history.

And there were still others like Jose P. Laurel and Sergio Osmeña, Sr., whose birthday we also celebrate today, who worked patiently in the service of the government, sometimes unnoticed and unknown, and gave reality to the dream of a progressive and peaceful nation. The glory of their lives does not consist of one magnificent act of heroism as in war or in battle, or of one startling, soaring work of the imagination, but of a hundred day-to-day small achievements, which when summed up loom as a formidable and exemplary accomplishment. Their heroism, one might say, is the greater kind of heroism, for physical heroism is sometimes cheap as it is sometimes easy to die in combat. It is easier to receive a bullet in one's body than to withstand pressures upon one's spirit and one's soul.

Their patience and fervor in the midst of drudgery, corruption, weakness, are a necessary act of valor that comes when the battles have been won and the people are already awakened to their dream and to their freedom. When to have freedom is as common as breathing common air, then it is hard to be heroic.

Such a man is the Filipino we honor today.

From the time when he first went into the service of his government in 1906 as an Assistant Prosecuting Attorney in Manila, to the time of his retirement in 1961 as a Senator of the Republic, Don Quintin Paredes was a man whose life was interwoven with the deepest aspirations of his people.

In the service of the law, he fought fiercely for the rights of citizens and realized in his work the true workings of justice and the majesty of the law.

As a Senator, he worked for all sectors of the national community and authored many major laws for their benefit. For we, the younger generation, remember him as principally responsible for our Revised Penal Code and later on, after the war, he also participated in the formulation and enactment of the new Civil Code and the Magna Carta of Labor. And as has been said by Senator Tañada, he would rather be right than be President.

However, I would like to say that Don Quintin Paredes is qualified in every way for the position of President. He labored as Speaker in the House of Representatives and as President of the Senate, but these so-called training grounds for the Presidency failed to hurl him to the highest political position, perhaps because he wanted it that way.

But as in the case of Jose P. Laurel and Claro M. Recto, the substance of his work already made him a giant among his contemporaries and left its lasting mark on the history of this nation. And like them, retirement never really removed him from the scene. He abides and he endures.

As we look at the nation today, as we confront today's problems and face the new decade waiting just around the corner, we turn anew to the example of this man, to his words and to his deeds. The new priorities and the new challenges make him no stranger to our political life today, for he, like the rest of his generation, was a visionary in his time — a man who looked beyond his times and read the shapes of things to come.

It is indeed a happy occasion for me to award him the Order of Kalantiao, and in this connection may I say that it was not the order of Sikatuna, the rank of datu, that was given him because the Order of Kalantiao is a higher decoration and a higher order in the Philippines.

Up to now in the entire history of the Philippines only about six have been awarded the Order of Kalantiao. But every Ambassador who leaves our country, after completing his assignment here, receives the Order of Sikatuna. And since he has been known as a nationalist, and identified with nationalism, I believed that it was necessary that he be not identified with foreign representatives.

I am also doubly happy for this occasion because many years ago, he does not remember it perhaps, when he campaigned with my father, I used to take care of the horses and the provisions they needed on the campaign trail.

Don Quintin Paredes was the contemporary of my father and on his election campaign sorties when he was still Speaker of the House of the Representatives I used to give him a massage. I was a youngster in my teens, and ambitious to be like him, I swore that someday he and I would meet on equal terms.

I am indeed very happy that this occasion has come, and I have been able to award him the highest decoration that can be granted to a Filipino in our Republic.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos at the Testimonial Parade and Review, September 10, 1969

SOME WORDS OF CAUTION AND ADVICE
TO THE ARMED FORCES

By FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

(SPEECH AT THE TESTIMONIAL PARADE AND REVIEW AT
CAMP AGUINALDO, 10 SEPTEMBER 1969)

I thank you for your pledge of loyalty to me and as I receive this pledge of loyalty, I also ask you to pledge your loyalty to our flag and to our Constitution.

More than three years ago, you honored me with a similar ceremony on this same parade ground. And if you will remember, at that time, the Armed Forces of the Philippines was recovering from a severe blow of public criticism, for military men had been accused of connivance with smugglers, dissidents, and other lawless elements in our country.

I met with you and acting on your own recommendations, I instituted remedial measures at once in my capacity as secretary of defense. Your effective implementation of my directives brought into being a new type of soldier—the soldier-builder, the soldier of peace, a constructive soldier and not a destructive one, a soldier who learns not only to fight and win, but who has learned to build and to hold precious the free institutions for which he is often called upon to suffer, and perhaps to lay down his life.

Today, in the name of our people, for I know that the great majority of them appreciate and acknowledge their indebtedness to you, I should like to thank you for a job well done. Your commendable performance of your military duties as well as your concrete accomplishments in various economic activities are tangible proofs of your dedication to the service.

When our country, our people, were in doubt about their capability to build roads, our engineer soldiers started out to prove themselves with the former Highway 54, now known as the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue. And, using your engineers for development, you have demonstrated the capability of the Armed Forces of the Philippines as nation-builders by helping construct the North Diversion Road. Our people have not recovered from the pleasant surprise they had from viewing your activities in infrastructure.

You have sent out to every nook and corner of our country medical teams, civic action teams and contrary to the claim that we have sent the cream of our civic action groups to Vietnam, we have civic action groups in great numbers throughout the country, in accordance with the policy that I have established under this administration.

As your Commander-in-Chief I am proud to be able to say that we have a new Armed Forces of the Philippines, even as we are building a new Philippines. This is an Armed Forces of the Philippines that is not loyal to one person alone; it is loyal to the ideas for which our forebears fought hundreds of years, and loyal to the principles on which our Constitution is based. While other countries see their armed forces utilized in the subversion of their own government, our armed forces, and I repeat this, as I must continue to reiterate the truth in the face of treachery, prevarication and distortions, the Armed Forces of the Philippines has been the stabilizing factor in this country. Any element may conceivably threaten our government, our Republic, our free institutions, our democracy, but the Armed Forces of the Philippines will be as steadfast, as impregnable in the defense of the Republic of the Philippines.

Loyalty to the Constitution

In this land of the free where we encourage dissent, no man can rightfully demand personal loyalty. It must be earned. If this occasion manifests your loyalty to me, I accept it humbly.

Loyalty is Based on Trust

But loyalty is based on mutual trust, mutual respect, or on dedication to a common cause.

Today I ask you to rededicate yourselves as I do, to our common cause of freedom and liberty.

In war, you and I have demonstrated our loyalty to our flag. In peace, we have worked together to help free our people from the shackles of hunger, disease, poverty, and illiteracy.

The Soldier as Protector and Builder

My friends, we are fast approaching election day. I take this occasion to remind you once again to refrain from engaging in any partisan political activity. Your primary duty in all elections is to help keep peace and order.

In the discharge of your duties, I want you to exercise judicious care. Your acts can be misunderstood. In everything you do, try to make every man in our land understand, be he official or plain citizen, or a member of this party or that party, understand that the soldier of today is his protector, not his oppressor—a builder, not a destroyer.

Above all Liberties

Our soldiers must uphold the right of our people to expose and to oppose arbitrary power wherever it may come from. Our people depend upon our soldiers to protect them from oppressive and tyrannous acts.

A single act of abridgement of the people's freedom by servicemen alienates the people from their government. When the people lose faith in their government, anarchy ensues. This is the worst thing that can happen to a nation, for nothing can prosper in chaos and disarray.

It is to uphold freedom that I directed the immediate investigation of every constabulary, or navy, air force, or army man who may have threatened any of the freedoms of our people. It was said that there was an attempt to stop the publication of the Dumaguete Times; this I immediately had investigated. It was said that there were efforts on the part of the Philippine Constabulary to oppress citizens, in some provinces. These reports are being investigated. It is said that some of our soldiers have been too overzealous in pursuing the enemy in Central Luzon that they have violated some of the laws, like entering private premises without a proper order from a court. This I have ordered investigated. And if any government man is found guilty of violations of the law, whether he is in uniform or not, he shall be prosecuted and punished. But if you are performing your duty faithfully, in accordance with the law and the standards of an officer and a gentleman, rest assured that I, as your President, will give you the protection of the office of the Presidency.

Agreement on Subversion

Also, in the interest of preventing possible violations of civil liberties, I have directed the Secretary of Justice and the Secretary of National Defense to study the handling of highly sensitive cases concerning persons suspected of subversive activities. I am glad to know that Secretary Mata and Secretary Enrile had given top priority to this matter, resulting in the present established procedure that no charges of subversion shall be brought against any person by the military without prior and thorough evaluation of all evidence by experts of the Department of Justice.

I have approved this norm of procedure. And I enjoin all concerned to work out its effective implementation. In the impartial administration of justice, our people will begin to understand and to appreciate the meaning of security under the rule of law.

Weed Out Undesirables

The thousand acts of courage and the outstanding service of many of you can easily be overshadowed by bold headlines about the abuses and indiscretions of a few.

At the same time while it is unfair that the acts of one may affect thousands of the men and officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, you are all servicemen, you are all servants of the people like me, and therefore must bear with fortitude public scrutiny.

It is therefore incumbent upon you to purge the armed forces of undesirable elements whose actions tarnish your name and reputation.

I appeal to the civic-spirited citizens of our country to support our drive to rid the armed forces of misfits and corrupt officers by gathering enough courage to come forward and help investigators establish evidence to convict the guilty.

I am very happy to take note of the organizations that have come in to offer help to the week-end warriors of our country. These volunteers are now in the Air Force, in the cavalry, in the marines, and I noticed even a platoon of soldiers who are being trained by the members of our Olympic rifle and pistol team.

Now, this is a development that I would like to comment on. I congratulate the patriotism of these men and women who are giving a precious part of their time, their private resources, and their considerable talents, in order to develop our citizen army. For it is quite true, and I repeat this, that even if our armed forces can by itself defend our country against any, and I repeat, any enemy, it is the intention of the Filipinos to fight as one, to make it so costly for any prospective invader or infiltrator that no one may ever dream of coming to take our country again.

I have said repeatedly that our citizen army is the backbone of our national defense. And so in pursuit of that, we have the week-end soldiers, in the cavalry, using their own horses, their own equipment, and we have the olympic shooting team members developing a snipers group. Although I saw only three or four sniper rifles in that entire platoon, I would like this unit to be completely equipped the next time that they are paraded before us. And I thank the captain of the Philippine Olympic rifle and pistol team, Chito Feliciano for this service, and I also thank Col. Jake Zobel.

I call upon all the citizens, to join in this task, and I ask the chief of staff and the secretary of national defense to call upon our comrades who are retired, and utilize their talents in the organization of our citizen army, such that we have more effective national defense posture.

Small-Unit Leadership

In the past, I told you that the most important single element of the Armed Forces is the soldier, the ordinary soldier. He is the AFP to our people. He is the Army, the Air Force, the Marines, the Navy, the Constabulary, because he belongs with the elements who are in frequent and direct contact with our citizenry. If what he does is good, he projects a respectable image of the military and if it is not then the military has a bad image.

Perhaps we can look into the matter of upgrading the quality of leadership among our small units down to the squad and even smaller detachment. And I say this advisedly because many of the incidents that have reached the front pages of our newspapers, and the commentators of radio and television, have been incidents that involved small unit leadership. It seems our system of training has been concentrated on big units. It is possible that in the process of large-scale planning, the intrinsic value of the small unit might have been taken for granted, if not completely ignored.

Command Sergeant Major

In line with the development of small-unit leadership, maybe you can look into the experience of the Philippine Air Force, particularly in the matter of designating an outstanding enlisted man as Sergeant Major.

From what I have gathered, the Sergeant Major of the Air Force serves as an effective link between the commander and the enlisted men in his command. During inspections, the Sergeant Major has provided the commander with timely assessments of the state of morale of the command as well as of specific problem areas needing the immediate attention of the commander.

My friends, I reiterate my gratitude to you not in words but in action, and so today I am pleased to announce before you that I am signing this bill increasing the monthly base pay of soldiers in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Now, this bill has been approved by Congress and it will probably take sometime before it can be implemented, but the bill is there and I would like you to listen to the increases: For privates, an increase from ₱130 to ₱180; private first class, from ₱135 to ₱185; Corporal, from ₱140 to ₱195; Sergeant, from ₱145 to ₱205;. Staff Sergeant, from ₱155 to ₱220; Technical Sergeant, from ₱165 to ₱240; Master or First Sergeant, from ₱175 to ₱260.

I now sign this bill into law in your presence. Now, allow me to say thank you to you; this is supposed to be my last year in office as your commander-in-chief according to my present term. It is my hope, however, that I will still be here next year to receive your pledge. We have worked together, we have fought in time of war and labored in time of peace to lift our nation upward, to independence and later toward progress. There is more to be done, each and everyone of us have our post, we have our respective assignments and our missions. Let every soldier do his duty. We cannot stop now for our people want us to carry on with me wherever you are assigned, whether you are assigned to posts in populated areas or to some distant base, such as the Turtle Islands, or the Batanes, or some unknown and forsaken area, just remember, even if you are alone we are with you. When you suffer, we suffer with you, when you feel aggrieved because there is too much criticism, remember that it is the essence of democracy for which you and I had fought. And now that we have this freedom, we must treasure it, we must encourage dissent, we must be irreproachable in conduct and in character. Even if you are alone, we are, I repeat, with you. Carry on therefore; if you fail, we fail with you, and if you succeed we shall glory in your achievements.

Thank you very much again, and carry on. Goodbye.

Source: Presidential Management Staff

Address of President Marcos before the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, September 30, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines

[Delivered on September 30, 1969]

The Poverty Barrier Has Been Cracked

LET ME CONGRATULATE the new officers of the Chamber, the men who as they assumed office tonight presented their program of activities for the coming year. I note this for it is my hope that the two parties who now seek the popular mandate will similarly present their program of activities for the coming four years. If the officers of this organization find it necessary to prepare a program for governing your chamber even for one year, I think that it is necessary that the two parties present a program of government relating to our economy.

We are all looking ahead to the changes in the 70's, and we must present a plan to you now.

We feel that we have just passed a great danger, and insofar as the economic health of the nation is concerned, we have surmounted what used to be considered as insurmountable problems, owing to the perseverance and the unflagging confidence of our people in themselves.

We have demonstrated what can be achieved through foresight and the will to achieve and we have passed through the breakthrough years. But this will not mean very much in the next decade if we do not proceed with the same spirit in the coming years. There has to be continuity. We must take advantage of this momentum, we must accelerate the pace that has already been set. The vision must be sustained if we are finally to attain the progressive society of our dreams.

New international policies, unexpected problems of various national economies, will certainly affect us in the Philippines, and we must plan for this now. If necessary, we must change policy, we must change attitude, for the mental cast of the past will only be overwhelmed by the increasingly complex problems that will surely come in the future. It is evident, therefore, that political decisions must cope with this new complexity, and this means greater sophistication on the part of the decision makers.

In this context, the Philippines can no longer afford to be parochial or provincial. This risk is, of course, ever present; much depends, however, on the kind of leadership we have. It is also in this context that we have formulated the economic program that I would like to discuss with you now.

Basically, the program continues to strive for greater improvement in the living standards of our people and in our environment, which should foster sound economic growth. This goal is reflected in terms of increasing the annual average growth in real per capita gross national product from 2.5 per cent as envisioned in the fiscal years 1967 to 1970 plan, and 3.5 percent in the years; 1970 to 1974 plan.

Having started the momentum which has accelerated growth in the recent years, and I must add, having surpassed the major targets in fiscal 1967, the new plan aims to capitalize on this momentum to further accelerate the attainment of aggregate gains to more ambitious levels. The real GNP's are expected, therefore, to grow at an annual average of 7.1 percent, higher than the 6.2 percent average of the existing target.

Specifically the new program is geared towards the attainment of the following objectives:

First, generate more employment and provide various other social services i for a rapidly expanding population;

Second, further improve conditions of production, marketing and distribution in the agricultural sector, in particular, and the economy in general;

Third, rationalize the industrial sector; and

Fourth, improve the balance of payments in order to increase foreign exchange available for the attainment of development goals.

But while the new plan envisioned is a continuation of the development process as embodied in the present or previous plan, it also seeks to place emphasis on new areas deemed instrumental or of sustained economic growth. Let no one say that this is just developmental rhetoric; I invite you to measure these goals against what has been planned and achieved in recent years. I need not cite statistics at this point. The claims are verifiable by a simple trip around the country.

One of the secrets of development that we discovered in the past three years is the concentration of limited resources on a given point, thus preventing what an economist terms as the overextension of limited resources, which is the cause of failure. When I was listening to your two Presidents list down all the objectives of economic development and say that we had to attain all these goals at one inclusive time, I decided that in the coming years we would request our two friends to sit down with us and discover once again that overextending limited resources is not the answer to our problem. Rather, we must concentrate our limited resources on given priority areas, one at a time, for to do otherwise,

I reiterate, would be to repeat the failure of the previous administration.

Before I proceed any further, may I again, at the risk of repetition, inform you of the growth that we have attained.

The economy's actual growth showed a 6.2 per cent increase in the last two years, as against the target of 5.8, and a 6.4 per cent increase in the last two years, as against the target of 6.2 per cent. This is the highest sustained rate of growth achieved by our economy in any given period since after the war.

I have chosen this occasion to announce the highlights of the government's draft five-year plan for the fiscal years 1970-1974. This plan takes cognizance of Joint Resolution No. 2 of the Congress of the Philippines.

But before I do so, it is necessary to review, no matter how quickly, the performance of the economy during the past several years. We can build the future only on the basis of present achievements.

The private sector has been a driving force in these years of vigorous economic growth. Tonight I am grateful for this opportunity to convey my appreciation to you as leading members of our dynamic private sector.

Our economic development has just begun. The process of evolving from an underdeveloped, dualistic and poor economy to an integrated, self-generating and ever-growing economy is a long process; indeed it may take a decade. The cycle of poverty is tenacious and enduring. And to break it completely requires a lifetime.

We can only begin, and we can only so orient our economy and accelerate our pace that no accidents of political leadership, and no accidents of political decisions, will alter the inexorable movement forward of our economy in the future. And that is why it is necessary that the same hand that guided our economy in the past four years, which saw the highest rate of growth and pace of development, should continue to guide it in the next four years.

We have not fully overcome the cycle of poverty but we have interrupted if not halted it.

There are critics, of course, who say that we should have overcome poverty by now, in just four years, but I repeat, it will require a lifetime to break the cycle of poverty in our country. If the United States, a highly progressive country, still finds poverty among its people, if other countries equally progressive find poverty among a great number of

their citizenry, let us not be so childish as to think that we will be able to eradicate poverty among our people in a period of four years. We have cracked the development barrier, and this is about the most accurate statement that I could make; we have Cracked the development barrier that had isolated us in poverty and shut us off from genuine progress. These very cracks, the new gaps that we are creating, are the measures of our development and our grounds for hope. For paradoxically, in the sequence of the development process, the solution to problems at one level creates the problems at another.

The breakthrough in rice production and the initial impact of our infrastructure projects are creating shortages in warehousing and bulk storage facilities as well as under-capacities in domestic trade.

We are developing piers, only to discover that our domestic shipping is deficient. We are developing airports only to discover that our air navigation communications are deficient. The very success of our refinancing schemes for distressed industries, the general acceleration of economic growth, over-achievement of growth targets, initial successes of our Board of Investments and the increase in the generation of government-sponsored development projects, have increased our import requirements for capital goods and raw materials to a level above our past ability to earn foreign exchange. These are some of the problems we now face but did not face before I took over as President, when our rate of growth was not as rapid and therefore did not require this solution.

The aim of the plan is still the same: to break economic dualism and develop a vigorous, integrated, self-reliant and ever-growing economy. The new plan capitalizes on the development momentum to accelerate economic transformation. Real gross national product is set to grow at an annual average of 7.1 per cent. Per capita gross national product is scheduled to increase from 2.9 per cent in 1970 to 3.8 by 1974.

Now, specifically, the new plan commits itself to the following objectives:

- a. generate an average of 460,000 new jobs a year;
- b. upgrade and increase available social services for a rapidly expanding population;
- c. improve conditions of production, marketing and distribution in the agricultural sector and in the economy in general;
- d. increase the competitiveness of the industrial sector; and
- e. improve the availability of foreign exchange for the attainment of development goals.

We must now apply the lessons that we learned in the rice and corn program to other agricultural products, to other cash programs and food crops.

Finally, to further bridge the income distribution gap between the rural and urban sectors, land reform efforts will be intensified.

We must now actually look closer into the means of bringing about a new system of acquisition of land. To manage this, the Land Bank is eyeing a land swap project, and we are studying this. The marketability of land bonds will be improved by giving the Land Bank a preferred list of bids for the purchase of public lands selected for disposal. The preferred list shall work in terms of limiting purchases to the holders of Land Bank bonds. Land owners in priority areas of land reform will then have greater inducement to exchange their lands for Land Bank bonds and this in turn will enable more effective acquisition of land in the priority areas for distribution.

Now, in industry, the program contains a more detailed listing of priority projects, together with the investment requirements, thus enabling the rational restructuring of the industrial sector. These are the areas that the Board of Investments has provided with incentives to encourage private investment. Furthermore, taking cognizance of the

role of technical research in agricultural and industrial development, the program includes an outline of the areas for research which will receive major government attention.

We have reached the point where we must now integrate agricultural and industrial activities, and this is one of the sore points in planning as well as in implementation. Just exactly what do we mean by the integration of agriculture and industry? People have different definitions of integration. However, we should start with domestic trade. There must be more efficient distribution of goods in the country between the producing and the consuming sectors of the economy. This is an essential complement of the integration of agricultural and industrial activities. Movement of agricultural commodities to industrial plants and consumer markets will be improved; industrial output will have ready access to urban and farm products. The end effect would be balanced growth, stable prices and the expansion of domestic products.

Direct government assistance will concentrate on pioneer or deferred industries as listed by this Board of Investments. Thus far, the Board of Investments has approved 120 out of 151 applications for registration. The total cost of these projects is some P1.8 billion. These projects will require some P211 million in loans and equity financing from government financial institutions.

The second investment priorities plan of the Board of Investments aims at the generation of integrated industrial complexes in food processing, metal processing and intermediate petro-chemical production. Total investment requirements for these integrated industrial complexes will run to some P6.3 billion.

Infrastructure projects will maintain their high priority in the coming years. Total investment in infrastructure facilities in the next five years are estimated at some P4 billion.

We will now look into the further extension of feeder roads. We have constructed in the past three and one half years about 12,000 kilometers of roads, and the feeder roads will be extended so as to complete about 5,000 kilometers more of feeder roads in the next several years.

We must develop our human resources, and that we have started with the manpower development program. We must continue with this, since this is one of the basic answers to unemployment; and we must provide increasing education, health, community development, social and welfare services.

The centers of manpower training will turn out an average of 100,000 skilled workers composed of school youths and young adults every year, who will be eligible for immediate employment.

The manpower plan is geared towards reducing the unemployment rate from the present 7.8 per cent to 6.3 per cent by 1974. This plan will absorb the 430,000 annual entrants to the labor force as well as increase labor productivity by some 4.3 per cent a year.

The plan on the matter of balance of payments suggests two programs to solve our present foreign exchange difficulties:

- a. re-structuring our external debt, and
- b. export promotion and diversification combined with rational import substitution.

Re-structuring our external debt will gradually eliminate those instances when we are temporarily pressed for short-term funds. In the past we relied too much on short-term foreign funds to tide us over the lean months. Such a method of financing forces us to come up with dollar payments even before development projects start producing. This imposes a heavy burden on our foreign reserves.

Re-structuring our foreign debt will enable us to postpone dollar payments to the time when these investment projects become productive and provide the dollars with which to pay their loans.

The import substituting industries approved by the BOI will save some \$125 million in foreign exchange annually. And when the exporting manufacturers registered with the BOI become fully operational, they too are expected to earn \$150 million annually.

We must continue to expand trade relations and thus we are even now experimenting with trade with East European countries in accordance with the recommendation of your Chamber of Commerce.

Finally in the pursuit of all these goals and in the implementation of various projects to attain our objectives, we will be guided by the principle of developing the potential of our own countrymen for entrepreneurship and economic leadership. This is the basic principle of Joint Resolution Number Two of Congress

Every encouragement shall be given by the government to Filipino businessmen and investors to establish and operate basic and integrated industries essential to economic growth. Industries in accepted areas of priority shall be accorded credit facilities.

On this principle of the Filipino's priority in his own country, the two major political parties take divergent paths. This is one of the vital issues now being submitted to our people for decision.

In proportion to the magnitude of the tasks we must yet attend to our resources which remain scarce. For that very reason, we must learn to utilize them fully and wisely, with minimum of waste, in accordance with the priorities defined.

In the past we tended to waste our resources by yielding to the temptation to spread them too thinly over the whole spectrum of local and national problems. If in the past three and a half years we solved the rice problem and built more first-class roads, than all previous administrations, and erected more schoolrooms than the combined output of previous administrations, the reason is that we selected the problems to confront and concentrated our energies and resources on them.

The test of management in business is always economic performance. There is no necessary identity of criteria for management success in business and in the government, but the performance of the Philippine economy in the past three and a half years in a period considered-critical for most developing national economies has been, in the view of the World Bank and other impartial authorities, quite outstanding. This result reflects not only sound economic management but also the vitality and drive of our private sector.

This is the best assurance that the progress we have gained is now irreversible. For the new vitality, self-confidence and competence of our people, reflected especially in their entrepreneurs and economic leaders, will protect these gains as foundations for continuing growth.

The present administration has started a new revolution. It is an unfinished revolution, but it is showing certain manifestations, and we welcome scrutiny of all sectors, the students, the labor elements, the public and private sectors, all who are looking into the deficiencies in government. Never before have the people demonstrated such an interest in the affairs of our government, and we encourage this interest. We welcome this because this is the very meaning of the partnership between the private and the public sectors.

This revolution, however, is barely half through and this revolution is best understood by the men who started it. The men who started it were those of us in the Nacionalista Party, and therefore we who belong to this party come to you with a knowledge of the motivations, the beginnings, the limitations, and the basis of this unfinished revolution.

We are, for instance, looking towards developing our industries, and yet right now the private sector has not moved into one of the richest areas of economic activity. We are supposed to have one of the biggest and most valuable copper deposits in the world, and yet we have barely started extractive mining of copper.

And many of you would probably be surprised to know that our country is supposed to have the richest marble deposits in the world, that every island in our country is supposed to have marble deposits. When we speak of marble deposits; we immediately refer to Romblon. However, studies made by the public and the private sectors show that the Romblon enterprise is limited to a few men, perhaps not more than 10 men. Now, the studies show that the value of our marble deposits is very high. The President of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Manalo, has referred to our nickel deposits in the Surigao area. May I call attention to the fact that nickel deposits are found all over the country, from the North to the South. In Davao, I think, there are copper mines to be developed, as in Zambales, and deposits are being discovered in almost all the provinces in the North.

At the same time, abaca pulp and paper are supposed to be of the highest grade, and yet we have done nothing to develop this area. Again, I call upon the private sector to come into these areas because this is an area from which the government shies away. And we furnish almost 90 per cent of all the raw materials for Nationalist China and Japan, and yet the private sector has not come into this particular area where government cannot enter.

All these are matters which we have looked into and have included in the plan. We look forward to a partnership accord between the private sector and the public sector.

Now I go into the requirements for the sweeping changes needed in our government. I have noticed that one of the questions often asked me is: What are the plans for changes in the government in relation to the utilization of private talent and the amendment of the Constitution?

May I anticipate the question here, and say that no other administration has utilized private talent as the present administration has demonstrated. In fact, I have been charged with pirating private talent from both industry and academic circles. There are many numbers of men who were pirated from private corporations, including one member of the Monetary Board who was borrowed from PHILAM. And so many of these private consultants are now working on our plan. I also wish to call attention to the fact that I have just received from the UP the new plan for the next four years. We have gathered about 300 consultants to help in the planning of development and we hope that they will get together as soon as the elections are over.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Inauguration of the Civil Aeronautics Administration Semi Automatic System,
October 2, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Inauguration of the Civil Aeronautics Administration Semi Automatic System

[Delivered on October 2, 1969]

The Modernization of Airports

WE ARE INAUGURATING here a center which skeptics predicted would not be completed in five years, but which, as you see, is now finished. I was informed that it is now in full operation, but not being an expert on this matter, I have to take the word of those who are intimate with the project.

This center was built as part of the crash program aimed at modernizing our international airport before the end of the year. We are opening bids by November 7 on the construction of facilities for jumbo jets. I don't know why they chose a date just before the elections, but I can tell you that I had nothing whatsoever to do with the choice of the date. The proposed facilities for jumbo jets in the Manila International Airport will cost about P25 million.

I have also just authorized the construction of a number of domestic airports, about 36, worth about P36 million, to be installed from North to South.

From the start, in 1966, I knew that the country could not develop a pace economically without adequate infrastructure which includes, of course, the much needed airports to serve our more than 7,100 islands.

As a consequence of the high priority that we placed on infrastructure, we concentrated our resources on infrastructure, but at the same time we gave the stress to agriculture. Now that we have laid the infrastructure, perhaps we should now go into the building of the superstructure. This indeed is what we are trying to do now and this is what we intend to do in the next four years, God and the Filipino people willing.

I take pride in pointing out, of course, that no other administration has built as much infrastructure as we have in the past three years and a half. We have built, for instance, more concrete roads than this country has ever built from the turn of the century in 1902 to 1965.

I am happy to note that the private sector has been cooperating with the government on this matter.

The Philippines had the dubious distinction, around 1965, of being one of the three countries in Asia with the poorest telecommunications system. This has been changed in the past three years and a half. Growth in telecommunications has accelerated at the rate of 10.5 per cent per year. In capital alone, private industry invested an additional P8,264,000 in 1968, which was three times that invested in 1966.

Right now, I would like to explain the government's activities in civil aviation. We must provide civil aviation with modern facilities. This project which we have just inaugurated was designed not only to serve domestic aviation but also to meet regional aviation requirements, particularly at this time when the Philippines has become a focus of air travel on this side of the Pacific. In keeping with the requirements of the jet age, we are collaborating with the other nations in the region in the development of modern communications systems and the message switching center provides us with an efficient system of message transmission and reception.

In terms of speed, accuracy and capacity the center is adequate to meet problems brought about by faster aircraft, high altitude capability, and bigger volume of operations. And this is just the beginning of the development of a

highly sophisticated system to handle the anticipated jumbo jets and supersonic aircraft. As we keep pace with the jet age, we should at the same time be able to make great strides in our national development program. There is no question that we will be able to maintain our pace. We have been able to do it because of the ingenuity, resourcefulness and efficiency of our people.

I take this occasion to pledge the support of the government, the national government and of the Office of the President, to all the efforts in this area, to attain all facilities needed by modern air travel. It is my intention to present to Congress as soon as it opens in January 1970, if I am still in the position to submit such recommendations, a development program for our aircraft and aviation facilities including the most sophisticated radar system, communication system, as well as facilities in the way of terminals and runways, so that Congress may be able to prepare a five-to-ten-year program of development. At the same time, we should immediately meet today the urgent requirements of air travel. I shall give air travel and the funding of facilities required for modern air travel the highest priority in the years to come.

So, I believe that you and I should get together and support each other so that we can finalize this plan.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 106th Birthday Anniversary Celebration of Andres Bonifacio, November 30, 1969

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 106th Birthday Anniversary Celebration of Andres Bonifacio

[Delivered on November 30, 1969]

The True Revolution

WE CELEBRATE TODAY the birthday of one of the noblest Filipinos, Andres Bonifacio. He affirmed the greatness of the race, not through an elite but through the common man, the faceless masses who compose the bone and sinew of any nation.

The revolution that Bonifacio ignited was a true revolution, for it was kindled by the essential intensity of feeling needed to bind men together under one cause, and it was undertaken to bring change to a country weighted by centuries of oppression.

The Cry of Pugad Lawin unleashed a chain of events which inevitably led to our independence. We stand here today as free men because a few hundred Filipinos, fired by a towering leader to great deeds, dared to challenge the vested power of a colonial overlord.

Today, we are in the midst of a new revolution. We seek a new victory, not of arms over a cruel adversary, not to found a new nation, but to reaffirm the old and give it a new meaning and a new dimension.

I believe that the present administration, which our people have summoned anew to lead the nation, has defined the shape and content of that revolution.

As in Bonifacio's day, it is a revolution aimed at change. It is not a revolution for the sake of revolution. It does not aim to create chaos, to achieve momentary novelty or to indulge pet notions. It is a monumental effort to provide an answer to the quandaries and dilemmas which have beset our people since we became a free and sovereign nation more than twenty years ago.

The revolution which we must fight today is that of survival as a nation.

Beyond that, it is a revolution aimed at intensifying awareness of ourselves, our birthright and our capabilities. And it is directed at the enhancement of the quality of Filipino life.

There are many among us who question such lofty goals, partly because the doubters have no faith in themselves, partly because they remain captives of an old order which, unfortunately, continues to exist in our land. I have often heard the greatness of the Filipino disparaged as myth. Indeed, considering the stagnation of our country since independence, considering the prolonged colonial hangover, considering the nature of our politics, it takes deep faith to believe in our powers and in our capacities, to reverse age-old conditions and to gain the higher peaks of achievement.

Aware of this mentality, and mindful of the realities of our situation, my administration from the very start set its sights on disproving these old wives' tales. The only way to do this was to make the breakthroughs toward those high plateaus of achievement — in other words to demonstrate our creative capacity, and to recall the greatness which once illumined our land through such giants as Rizal, Mabini and Bonifacio.

We made those breakthroughs by design in such prosaic but critical areas as rice and corn production, in the building of infrastructure, in the expansion of schools, in government efficiency and management.

These breakthroughs correct the old myth of the indolent Filipino. It is also a decision in favor of human priorities. What is the decision to pour all available public resources into the rice and corn production program if not a decision to serve the human being first? Food is a prime necessity; rice and corn are our staples. Therefore, we must first give our people sufficient food.

Yet there is an even more important consideration. Underneath, there is the need to affirm the capacity of the Filipino for meeting challenges. If in the past there were repeated failures in attaining self-sufficiency in rice, then this is the very sector for new enterprise. This is where we can prove ourselves, and forever establish our capacity to do and to succeed.

In the other areas where my administration has succeeded, the same twin considerations underlie the priorities and the goals. We built the roads to prove we could do the job, and at the same time to meet an essential need. Some call the roads impact projects, and they are right. But the impact is less on the visibles than on the intangibles, on the Filipino spirit, on the Filipino will, on his heart and mind.

Who will dispute that change has begun to be seen and felt in our country? Before even the people spoke at the polls, change was manifest. The rural communities finally woke up to their responsibilities, performing tasks in the partnership with the government, or carrying out programs they themselves planned and supported. And there were the youths in our universities and colleges, stirred to rebellion against intolerable inequities.

These are the forces of change which have been released by the revolution generated under my administration. And these are the forces which will expand the frontiers of that other revolution — the revolution of rising expectations. If I may say so, the present administration has moved those rising expectations of our people even farther forward, by asking for the return of the Filipino nation to greatness. What is wrong with extending a man's grasp farther than his reach?

We should not be intimidated by our problems. We should not fear doing more than we feel is our share. Increasingly, the history of man attests to the standard rule of civilization that solutions to problems create problems. But a time will never come when problems shall cease. This is true of all countries, for even the developed nations are weighed down by prodigious problems. Let us ask not that we should be spared the difficulties but that we should gain the necessary strength to overcome them.

What we should confront are the larger possibilities open to us. Let us believe in ourselves. Let us think in ever greater dimensions. Let us not shrink from the enormous responsibilities we have to meet lest we shrink as human beings.

It is true, as I have said, that we have made meaningful and dramatic strides in the last four years. It is also true, however, that much more remains to be done, for we have set a high standard for ourselves.

To these problems that lie ahead, we offer not panaceas, but hard work and sacrifice. Ever mindful of the struggles of Bonifacio, we are determined to finish what he had begun, and to meet the same challenges and obstacles with the same resolute courage and determination.

I therefore call on you to rally behind our own purpose as our forefathers rallied behind the cause of their own revolution.

Let us not be overwhelmed by problems, remembering that Bonifacio and his generation faced even greater obstacles.

If we ask of you to join us in our program of austerity, let us remember that Bonifacio asked of every man not merely the sacrifice of personal convenience but the sacrifice, if necessary, of one's life.

The call for unity that Bonifacio sounded in this very place in his own time needs to be sounded anew.

I ask every Filipino to join us in this new sacrifice. In doing this we assure you that we will not shirk from our own responsibility — responsibility to set a convincing example. We will lead the way.

Years from now our children, if not we ourselves, would reap the benefits of our sacrifice.

The Filipino nation is still being born and that is why we continue to agonize from the birth pains. Human beings, who live only fleetingly measured against eternity, are young and callow at twenty; in the same manner a nation may remain a fledgling after many centuries of existence.

We begin a new decade, a decade which is crucial to the whole community of man. The complexity of our age, the continuing divisions among nations, the encroachments of technology on humanity — all these form an ominous background for our national community which is still struggling to assert itself in the world.

But let us not despair. Let us be like those of the *Katipunan*, who, possessing only courage, faced impossible odds — and in the end won.

The odds we face today cannot be greater, surely, than those Bonifacio faced. And our options are many and greater, and the possibilities for achievement almost unlimited. If we succeed, if we build a nation that will stand, and which will give our people the dignity and the certitude of a good life, then we too might glimpse that destiny which gives Andres Bonifacio his secure place in the history of our country.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Second Inaugural Address of President Marcos, December 30, 1969

Second Inaugural Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos

[Delivered at the Quirino Grandstand, Manila on December 30, 1969]

My Countrymen:

Four years have passed since I took my first oath of office as President of the Republic of the Philippines. We have travelled far since then. On that year and hour when I first assumed the presidency, we found a government at the brink of disaster and collapse, a government that prompted fear before it inspired hope; plagued by indecision, scorned by self-doubt, its economy despoiled, its treasury plundered, its last remaining gleam shone to light the way of panic. But panic, we did not. Rather against the usual raucous cries of the cynics we kept faith, and in that faith persevered, until the passing of that terrible cloud.

We survived the agony, we passed the test.

The results of those endeavors are landmarks upon our nation now. We have conquered the first obstacles first.

But our task is not done. For the task of nation-building never ends. We must forge on.

You have given me the task of leadership by an overwhelming and unprecedented mandate. I thank you for your trust.

I lead this nation into a new decade, the decade of the seventies – a decade that is one of the most crucial in our history as well as in the history of Asia and of the world.

The world seeks to know whether man is indeed impelled by some strange instinct to self-destruction or whether its sciences on the relationships of men can catch up or overreach its natural sciences.

In Asia we must now forge a constructive unity and co-exist in purposeful peace, not on terms that must yet be drawn by a conquering ideology, but on bonds that now exist. For in the years of this difficult decade, Asia must decide whether in this vast region of one of the greatest of the world's peoples, it will build a sanctuary, or set up continental prison.

Decision cannot much longer be delayed.

In our own land, we have just begun building a nation. We have had to telescope in four years what other nations achieved in decades.

There, is a mortgage of dedication, of discipline, of self-abnegating leadership in the billowing fields of green sprung from miracle rice; on every road or bridge; on every school or hospital; on every house or irrigation; on every farm or industry; on every community project we have built.

For discipline is the other face of achievement.

But hear the strident cries of protest against self-discipline from the gilded throats of the privileged and the cynically articulate – they who have yet to encounter the implacable face of poverty. I hear the well-meaning cries of the uninformed and the naive. To them I address this plea. Let them share the burden with the grace and courage of the

poor. Let them find common cause the people. Too long have we blamed on one another the ills of this nation. Too long have we wasted our opportunities by finding fault with each other, as if this would cure our ills and rectify our errors. Let us now banish recrimination.

There are too many of us who see things as they are and complain. Let us rather see things as they should be and aspire. Let us dream the vision of what could be and not what might have been.

There are many things we do not want about our world. Let us not just mourn them. Let us change them.

The time is now. In government I pledge the severest leadership in integrity as well as discipline. Public officials shall set the vision for simplicity within the bounds of civility. I ask in turn a response from the privileged. Let us be true to ourselves as the people of a poor nation struggling to be prosperous; whatever our personal circumstances, rich or poor, we are all citizens in poverty.

Today with us, self-reliance is, no longer an option; it is our fate.

The next few years will lay the basis for a reformation - a revolutionary reformation of our international and domestic policies - of our political, social, legal and economic systems.

Truly then the decade of the seventies cannot be for the faint of heart and men of little faith. It is not for the whiners nor for the timid. It demands men and women of purpose and dedication. It will require new national habits, nothing less than a new social and official morality. Our society must chastise the profligate rich who waste the nation's substance - including its foreign exchange reserves on persona comports and luxuries.

The nation's capacity for growth is limited by its foreign exchange earnings. Every dollar spent on self-indulgence is a dollar taken away from employment, from welfare, from education - from the nation's social and economic well-being.

The presidency will set the example of this official morality and oblige others to follow. Any act of extravagance in government will be considered not only an offense to good morals but also an act punishable with dismissal from office.

With such a new ethic, we will surmount the problems we are confronting now.

We must discard complacency embracing panic; rely on our efforts alone without rejecting the support of others.

Let not the future observe that being virile in body we multiplied in number, without increasing in spirit.

I do not demand of you more than I shall demand of myself and of government. So seek not from government what cannot find in yourself.

In the solution of our problems, this government will lead.

But, the first duty that confronts us all is how to continue to grow in this nation now a new heart, a new spirit that springs out of the belief that while our dangers be many, and our resources few, there is no problem that cannot be surmounted given but the will and courage.

Let every man be his own master, but let him first, and above all, be his own charge.

It is our destiny to transform this nation; we begin by transforming ourselves first. In this formidable task, no Filipino, no one in the land will be exempt whatever his station in life.

Neither wealth nor power will purchase privilege; wealth and power shall not outrage the conscience of our people.

Trusting in God and in ourselves, we must now pledge, my countrymen, that in homage to the vision of a race, there shall be in this spot of the universe, a people strong and free, tracing their ancestral roots to Asia, proud of their oriental heritage as well as western culture, secure in their achievements, a people daring to match the iron of the world without losing their essential humanity, eradicating social iniquity without encouraging anarchy, eliminating subversion without endangering their liberties, practising self-discipline and self-reliance without ostentation, attaining dignity without losing friends, seeking true independence without provoking war, embracing freedom even in deprivation.

Thus we prove to our posterity that our dream was true that even in this land of impoverished legacy, the wave of the future is not totalitarianism but democracy.

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the First Regular Meeting of the Rotary Club of Manila, January 8, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the First Regular Meeting of the Rotary Club of Manila

[Delivered on January 8, 1970]

No Cause for Fear

I AM HAPPY to announce that as of today, as of twelve o'clock, as of noon on the 8th of January, I am lifting the suspension of the grant of loans to export industries, especially mining and new industries, by the public financing institutions as well as the commercial banks.

There is some significance, I think, in my delivering my first general public speech this year before Rotarians. The motto of your organization is "Service above Self." I wish this could be the motto of the entire Philippines and the entire Filipino people.

It is understandable that everybody thinks of his interest first before he thinks of the interests of the nation. The businessman, his enterprise; the laborer, his job. Well, not only the laborer because even the politician thinks first of his job. I refer to the Senate President, who has been exempted from a fine because he needs all the financing he can get for the coming fight. I would like to believe, however, that financing has nothing whatever to do with that kind of a job.

But it is the favorite pastime of everyone today, newspapers included, to blame the government for almost everything, and all the government officials for all the ills in the country as well as of humanity.

And this too is understandable.

I gather from my sources of information that yesterday some of the newspapers carried the headline to the effect that the United States has rejected special preferences for the Philippines in the Laurel-Langley Agreement. I want to announce that this certainly is news to me, because we have not received any word on this matter from any official or unofficial sources of the United States government. This just indicates, I guess, or provides a gauge of, the accuracy of most newspapers. And this is not to speak bitterly and in a satirical manner about newspapers, but rather to show that indeed there is some slanting and there are some mistakes committed in the newspaper business.

While I was young, my father always told me never to believe two sources of news. One, women and the other newspapers. If there are any ladies here present I apologize to them, but I am merely narrating an incident in the past. It is not to say that I believe my father's advice about women, because I follow women, where they give the right advice.

Now, we are also told that the government has been spending much, especially in the last election. I would like to inform you that we spent more for public works in 1968 than we spent in 1969, and yet if you read the newspapers you will feel that the election was the principal motivation and reason for this splurge in infrastructure building. Then there is the news story that the projected deficit in the government this fiscal year is P1 billion. Now, even the supposed experts in the Central Bank — and I see some of them here — and in the Presidential Economic Staff and in the National Economic Council, and other high-ranking exponents of theoretical economics have not taken into account that we have a budgetary law; the Budget Commission can cut expenses before actual expenditures and even after the release of funds through treasury warrants.

So, what do we have? We have, for instance, cash balances in the hands of treasurers and disbursing officers amounting, as of October, to about P880 million not yet spent, and as of November, about P778 million. Out of this, about P300 million will not be spent. And yet this has been included in the projection.

In addition to this, we have releases through treasury warrants of public works funds, from 1967 to 1969. The savings from this again will be P300 million; and from January to June, or the end of June this year, there is going to be a savings of P100 million from current releases of the Budgetary Commission.

All these make a total savings of about P700 million, and this amount does not include the other savings that we are making now. So, in short, you would have the usual deficit, which is an annual thing that goes into capital expenditures and does not go into such things as salaries and operations of the government which are often referred to as general expenses of government, or what are generally itemized as General Government Expenditures as distinguished from Capital Outlay.

Anyway, we have P300 million let us say, although from my estimate, it will be about P230 million. Let us say we will have a deficit of P300 million. What do we intend to do with this deficit? We are going to finance this by tapping non-inflationary sources. Examples are the sales of treasury bills. The original proposal was for a total sale of treasury bills of about P200 million and another sale of about P200 million, and another sale of about P300 million to government bonds. I understand the Secretary of Finance, however, and the private sector have agreed to limit sales in the first place and give first priority to treasury bills amounting to about P150 million or P120 million, to be projected into bigger amounts later on when necessary. The idea is to sell these to the people, utilizing the money that they already have and, therefore, not increasing the money supply.

Now, talking about money supply. We are all afraid of money supply. Does anybody ever study the distribution of the money that we have? Nobody has ever had. Everybody says, Oh, we will increase the money supply to P4.4 billion. And how much of this is in the form of demand deposit, and how much of this is money in circulation? Only P1.9 billion is money in circulation, the rest are demand deposits.

Now, out of this P1.9 billion, how much is in the hands of those in the centers of population and how much is in the hands of the great majority of our people? Only P500 million is in the hands of those in the provinces and P1.4 billion is in the hands of a few people in the centers of population, like Manila. Well, this is the reason for the alleged liquidity of the economy, because of the pressure exerted by all this money in the hands of a few people on our supply of goods and services.

And so, my friends, you have a phenomenon, where here in Manila, you have a possible scarcity of supply, although here again, the study indicates that there has not been any diminution. On the contrary, there has been an increase in supply in Manila and other areas of population. In the entire Philippines, for the present anyway, forget the next quarter or even the quarter after next — for the present, there has been no decrease in supply. Then why all this fear that there's going to be some scarcity? Because everybody is talking of scarcity, of austerity; even the President is talking of austerity, and he has given away all his worldly goods, he has given up, he is desperate. Well no, I merely say that there is enough supply provided we continue the normal course of our lives.

But there has been a slight fear, starting with the housewives who buy four times more than they require, then the retailer, then the distributor, the wholesaler or whatever his name is, he who comes between the supplier and the distributor. Then the supplier or the importer or the producer, and this has produced a chain reaction. Everybody buys more than he usually does. And as you have the phenomenon of everybody buying more than the requirement for a normal period of, say, one week. Now they are buying for one month, or even three months, four months. Result: a temporary shortage of supply, and everybody sounds as if this is a permanent situation, and yet this is not so.

The supply is there, and are they content with this? No. Because of this abnormal and this distortion of demand, we have authorized the importation of an increased volume of essential commodities.

Now, let's go to imports. Everybody has asked the question: why did the government allow all the people to import so much in excess of export earning? This is the fault of the Central Bank, this is the fault of the Monetary Board, this is the fault of the commercial banks, this is the fault of the President, it is the fault of the government.

Now let us see. We are living in a free society. We have not established controls. We have not imposed controls. You and I, all of us agreed we would do away with controls. You remember, there was some kind of a devaluation in 1965, and there was a lifting of controls by the previous administration. We did not impose any safeguards. That was the first mistake, and we did not then start to voluntarily agree how to use our earnings.

Now what is the complexion of imports in the Philippines? Did you know that 86.4 per cent are capital goods? Some of them are raw materials and the others are machineries: capital goods brought in here to industrialize our country. In short, therefore, there was an intensive effort to industrialize in this country, to convert our predominantly agricultural economy into an agro-based industrial economy; others call it a balanced agro-industrial economy. Now, let me repeat the percentage — 86.4 per cent of, all imports coming into the Philippines on which we spent our hard earned dollars were capital goods. And so my friends, it is quite obvious that the imports were legitimate and the intention was good. Yes, we are over-anxious and there are some industries that really have to re-structure and alter their pattern of activity and conduct. We have to convert the sources of our present raw materials from foreign to domestic, meaning, we have to produce our own raw materials; instead of bringing them from outside, we must produce these goods locally. An example is pulp. There are still a lot of people bringing in raw pulp. High-grade pulp can be produced from abaca and, yet, nobody has tried this, although there are some application now.

Tourism—we have to get involved more intensively in this. We are going to increase the number of tourists coming to the Philippines. As of this year, the record is 120,000. Is that correct, 120,000? And people who go to Bangkok total about 400,000, and to Hongkong, about 800,000 to 1 million. And to the Philippines, 120,000 tourists.

So, today, I have ordered that we now study the possibility of opening the airlines to foreign traffic without limit for one year, for experimental purposes. I wanted to announce it here, thinking that Tony Roxas would place me on television, but apparently, he is on austerity too. Anyway, through the radio, which is covering me live, and I understand the Voice of the Philippines, I hereby announce that we are going to remove all the obstacles to tourism here in the country.

We are going to see what we can do about the air agreement with the United States too, because this was suspended in 1961. You will remember that there was already an air agreement between our two countries, but because of the reduction of the flights of the American carriers, the air agreement was suspended. I would like to see this air agreement renegotiated. We are ready to help those who will help us, and if the foreign airlines will promote the routes coming to Manila, we will open our airlines to them and allow them to land as often as possible in Manila.

I have given, and I am giving again, formal notice to the Immigration Bureau and to the Foreign Office to punish all officials who, because of discourtesy; timidity or, worse, laziness, do not attend to the tourists. According to the tourists I have talked to, they are made to feel as if they are not wanted here in the Philippines. The transit visa is good for seven days, extendable for another seven days up to a maximum of fifty-nine days. But the tourists are compelled to return every seven days to obtain an extension. Now we are going to change all of this.

And according to them, the people in the foreign Office and Immigration act as if they don't care whether the tourists come here or not. I am giving notice to those' employees: anyone caught doing this is going to be dismissed immediately. In addition, I am removing the requirement of a transit visa. The tourists can come in now without obtaining transit visa. And we are merely going to require, of course, a confirmed reservation in a hotel and a reservation to go back to where they come from. That alone will allow entry into the Philippines.

Then I have directed the protection of tourists in Manila and the development of a "tourist belt." I would like Danding Romualdez to be sure that the P200,000 contribution of the Monetary Board for the Tourist Belt is approved by the Monetary Board. And I have directed the police of Manila to assign 25 men to patrol, in both uniform and plainclothes, the Roxas Boulevard area and Luneta Area, Ermita. Metrocom will also assign another 20 men and 5 patrol cars for this purpose alone.

At the same time, I have directed the development of Corregidor; the contracts for the development of that area which was formerly known as the Officer's Beach Area will now go apace. Tagaytay, as you know, is being sold by the Philippine National Railways by public bidding, and the winner of the bid should develop the Tagaytay Lodge. Bataan, the Dambana ng Kagitingan, is now ready to receive tourists, but a restaurant has to be put up. All of these have been attended to.

I have also directed the temporary assignment of two military hydrofoils — one between Manila and Corregidor, one between Manila and Bataan — to the BTTI with the agreement that the cost of operation and maintenance will be at the expense of the BTTI, pending the reorganization by Tony Delgado and his group of a carrier system. All of these are instances of what we are doing.

With respect to the export industries, I would like you to know that we are studying the possibility of the retention scheme, meaning, 25 per cent of additional earnings in dollars of all export industries will be authorized to be retained by the exporter, provided he utilizes it for either expansion or any of the purposes that may be required for his own particular industry and does not sell it to a third party.

We are also studying the possibility of giving export incentives, by tax rebates, or tax exemptions. We are opening up the Free Trade Zone in Bataan. Two warehouses are up. In two or three months, all the other areas will be available and they will be leased to processing corporations at a minimal rate, at practically nothing. We are going to finish the roads and highways in Bataan that will connect the various towns with the main highway to Manila. One of the priority projects will be what is known as the Bataan causeway, from Manila to Bataan. There are proposals for the legalization of gambling. This, I would rather leave to Congress to decide later on. That will be one of the headaches of Senate President Gil Puyat when he gets reelected to the Presidency of the Senate.

I would like to say that we are doing everything to meet the present situation.

Are we in crisis? Sort of, but not the kind of crisis which you should fear or you should panic about. I would like you to go to the barrios and to the provinces. Do you know the atmosphere there? It is so different from the atmosphere here in Manila.

In Manila, it's like going underwater. If you go skin-diving like me, you must know what this means. You feel the pressure on you and you feel the lack of air after a few minutes, especially if you have not got your tank on, and you have to go up for air. That's Manila.

You go to the province and you feel the exhilaration, confidence, trust of the people and the ambition of the people. You feel the motivation towards a common goal. Here, everybody seems to think of himself alone and to gravitate only towards his own interest. But I am always gratified when I go to the provinces because there, you see everybody thinking of nation, of people, of the Philippines, of country. Here, you probably ask the question, what will happen to my business? There the question the people will ask is, what will happen to our country? What will happen to our nation? Are we going to fight all over again? If so, when? And I always answer no. We are not going to fight a war. This is a more sophisticated kind of war; perhaps, for that reason it's a more difficult war.

And so, perhaps, it is necessary that I, as President, now clarify to you exactly the precise character of what is in the minds of everybody here, in this center of population — the balance of payments problem, and I shall then close with this.

Is it a crisis which should make us despair because it is unsolvable? No. It is manageable, it is temporary. The problem is not due to a collapse in our capacity to produce or to export. Our export earnings remain healthy. We have suffered in coconut, in the coconut products, by about 15 percent. So, there is more of an even balance. There was a drought in the last two years, but there has also been an acceleration of production in other areas of economic activity.

The next year or two will see a more vigorous acceleration of the growth of our exports.

Our exchange expenditures, of course, have risen rapidly, as I said, more rapidly than our earnings. But this problem is not one of export earnings and imports. No, it is one of the structures of our foreign exchange borrowing. It is not just current disbursement, purchases of essential consumer goods, raw materials, capital goods, because this would be quite easy to remedy. A simple budget that has been adopted by the Monetary Board will settle this immediately. What has made our present problem more serious, however, is the structure of our foreign obligations. You all know that our foreign obligations have been short-term. We have unfortunately financed the foreign exchange requirements of our development with credits of short maturities. Foreign exchange required to meet our maturing loans has begun to claim alarmingly large quantities of our foreign exchange reserves. I am told by my advisers that because of the increase in proportion of short-term debts, the total payment for interest and amortization of foreign obligations of the country this fiscal year ending June 30 will take over one-half of our export earnings.

Now, how much are our annual export earnings? P1,500,000,000. Now in order to provide the total and permanent solutions to the problem, we have taken the following steps:

First, a more direct action to program the use of our available foreign exchange. Now, what does this mean? It means budgeting of dollars. We earn \$1.5, all right, let's spend \$1.2. We save so much. The target was \$200 million, now we have compromised on \$150 million savings, or 10 percent of our dollar earnings. By budgeting, what do we mean? We mean that we determine our income, then we say, we will not go beyond this income. On the contrary, we will spend less on this or that. So, we will have to make savings in some of the items of expenditures.

Second, we have requested the US Commercial Banks which have outstanding advances to the Central Bank of about, and I guess this is the first time that we talk of the total amount, US\$242 million, to defer to the end of June, I this year, some US\$172 million of maturing notes in order to give us time to work out a more permanent restructuring of our external obligations. We have made a similar request to European and British banks who have outstanding loans to our Central Bank of about US\$38 million, of which US\$35 million is maturing between now and the middle of this year.

Third, in order to meet our needs for some immediate working balance to tide us over the first quarter of this year, we have requested some 23 American banks to release us from a negative pledge of US\$40 million worth of gold that we hold in our reserves. This will permit us to borrow an equivalent amount from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. They have granted us this particular request. We are also tapping other sources to advance up to US\$ 100 million to our Central Bank for so-called working fund requirements.

Fourth, the severe measures that have been taken by the Central Bank to program the use of our foreign exchange by direct regulations are temporary and are emergency measures. We have thus asked the International Monetary Fund to assist us in firming up an adequate stabilization program and to mobilize adequate stand-by credits to stabilize our exchange situation.

Fifth, ultimately, we must finance our continued growth through the use of more suitable long-term credits. Since it will take us some time to develop the projects and negotiate suitable long-term project loans from financial agencies such as the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and the credit institutions of our main trading partners in the United States, Japan and Europe, we are seeking government-to-government credits of long-term maturities to finance our major and essential import needs over the next three years. For this purpose we have asked the World Bank to assist us in organizing a group of capital exporting countries into a consortium to provide credit of suitable terms to the Philippines, and the World Bank has agreed to do this. They are sending a team later this month to work out the details.

The IMF consultative group is arriving on the 10th of January. That is why I decided to come here and deliver this speech on the 8th so that they know that I have spoken about these matters before they arrived.

Since these steps will need some time to work out, I have sounded a call for austerity and for sacrifice, but this does not mean that everybody is going to stop laughing and start digging his grave. I was surprised when they asked me, when I announced that I was giving away my properties or those that I can legitimately give away, whether I was preparing to go into a monastery or something. It's just that I don't want to be burdened with them. You travel faster

when you travel light and I want to travel light. I don't want to be held back by property and the demands of property, and I think that, as a leader, I must set an example. I hope that you will follow this example too.

I have repeatedly said, we cannot shape our future by despairing, by complaining or mourning. In the midst of all these problems, there are many opportunities and, I earnestly urge you to look for them. You are in a better position than many of us in government, to look into the situation and find out what the opportunities are.

I welcome your advice and I look forward to continued consultation with you. I have indicated to the Senate President my wish that I would meet with the different industries, repeatedly, periodically, especially the export-oriented industries. As I said, I have met with some of you who are in the importing business. I have met with those who are producers of products for domestic consumption. I have met with the exporters of logs, I have met with the exporters of coconut products.

I intend to meet with all the businessmen of our country and have a dialogue with them. We want to work with you. I am not going to strike out all alone and work out a solution to all your problems without consulting you. No, I am going to ask you to recommend what solution should be adopted by the government. And I will ask the legislative leaders to do the same. I will ask that there be continuous consultations between all the elements of our society. I am going to consult, too, the labor groups and perhaps the student groups, because this world we are building anyway is intended for the young. Many of the things that we are planting now we will never see grow and bear fruit; but the young will see the fruit of all our labors.

I have said that the leadership will be exercised by government. Yes, but leadership is nothing without the cooperation of those for whom that leadership is intended. You are the persons who make commerce and industry move. There is now need not merely of talking about partnership between the government and the private sector, but a need for us to really act as partners.

I call upon you to bring about a more productive partnership between the government and the private sector. On my part, I pledge to you, I shall utilize all my powers in order that this partnership will not only be initiated but may continue to bear fruit in the years to come.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the First National Convention of Filipino Priests, January 14, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the First National Convention of Filipino Priests

[Delivered on January 14, 1970]

An Age of Renewal

WHEN I WAS invited to speak before you, I did not know that this was the First Convention of Priests in the Philippines. So I inquired; I sought information from those immediately around me, and I was told that the conferees were indeed rebels sitting down together to present their views. And I was quietly, and in hushed tones, informed that my presence might signify not only tolerance by authority, or government, but in fact a grant of license or privilege to mount a rebellion. But after some intense and, should we say, diffused arguments, we came to the conclusion that I started my career as a rebel, and therefore I have a kinship with the rebels.

As I come before you today, I am reminded of events in 1942, about 28 years ago, beginning with reports among the officers and men in Bataan that the high command of the USAFFE had decided to surrender. And the young men, is the officers and men in the frontlines, the outpost lines of resistance, the main line of resistance, the reserve line which had bore the brunt of attack, were shocked by this information. After so many months of privation, of fighting, of blood and death, we were going to surrender. And the young officers decided to organize a group and seek permission from the high command to speak out their minds.

In the army, as I guess in the church, the younger officers are not supposed I to speak unless given permission to do so. This is one of the strictest rules in the military. You first obey and, if you are alive after obeying, then you may question the order. But this time, it was a question of national dignity and of a policy which was decided upon and imposed without the frontline officers having been consulted. And this is something which has never been written about nor talked about, because it is one of the well kept secrets of the military. The young officers then approached the generals according to military protocol and after properly saluting, requested permission to speak. And after a hurried consultation among the brass of the USAFFE in Bataan, permission was granted.

Then the spokesmen, one of whom is speaking before you now, conceding that surrender was inevitable asked that the young officers be permitted to break out without surrendering their arms. The immediate answer of course was that this meant violation of the laws of land warfare, and that when a unit surrenders upon the orders of a commanding officer, the subordinate officers and men were duty bound to obey. And we were informed that any violation of such an order was subject to court martial and punishable with death. We then inquired whether there was any assurance of the security of the officers and men who surrender, especially those who had been engaged in intelligence work like me, and it was said that the enemy was supposed to be honorable and would follow the worthy tradition of the victor in war, which is to treat the vanquished with proper respect and decorum. However, the issue required a staff meeting which was again an innovation, because Captains and Lieutenants never attend general staff meetings. It's just like the priests of the parish attending a meeting of the hierarchy of the church. But it happened, and with proper respect again we pointed out that there were strong indications that we would all be wiped out either in a concentration camp by disease, malnutrition and illness — all of the sort of mischance we were aware of — as well as the possibility that the enemy did not have the facilities to take care of so many surrendered soldiers.

And this discussion went on until Finally, the older officers said: 'We have not given the order to surrender. We authorize small unit commanders to decide what operations they should engage in before surrender. This will legalize all activity including a breakout.' So this, in a way, not only tolerated but legalized the actions of some of the officers and men who escaped from Bataan and the Death March and engaged in, what is now well-known to many of us.

I am now reminded of all these. I note there is a meeting of minds, apparently, between the Bishops here and the priests. I do not know whether to classify the Bishops also as rebels, but I am indeed glad to be here in this happening as Father Dimen has called this — in the mod term. I am sure that my remarks will be interpreted by some of my critics as meaning that I am antagonistic to the Bishops because of the letter that they published in the newspapers before it reached me. You know, protocol is supposed to dictate that nothing be published of any communication to the President until after he has received and answered it. But when this was brought to my attention, I said: “But those are Bishops and whatever they say I follow.” And I didn’t say that with tongue in cheek. I actually meant it. You see, I belong to the generation who knew a tidy world, tidy, cleancut, and cognizant of the clear demarcation line of authority between things of the spirit and things of the world. But I have also found in my long experience in the government that when all else fail you refer to things of the spirit and sometimes miracles happen.

This is one of the periods in our history when all of us are praying for miracles. And, therefore, I welcome the support for our people, support for the Republic, from all quarters whatsoever, and, certainly one of the most welcome quarters would be that of our church and our ministers, who have taken it upon themselves to administer to the spiritual needs of our people.

But in coming here today, I feel like an explorer. I have stumbled upon a strange and different world. I feel like Ferdinand Magellan. I am sure that this is the same feeling that a priest feels when he is invited to attend a gathering of men of government. I am sure you all know what it is to exist in two different worlds. We come into each other’s world as, what would you call it, special intruders or special performers. When a priest is invited into an affair of state, what is he asked to do? He is asked to deliver an invocation or say the blessing. And when a man of government is invited to attend a gathering of priests, I supposed that he is asked to deliver a speech, which includes both an invocation and a blessing.

But in this gathering I must confess a greater sense of awe and a feeling of strangeness. In the past, as I have said, according to tradition, our distance from each other is derived from an apparent, a different, a classical and traditional difference of function and performance. You attend to the needs of the spirit, and we in government attend to the needs of the body. Well, nowadays, I think there is no clear demarcation line between what is needed by the spirit and what is needed by the body.

When we speak of morality for instance, and I speak of a new age, a new social and national morality, I speak not only of material things, rather I speak more of the spirit, because it is a change in the heart and in the mind of man that I seek, and in doing this I employ not only the authority of government but my moral authority, the authority of a man elected as a leader by our people. And yet, this is the kind of authority that you employ too.

I see many familiar faces here who belong to our once tidy and well ordered generation. I don’t recognize them as priests, in view of the absence of the usual habiliments of priests, but I guess this is a part of the change that Father Dimen proposed. I gather that the formal attire that has been officially accepted by the Church is the Nehru shirt, but I gather too, that all kinds of apparel are tolerated nowadays.

One day in Malacañang I saw a priest come in. I recognized him as such because he was an acquaintance, but he had long sideburns. Hooked hurriedly at the Cardinal, Cardinal Santos, who was present to find out his reaction to the apparition, and I could feel the Cardinal wringing his hands in dismay.

Seriously, speaking, I was listening to Father Dimen, even as I inquired from Father Suñga too, about the purposes of this convention. And there came to my mind the inquiry: What was it really that we always thought about priests? Because one speaks of attending to priests now in their old age, and to security of the priest. And I am reminded of what one of my younger children told me when I inquired about this matter. What do you think happens to priests when they grow old? And this precocious youngster of mine answered, Oh, they go to a never-never shadow land, like the prophets of old, and they are attended to and they thrive upon the well-deserved ministrations of the Lord through His birds and other creatures.

This reflects, I guess, the feeling of affection that one feels towards priests in general. This legend, like all other ancient and beautiful fables, I suppose, must go, and before long I must tell that young child of mine that this concept is just like Santa Claus, that he existed a long time ago and he will exist for many young children for sometime to come. But you depart from this land of fable, from this land of legends when you have reached, shall we say, the age of puberty, and lose it completely until at a later age, perhaps, you find there is need for such fables, such legends all over again.

My experience with the ways of the Church taught me a long time ago that the priest was someone different from the rest of humanity because of his garb and bearing, and his way of thinking. And whenever I exhort, up to now, whenever I exhort the workers in government and wish to identify myself with their loneliness in office, when they have to make decisions or they have to travel into the far corners of our land, the despoiled corners, the areas of deprivation, and must dedicate themselves completely without any restraint whatsoever because of present and future demands, I speak to them of the priesthood, of the high priesthood to which they must dedicate themselves.

But today, no such telltale signs seem to exist. In this so-called age of revolution and reform, bewildering changes of course have caught up with the Roman Catholic Church. It has caught up with the traditional habit of the priest, and more important, with his outlook on the here and now.

Yet, it is quite ironic really, for these changes have served to bring the priesthood — each and everyone of you — closer to all of us laymen. I don't feel as an intruder here because everywhere I look I seem to find a face, a mind, not really that distant or different from me as to be unable to share my anxieties about the society we live in, and my aspirations for its advance.

I know that whether you are priests or not, you too are involved in the problems of our nation, and that if any man suffers, you suffer with him, as I suffer. And that if any plan fails you condole with me as you condole with the entire nation and the entire people.

I would not presume to tell you of the many instances of renewal and reform that is happening within the Church. I would much rather wait for you to acquaint me, to explain to me the revolution that has visited the Church.

When I received your invitation to this convention, one of my aides remarked jokingly that the Philippine Priests, Inc., is some kind of a "trade union inside the Church of the Philippines."

I see the humor in his remark, but I also see the truth in what he said. It seems to me that this unprecedented movement to organize the Filipino clergy into one homogeneous body that can provide for its development and protection, and that can serve as a voice for its needs and for the needs of the individual priests, draws its inspiration and techniques perhaps from labor unionism, partly.

I find in your present movement the real meaning of what the Church underlines when it says she believes in "social democracy," and that she believes in "social justice."

I cannot believe that anyone, neither the individual priest nor the Church Hierarchy, could find in this movement any cause for sadness or alarm. For clearly it is a good wind that blows hither. The fact that many of the respected Bishops are here, who can doubt the manifold gains that it augurs within the Church? Who can doubt the benefits that it will bestow on the national community?

For the moment, the present convention is directed to the task of winning rights and status for the Filipino priest. I gather it is as it should be. In the beginning, your movement must seek to test its capacity to survive and prosper. And I have no doubt that it will survive and prosper.

I see, however, in your movement an enlargement of your participation in the work of making our country a better place to live in, which is to say, plenty. It means everything that we aspire for.

It is often said that the crisis which confronts us now exceeds mere questions of economics and politics — it has to do with values. To surmount this crisis in such a way that it will never occur again requires moral courage and moral strength on the part of those who make up our society.

In the conscious and zealous defense of these values, your work is crucial, perhaps more crucial than mine. Those of us whose work is to lead or to govern look to religious groups and of course our parents and our schools to make our people aware of the values that make our society strong. And I cannot but be reminded that in the last century our society was made strong by three Filipino priests — Fathers Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora. They helped forge the Filipino nation, even way ahead of Rizal, way ahead of Bonifacio, way ahead of Aguinaldo and his First Republic. I presume that all of you, since you are priests in their image, more than us in government, you are called upon today to follow in their footsteps by helping to strengthen the foundations of our nation.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 2). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Graduation Exercises of the Philippine Military Academy, March 22, 1970,
March 22, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Graduation Exercises of the Philippine Military Academy

[Delivered in Baguio City, March 22, 1970]

The Military as Guardian of Society

THIS IS THE fifth commencement exercises of the Philippine Military Academy that I have attended as guest of honor, a privilege which I value very much, and God willing, I shall be at the graduation ceremonies of the Philippine Military Academy in the next three years.

Now, that is quite clear, let me not be misquoted by anyone. I said three years.

The reason I have accepted each of your invitations with great delight is that there is a special atmosphere on this campus which invigorates me and all those who come to participate in your ceremonies, and which revives the enthusiasm for such old-fashioned creeds as honor, loyalty, patriotism, integrity and human dignity.

It has been a long time since anyone has spoken of these old virtues. They have been forgotten by an impatient generation.

As it happens, these qualities have been drawn into new focus since I have been here last. Last year, on this same occasion, I spoke of the need for a gradual and peaceful development in our society. I emphasized then that the military was increasingly called upon, owing to its peculiar skills and resources, to contribute to this national development. But recent events have shown beyond doubts that there are certain elements in our society who do not share our passion for gradual and peaceful growth. They are determined instead to participate in an unnecessary and ruinous crisis, in which the transformation we all seek shall be accomplished with one swift and final blow, no matter what the cost, no matter what the price.

In a word, the democratic ideal of peaceful and self-actualizing growth is today actively challenged, as the alternative of violent change is pushed upon our people by elements which have no use for traditional values. The military, which I had asked during my first administration to perform an important role, is today called upon to give to the nation not only more, but all, of the skills and resources peculiar to it.

The military is in a situation today where it must demonstrate the superiority of the democratic ideals and processes of change by its ability to fight and readiness to sacrifice for this, for the democratic process in a free society, in time of peace and in time of hostilities.

I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of our people have the desire as well as the competence to transform themselves peacefully into a progressive society. We have over the past four years put this desire and this competence to work, and today we see the change that has evolved as a consequence.

Indeed, the desire and the competence for rapid but not wrenching nor destructive, self-defeating, change have intensified and escalated with every successful act of reformation simply by declaring our awareness of the social and economic ills we must confront, as when I said in 1966 that the country was sitting on top of a social volcano when I spoke before the clerics of the Catholic church and the hierarchy of the Catholic church. We put the nation on a new course of disciplined and steady growth. The revolutionary activity that followed that declaration of

restlessness and impatience has been unprecedented, not only in its initiatives, but also in the manner and scope of social and economic measures that have been carried out.

I need not go into them, I need not go into agricultural development, into infrastructure, into economic development, into the increase in manufacturing as well as the increase by leaps and bounds of those services and requirements we directly need in our country. Nor will I go into the change of heart and mind, and of the soul and spirit of our people. But let me point out that of necessity, initiatives and innovations in the process of developing our society have had necessarily to operate within the democratic framework.

Many people sometimes forget what this means. This means the tedious, painful, patient, loving work not only on the part of the leader, but on the part of the people themselves. Unfortunately, the impatience that we declared and put to work over the past four years provided a bandwagon into which communist revolutionary strategy has leaped and has since appropriated as its own.

But this is the flexibility of communism. If you study the history of any country where communism has obtained power, you will discover that it has never ridden on popular support, but rather it has ridden on popular movements, irrespective of what they were and whether or not they were in accord with the basic principles of communism. There have been instances of this, as for instance, where communism has ridden on the popular support of religion, or popular support for capitalism, which as you know is a direct contradiction to what communism stands for.

I am sure you in the military are with me in my persistence to gain change peacefully and gradually, although swiftly whenever possible — in short, to pursue the course of development that I have chartered in accordance with the plans made by the National Development Council. Even more vigorously than before, our government will put the nation through the process of change in every field and by every lawful means — in agriculture, in industry, in the public services, in the government administrative machinery.

I have no desire to be coerced or tantalized out of this resolution and this course. I have long comprehended the need for reform; I have always been intimate with the longings of the poor and the deprived for a greater share in the wealth of the nation. Accordingly, I have launched every possible measure that would fulfill those longings in due course.

On the other hand, communism would, if it could, lay everything we have already gained to waste by attempting to seize the powers of government by force and violence. In this bid to unseat and demolish public authority as constituted by the democratic process, communism will utilize, and indeed is even now utilizing military power.

Your role, as members of the Armed Forces, is therefore very crucial.

You and I seek primarily two things right now and they are, first, stability in our economy that begins with monetary or currency stability; next, social reforms that would remove all the inequities in our society. These are the immediate goals of the government and the next four years will be devoted to attaining these ends, from which all other government reforms must begin. No matter how numerous our reforms may be, no matter how vigorously we may pursue them, we will remain forever in crisis if we do not first attain this objective of monetary stability. Towards this objective we seek to accomplish only one thing, namely, the immediate solution of our balance of payments problems, which will establish a reserve of foreign exchange and thereby create a strong currency that will no longer be subject to erratic alterations in value as caused by foreign influences. Next, we must attain social equity, or social justice. A more vigorous land reform program is necessary, declaring as many areas as possible as land reform areas. We shall seek to banish from our land all traces of feudalism against which we hear today so loud an outcry, although many of those who do so are without understanding of the meaning of feudalism.

An integrated social program has been formulated. The program implementing body is headed by the First Lady. We will include socialized housing, transfer or build new factories in depressed areas, create new jobs, new opportunities. We will establish agro-industrial areas. We will establish free trade zones; there is one now in Bataan. It is my plan to put up free trade zones in Visayas and in Mindanao. We will provide low-cost housing for the

masses. We know how urgent the need is for low-cost housing, but over and above all of these, we will root out corruption in government to a degree we have never witnessed before.

We have already dismissed more people in high places for corruption and graft than were ever dismissed by all previous administrations put together. We will continue with this relentless drive at all level. We will continue with what has been called the “green revolution”, utilizing techniques and resources we employed in the successful propagation of the miracle rice variety which has marked us as one of the great rice producing countries in the world.

It is only here in our country that we do not appreciate this achievement. When you go to other countries, the first thing that they will ask you is about our rice, because the Philippines has made its mark in rice production. One lesson that we have learned in our successful rice program is this, that no problem is insurmountable to a people determined to help themselves.

Let me repeat that to you because I want you to remember this wherever you are and whenever you face any problem. There is no problem that is insurmountable to a people determined to help themselves. There is no doubt that we will attain our objectives if given the time and support of the people. It is certain that in time our people will thank themselves for their patience and foresight. But it is a truism that we cannot satisfy all the people, especially those who call themselves radicals. And this is also true of the Communists. Whether we reform government or society or not, ultimately and at last there will come a time when there will be a military confrontation with the communists.

And I want you to remember this, too, to remember that about 4:40 in the afternoon of March 22nd, here at your graduation ceremonies, I warned you, that under my administration or under other administrations, ultimately there would be a military confrontation here in the Philippines between democracy and communism.

Right now, there is no group that can successfully win a revolution, that can overthrow the government. But communism does not think in terms of months or even years; it can even plan in terms of decades if necessary. Even if they were to try to mount a revolt now, either in desperation or in the expectancy of taking over the government, and we should overwhelm them as we have overwhelmed them in the past and as I am certain that we can overwhelm them again, just remember this, you who are graduating today, you will meet them again in the battlefield. You will meet them for they will try and try again, whether I am President or not, for this is the basic strength and weakness of communism.

Once a body politic has been contaminated, you cannot root out the germs of communism. This is my message to you this afternoon. Someday you will be facing Communist troops. You will be facing the armed elements of the communist conspiracy, and when you do, remember that your Commander-in-Chief warned you this afternoon to be prepared always for such an eventuality.

Yes, this is true of the Communists in the mountains and the Communists in the cities. This is true of insurgents and of subversives; this is true of the armed elements and the sophisticates and the intellectuals. So long as the government remains in the hands of those believing and living in democracy, the Communist elements in our midst will continue to seek to destroy us, for that is the only way they can survive.

Ultimately, therefore, they will seek, as I have said, a military confrontation and failing in that, seek again another military confrontation, when they feel strong once more. Do not be lulled into thinking that we can count on this, just because the radicals have said that they will no longer demonstrate. Either in the belief that they have sufficient strength to overthrow the government or despairing over their failure to gain popular support, they will seek to use force to attain power. And like it or not, these elements will have to surface in a last ditch effort to seize control of the government. But we shall not hand the government to them on a silver platter. While I am President communism cannot thrive in the Philippines.

However, when that time comes, when this confrontation comes, you in the military must not be caught off-guard. For you are the first line of defense of our people. You are the ultimate guardian of the democratic process.

Yes, we will generate reform. We will spread over the length and breadth of our land all the blessings that come from a progressive and liberal government such as ours. We will root out corruption, we will give land to the landless, we will give jobs to our people. And there shall be prosperity, for I can foresee this, but even if we do succeed in attaining these objectives, communism will still drive on and it will still seek to overthrow the government by military force. Remember that dictum of Mao Tse-tung — power comes out of the barrel of a gun. So what they cannot attain, as they have never attained anything, by popular support, they will do so through the barrel of a gun.

You are steeped in the tradition of a democracy. In this country, the military is not divided between the right and the left. It is united; let it continue to be so. If the time came for the Armed Forces to utilize all the resources at its command to frustrate the aims of our misguided countrymen seeking to take arms against the government, it would afterward be its duty to withdraw once more into the background to give way to the restoration of civilian authority. Then, it shall assume its accustomed role in a peaceful and just society.

Now, what do I mean by this? I mean that let us assume a situation in which, owing to the seriousness of the Communist challenge, either by means of subversion or by direct armed confrontation, it becomes necessary for me as President of the Republic of the Philippines to exercise extraordinary powers. Even right now, of course, government has sufficient ordinary powers to contain the Communist menace. The nation can therefore assure itself that the government will need no recourse to any unusual measures as long as the same menace is not enlarged.

In the event the Communist threat becomes a positive danger which would imperil the safety of the state, the President of the Philippines will have no other choice but to assume those larger powers within the Constitution which our forefathers have seen fit to grant to the President as a means of self-protection for the state. For instance, the Constitution says that the President may call upon the Armed Forces to quell disorder, riot, rebellion. This is not an extraordinary power. We exercised this power when Malacañang was attacked by rioters, when we called upon the military to help the Metrocom and the police of Manila.

Then the Constitution reads, in the event of invasion, insurrection, rebellion, or imminent danger thereof the President may suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus or declare martial law. Now, here are two awesome powers of the President. What are the basic conditions for the exercise of these powers? They are, first, that there is invasion, insurrection, rebellion or imminent danger thereof, who decides whether there is imminent danger of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion? Only the President. No one can question his authority, not even the Supreme Court. This has been decided by our Supreme Court, and by all courts of the lands wherein the same constitutional provision exists. What can the President do? He can suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus or declare martial law. What is meant by the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus? When you suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus you suspend the power of any court to order one who has custody of any person to bring this person to court and produce the body before such court.

In short, with this suspension the military is authorized to arrest anyone without a warrant of arrest, who in good faith they believe will prejudice the state in the situation in which it is in. Now, note that I said, “Who in good faith they believe will prejudice the position of the state in the situation in which it is in.”

Now, what is a proclamation of martial law as compared to the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus? He merely tells the commanding officer or the commanding general of the troops that occupy any part of the country to assume all powers of the civil government, executive, legislative, judiciary. Many of you are going to become generals, I guess, I can see it. Many of you will be in command of units. It is my hope that whoever is President at that time will never find any occasion either to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus or declare martial law. Because a declaration of martial law is replacement of civilian authority by the military. The civilian authority is completely pushed out and the military commander becomes the entire government. What he says is law. That is why sometimes I smile when I receive all these urgent telegrams sent to me by many people from all over the Philippines, urging me to declare martial law. I get all these telegrams saying, what are you doing, Mr. President? Now, while the danger can still be met, declare martial law.

Now, do they understand what martial law is? It means that the military government, the military becomes the entire government, unless I, as Commander-in-Chief, put on my uniform and say, I am in command of the entire military. I assume all the powers of the government.

Now, this should not be taken very lightly. We must never reach this stage, this point, if possible, and that is why the military must always be prepared because as long as the military is united, so long as the military is stronger, so long as the enemy does not underestimate us, then there will be no military confrontation.

And that is why I bring this matter before you today. You must always keep the military strong and ready for any eventuality.

In either case, the military plays a great, if not a crucial role in our country. When the state becomes irreversibly engaged in a decisive confrontation with a particular danger, the military steps in as the final guardian of the state's safety and the protection of the people's welfare. When the civilian authority collapses completely the military takes over.

With the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, with the proclamation of martial law the military takes over.

Nevertheless, in our system of government, and I must emphasize this, the supremacy of civilian authority is never lost, whether we are in a crisis or in an emergency, the civilian authority is still supreme. It may seem only to disappear in that awesome situation which martial law creates. The consequent military take-over in such an emergency is actually made, however, in continuing obedience to the democratic vision. In the emergency I have described, the military takes over for the sole purpose of reestablishing civilian authority. Remember that, the military takes over only for the sole purpose of reestablishing civilian authority.

As you can see, then, the military has an obligation to remain consistent with the democratic ideals of freedom and of respect for human dignity. The conditions of emergency I have described as a consequence of a serious communist threat are necessarily confused and even chaotic at first, giving rise to inclinations in conflict with the ordered ways which we are accustomed to.

In such an event it is incumbent upon the military to comply even more rigorously with the creeds of honor and patriotism and integrity. I am glad that all these are deeply ingrained in the graduates of the Philippine Military Academy, who are expected to provide much of the leadership in the country's military forces.

Nor are the precepts which make for good and sturdy character less desirable in a time of peace and orderliness. While waiting for a military confrontation with the foes of our democratic values and institutions, the military must constantly prove itself reliable and trustworthy, if it expects our people to accord it continuing respect and support in a time of disorder.

The military, in time of peace or war, must take special care that lives and property are safeguarded and individual freedoms respected. It is the soldier's duty to face danger, as you all know, not to save himself or promote his welfare at the expense of the civil society. This is the burden of soldiery. This calls for the utmost in courage and discipline, but this is necessary if the military is not to be alienated from the society of which it is a part.

Imbued with the basic ideals of democracy and raised on the lessons of courage, discipline and honor, which are part of your traditions, the military is, and must be, at all times the sobering and reassuring force in our society. In a world that seems to have grown callous and more reckless, the old virtues which grow out of the traditional sense of honor have become almost an anachronism.

However, I ask you to value them. I ask you to hold them dear to your heart. They are your anchor. When you are in crisis hold tight to them. This is the experience of a young old man who stood fast through many desperate situations.

Your ideals are your only hope for survival, and I repeat, whenever you meet a crisis hold true to these ideals and the tradition of honor, discipline, integrity, and you will not pass up any opportunity for greatness. I ask you to demonstrate this as young men, the kind of young men on whom the country can depend.

To each and everyone of you I say congratulations and I salute you in the name of the Filipino people.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1979). *Presidential Speeches* (Vol. 3). Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines.

Address of President Marcos at the Republic Cultural Heritage Awards Program, June 12, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Republic Cultural Heritage Awards Program

[Delivered at the Cultural Center of the Philippines, June 12, 1970]

Nourishing the Spirit

KARAPAT-DAPAT NA SA Araw ng Kasarinlan ay bigyan natin ng gantimpala ang mga katangi-tanging ambag sa iba't ibang larangan ng minana nating kalinangan. Unang-una, sa agham, pananaliksik, at siya ay walang iba at aking uulitin na naman, si Ginoong Nemesio Mendiola. Sa panitikan, si Ginoong Lazaro Francisco. Sa kasaysayan, si Ginoong Esteban de Ocampo. Sa sining, si Ginoong Gerardo de Leon, Diosdado M. Lorenzo at ang panghuli ngunit hindi nahuhuli, si Ginoong Leandro Locsin. At sa musika, si Ginoong Fajardo.

Upang maunawaan ng lahat ng ating mga panauhin, pahintulutan po ninyo akong magsalita sa wikang Ingles.

Today we celebrate our Independence Day, with just pride in our heritage. But for a country to be loved by its people and esteemed by others, it must be a country epitomizing beauty and grace.

A nation is not a nation without a cultural life, nor a people a fully realized people without art to enrich their existence, and there is no beauty without culture, no grace without art. The creation of beauty, it has been said, is the ultimate act of freedom.

Thus, if I were asked why, today, in the celebration of our freedom and independence, we speak of beauty, I would reply, because beauty is the ultimate act of a man living in freedom. Thus, as we seek development as nation, we invest our human and material resources in cultural development, we are investing them in the economic development of our country.

Tonight, we honor those who have posted distinguished achievements in the field of culture. We are honoring writers, painters, musicians, architect, the scientists and other creative Filipinos who have proven their worth and who have in their works in the past year reaffirmed the Filipino genius.

We honor them today on the anniversary of our freedom because they too have offered their share of sacrifice at the altar of our independence, for every act of creation is an act of freedom and it helps build the structure of freedom and independence. Every act of freedom strengthens freedom itself.

It is refreshing for me to speak tonight of issues and matters well removed from the political field, or from the purely material, which, I observe, are what obsess most our countrymen, and for that matter much of the world today.

We consider tonight the subjective, the intangibles, the things of the spirit. These are no less real than roads, schoolhouses, or rice. These nourish a nation as much as trade and industry, as much as politics and food.

For independence and freedom would be empty and meaningless without the grace of culture or the inspiration of art.

It is often observed that Asians are inherently inward people. The inscrutability of Asians, which Westerners make much of, may only be a manifestation of intense inner communion, the stillness of the spirit. One might say that Asians are spiritually strong. That is why we have the capacity to endure, to endure adversity and pain. We have

lived through massive famine, through endless wars, earthquakes, floods, locusts, and numberless upheavals. Yet the Asian's serenity prevails.

Do you wonder, therefore, that Asia has predated Western culture, that it has flowered in between holocausts?

This Asian tradition is reflected in the Filipino people, despite the entrustment of foreign civilizations. We have the potential and the capacity to flower culturally, once we have discovered our true identity.

It has often been said that the modern dilemma of the Filipino is his identity crisis. This might well be true. We belong to two worlds — you and I. We have the veneer of the West, while deep inside the spirit of our past tug at our psyche. We are enticed both ways, we have a conflict within us. The resolution of our dilemma will lie in the direction our resurgent nationalism will take. I do not say that we cannot make the best of two worlds, but I strongly persuaded that we can assert ourselves as a people, as an Asian people, if we allow our instincts to prevail. In so doing, we can become a people unique, although not apart either from the Asian heartland or from the larger human family.

But in order to come into our own, so to speak, we must now begin, more energetically than ever before, to deepen our culture, and take the best from our cultural heritage.

Celebrating all things Filipino, in art, in music, in the dance, and in literature is only the beginning. We must also document our times, not only in the rigid framework of history, but against the larger horizons of the arts.

I do not think that our final goal as a people and as a nation is to become an economically prosperous nation. I do not think we even desire to be a so-called world power, with military might to prove it. I do not think that we aspire alone to full stomachs, or a munificent industrial complex, or a well manicured suburbia. If I may say so, what we envision is a viable nation of freemen; yes, free, and that is important because it is only in that milieu that we can enrich the spirit, through unrestricted cultural development.

So while we strive to give the body its due — food, shelter, comfort— and the nation its rightful place in the sun— viable, respected, and productive — we must do our best as well to nourish the Filipino spirit, to reveal its hidden beauty, to make it speak of its bright visions, and to build a precious legacy for other generations of Filipinos.

Only when we have succeeded in nourishing well our spirit can we consider ourselves as a people fully realized.

Meanwhile, for tonight, I am happy enough to present these awards to our creative citizens who have stood out from among their fellows. I congratulate each and every one of them. They deserve our gratitude, they deserve our respect for their achievements. I hope they will always remain artistically fertile, and fruitful. I hope they will do even more distinguished work. Artists must grow too, and develop, and only through the intensity of their work and vision can they succeed in doing this. I must congratulate the Cultural Center of the Philippines, and in all modesty I take note that the First Lady is the Chairman of the Board of Trustees. To each and every one of them, I extend the congratulations not only of the President of the Philippines, but of our people, of our nation, the Republic of the Philippines.

I must take special mention of the architect of the Cultural Center, which has risen grandly by the Bay, no other than Architect Leandro Locsin.

Our writers, singers, dancers, musicians, writers, engineers, architects have a sublime task to perform, now and throughout their lives. It is their task to reveal our country and its people to the world, and more importantly to reveal, the Filipino to himself. If they succeed their achievements will live through all ages. And no man can ask for more than immortality.

Source: Supreme Court Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 15th International Conference on Social Welfare, September 6, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 15th International Conference on Social Welfare

[Delivered at the Manila Hotel, September 6, 1970]

The Quest for a New Society

FIRST OF ALL, let me extend to all of you the warm welcome and hospitality of the people of my country, the Philippines. We are greatly honored by your choice of our country as the site of your Conference. May you find your stay in the Philippines enjoyable and — most of all — fruitful.

You come at the tail of one of the worst floods in the history of the Philippines. You come at a time when our social welfare agencies, both public and private, are engaged in a great deal of work. It is my hope that there will be no flood during your conference.

I gather that the committee of representatives yesterday approved a resolution expressing the gratitude of all the participants to your friend and humble servant, the President of the Philippines, for my invitation to a reception to all the participants to the 15th International Conference on Social Welfare which you are attending. But in view of the disaster caused by the recent typhoon and the destructive flood, and many of our provinces to the north of the City of Manila are still under water, you have suggested that we cancel this reception that I have offered. I thank you for your commiseration for the sufferings of our people. It is my hope that while I am denied the privilege and the honor of meeting with you personally at Malacañang Palace, somehow we will meet each other under more auspicious circumstances.

Your conference theme— New Strategies for Social Development— to my mind, reflects a realistic and urgent recognition of the problems that challenge the modern world, especially that portion we call the Third World or developing countries. Indeed, new strategies are needed, not because the old ones have failed, but because new pressures, new problems are upon us.

I know that all of you are aware that social problems are the moral consequences of economic problems. It is said that if a man is hungry, we have an economic problem, but if a man is hungry and resents it, we have a social problem.

All of us are haunted by the glimmerings of an ideal society, the old Inca society, described by Prescott in the following terms:

“If no man could become rich in Peru, no man could become poor. No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced to poverty or misfortune (it could never be by fault) the arm of the law was stretched out to administer relief. Not the stinted relief of private charity nor that which is doled out from the frozen reservoirs of the parish, but in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the object of it and placing him on the level with the rest of his countrymen. . . Ambition, avarice, the love of change, the morbid spirit of discontent, those passions which most agitate the minds of men, found no place in the bosom of the Peruvian.” I reiterate, this was the old Inca society.

It would seem to me that most societies today aspire, more or less, to this condition. For is this not the tendency in the welfare of Scandinavia and Britain, and do we not now find traces of it in the United States itself? Everywhere you turn in the world today, you find the deep concern for the poor, the very young, the aged, the handicapped and the unemployed.

Modern morality rejects the ruthless doctrine of the survival of the fittest. Liberty, equality, and, above all, fraternity shape the desires of all humanity.

You meet at a particular time, when we are, as has been stated here by Secretary Abello, on the threshold of the Second Development Decade. The first decade has not been dramatically successful, and we hope that the new decade will be better. And we hope that the conditions of the world will improve, since all of us know that without peace, many of our countries cannot prosper as they should.

Good societies are established over decades of peace and tranquility, over decades of unhindered efforts towards the achievement of desired goals. And for us in the developing nations, they can only be achieved when there is no exploitation, and, where there is need for it, assistance without humiliation—in the same manner that the old Inca society assisted its poor.

It would seem that the developing peoples require and demand too much to achieve their goals. This is unfortunately so, apart from the fact that we must also require and demand very much of ourselves.

Our economic conditions determine our social conditions, but in many ways, our own social attitudes will dictate how much economic growth we can achieve. Our societies still retain certain traditional features which hinder development. But we must understand that these traditional features often reflect our own regard for what is human in us, as we can see, for example, in our close family ties and friendship in the Philippines. Our problem is how to harness our humanitarian instincts in the service of national progress and prosperity. For there is little doubt that if we were to disregard these instincts, we could achieve economic development—but at the risk of dehumanizing our peoples.

On the other hand, excessive national poverty also dehumanizes. Especially national poverty in a world where some nations are too rich and too powerful. Here lies the root of agitation and “the morbid spirit of discontent.”

There was a time, perhaps, when the poor were ignorant of wealth. But in this day and age of rapid transport and communications, it is no longer possible to hide the wealth of the few amidst the poverty of the many. And more than that, the poor no longer blame their condition on the gods.

Gone are the days of the resigned poor. We have, to begin with, the intelligent, even the intellectual poor—the new poor. Universal education has destroyed the intellectual barrier between the rich and the poor; what remains merely is the social barrier. There is no other way of reading the student unrest especially in developing nations. It is a fact that we must face.

It is a fact all nations must face.

We are witnessing the emergence of a new generation mindful of the full possibilities of technology and the rationalization of production. It is a generation impatient with so-called sacrosanct economic laws and the arguments of vested interests, whether global or national. It demands a new or renewed sincerity.

To the aged, we can still explain the limitations of society in caring for them. For they matured in that same society. But to the young, the student and the unemployed young, the demand is action, not explanation, for in their own way, they have already explained the society in which they live. They demand a new society.

There are, to be sure, the dangers of impatience. A generation, no matter how dynamic or brilliant, rejects the wisdom of the past at its own peril. But as we counsel patience, we must somehow act with swiftness. And even as we act, we must demonstrate the superiority of challenging freedom over bovine slavery, we must show that all material things must be achieved for man—that the state, ultimately, exists for man and not man for the state.

This Conference, therefore, has awesome responsibilities. It presents to the minds of all its participants the anxieties of the age. It has to confront the quest for a new society.

Not one, not a few, but all are challenged.

In thus welcoming you once more, I earnestly pray for your success in meeting this challenge.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Testimonial Review of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, September 10, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Testimonial Review of the Armed Forces of the Philippines

[Delivered on September 10, 1970]

The Tasks Ahead for the Armed Forces

ON BEHALF OF the Filipino people, I accept with gratitude this pledge of loyalty of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to its Commander-in-Chief. Yes, I have invoked the name of our people because in truth and in fact it is they who are the real and ultimate object of this loyalty.

This occasion, therefore, is more than a mere ritual. Its deeper significance springs from our democratic way of life and our firm determination to preserve it. For this pledge reiterates the basic democratic principle that civilian authority supersedes military authority. In reaffirming their loyalty to their Constitutional chief, our men and women in uniform manifest again their commitment to this tenet and their resolve to serve our people.

Commitment and service are necessary at this stage in our nation-building. At the start of my administration, I saw it clearly, and I stated it forcefully, that the task of nation-building called for the total mobilization of national resources and the integration of all efforts.

The individual Filipino remains the most precious and the most indispensable of our resources. The object of all our labors, he is at the same time the principal factor in achieving our goals. Our effort will reach far, or fall short, depending on the intensity of his commitment and on the quality of his service to our nation.

I always derive much pride and satisfaction in holding up the AFP as a model of commitment and service, in war or in peace. To its men and women, commitment is their solemn oath, service is their way of life.

My affection for those in the Armed Forces of the Philippines springs not only from my experience of once having been one of them, as indeed one of the most memorable, if not the most memorable, periods in my life has been that of a soldier; but my affection springs also from my close observation of their discipline, their organizational cohesiveness and unity, and their unstinted devotion to duty.

For this reason, I decided at the start of my administration, to utilize the Armed Forces for national development. My trust and conviction have been; amply vindicated.

The participation and accomplishments of our Armed Forces in the socio-economic development of the nation are a matter of common knowledge. I need not speak of the thousands of kilometers of roads constructed by them, the equally numerous schoolhouses and buildings and other infrastructures constructed and being constructed by the AFP. All this speaks of the magnitude and sincerity of their commitment. There has hardly been any region in the country, nor any significant national undertaking in which the Armed Forces have not been called upon to render assistance. This I have done advisedly in order that the Armed Forces may be involved in everything relating to nation-building.

And because they have demonstrated their worth and dependability, the Armed Forces are continuously being called upon to assist even civilian endeavors.

But more than the tangible benefits, impressive as they are, what should give us deeper satisfaction is the fact that in participating intimately in building the sinews of the nation, our Armed Forces have developed a social conscience.

No longer are they strictly bound in thought as well as in application by austere military tradition. No longer is their concept of service confined to killing and the training to kill in the preparation for war; but increasingly it has embraced the work of strengthening the fabric of peace.

More and more, they are being asked to participate, even to take the initiative in some instances, in community development projects, in maintaining and improving peace and order, in expediting the administration of justice, and other tasks which before were considered exclusively civilian responsibilities.

We in the Armed Forces should welcome this emergent role, and so should our people as indeed they do. Far from being the omen of incipient militarism, they should on the contrary be viewed as indications of the people's growing confidence in their Armed Forces.

The Armed Forces on their part must prepare for this role as thoroughly as they prepare for their role in war. By and large, the preparation of the soldier for this new role has been sometimes an on-the-spot adaptation to actual situations. Schooled in military traditions, he finds his military attitudes and habits inadequate responses to complicated social problems, and he is left to improvise and to adjust. I would like to make the following observation. It is a tribute to the adaptability and flexibility of the military man that he has succeeded in his non-military activities, sometimes even without any guidelines from civilian authority. His success would surely be greater if his preparation were more sufficient.

In the many troubled and depressed parts of the country today, particularly in Central Luzon, the AFP's social conscience is at work. I am pleased to say that the results have been very satisfactory, in ameliorating the living conditions of the masses, in reawakening their initiative, and in regaining their confidence in the Armed Forces and the government.

But even as the Armed Forces have been heavily involved in the immediate and more urgent problems of enhancing peace, their primary duty is still to maintain the national security.

Modernization has been the accent in the development of the Armed Forces. The surface and air mobility of their various components have been significantly improved with the arrival of new equipment from our staunch and strong ally, the United States of America. Their weapons inventory is likewise being rapidly modernized with the recent acquisition, and the anticipated delivery, of modern arms, some of which we have bought with badly needed funds. We expect shortly a tremendous improvement in communications facilities with the operation early next year of a modern communications network that will link together practically all tactical elements in the field. Hand in hand with these improvements, the AFP recently effected a reorganization in order to achieve greater efficiency.

Along with modernization, we are making our armed forces more self-reliant, more self-sufficient. Research and development programs are being geared towards the utilization of local talents and resources for defense needs.

The internal Communist menace of subversion and insurgency, which a few months ago threatened to escalate into serious proportions, has been effect-lively stemmed. We can now say with confidence that the dissident tide in Central Luzon, where this threat is focused, has been turned.

The Armed Forces of the Philippines have done much, and have also suffered much, in containing this threat. Not only have scores of soldiers been maimed and killed, their wives widowed and their children orphaned, but often in the pursuit of the goal of peace and security, the pursuit of the goal set by civilian authority, the Armed Forces of the Philippines have often been maligned and their achievements denigrated. Such unfortunately is the price of liberty and freedom. And we in the Armed Forces of the Philippines must always be willing to pay this price. Not only must we be willing to lay down life and treasure, but, we must also be willing to bear assaults on our honor if that too is part of the price for defending our country's freedom and sovereignty.

Of course, the credit does not belong exclusively to the Armed Forces. For the people of Central Luzon should also be credited for their support of and participation in this move. The people of the region, who have finally decided to stand their ground against dissident imposition and depredations, and they must share in the credit. Questions have

often been asked. What was the beginning of the Barrio Self-Defense Units or the Self-Defense Force? I know and I would like to reveal that the Barrio Self-Defense Force was started upon the request of the people of Central Luzon themselves. And that is why I smile to myself when I hear some alleged representatives of the people of Central Luzon questioning the Barrio Self-Defense Forces. The Barrio Self-Defense Units, the people of Central Luzon, in cooperation with the government troops, have contributed to the success of many military operations against the dissidents and have severely reduced the mass support of the dissidents. They have denied to them the barrio as a source of information, as a source of recruitment, as a source of supply and a source of moral support. And, today, I must reiterate what have said in the past. The Barrio Self-Defense Forces shall be maintained for as long as the barrio people want them. When we all have reached the stage when the barrio people themselves directly or indirectly ask for the dismantling of the Barrio Self-Defense Forces, then I will order such dismantling but not before the people who have initiated it demand its removal.

In the task of maintaining general peace and order, which normally is a police function, the Armed Forces by sheer necessity have been made to assume the leading role. This is true in many parts of the country, where the local police force is either inadequate or incompetent to maintain peace and order.

Now as in any democracy there are forces at work that are deliberately trying and will continue to try to deliberately discredit not only the Armed Forces of the Philippines but democracy itself, to undermine the people's confidence in that system of government. Pointing to isolated unfortunate incidents and excesses allegedly committed by the men in uniform, they seek to foist upon the people a fear of their Armed Forces as a tool of oppression. But in the debris of recent crisis as in the civil disturbances and, more recently, in the last natural devastation, the flood, they exposed their own falsehoods and they exposed their own evil designs. They are not interested in reforms, are not interested in improvement, they are not interested in progress, they are interested in grabbing political power.

The Armed Forces exist for one purpose, to protect the state and the people from all enemies, whether from within or without. Upholding the people's liberties, as much as preserving the integrity of the state, is inherent in that purpose and central to the oath of office of every member of the Armed Forces. It is being reaffirmed on this occasion by the men and women who are the defenders of our democratic institutions.

In these difficult times we are going through, the Armed Forces have been the mainstay in insuring internal stability. In the event that established order and authority will be seriously threatened from within, and this I do not now foresee, the Armed Forces shall be the bulwark of our society.

Men and women of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the responsibility that you bear in these times is tremendous. The prosperity and tranquility that we seek for our people demand the utmost from you.

I know that you will not fail. Just as you have proven your mettle in the field of battle, I am sure you will acquit yourselves with honor in the field of peace. And therefore, it is my honor and pleasure to announce once again that I have directed our Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Budget Commissioner to immediately implement the increase in pay for all enlisted personnel in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. I gather that they are in the process of implementing this order. I understand that this will mean an increase in pay for the lowest ranking enlisted personnel, the buck private, of from P130 to P180, and so on up the line.

It is my hope that we shall be able to immediately attend to all other needs relating to further increases in basic pay, including those of the civilian personnel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

I also wish to announce the promotion to the rank of General of some of four officers.

In the Philippine Constabulary, I have promoted the commanding officer of the 2nd PC Zone, Col. Paredes; I have also promoted to the rank of Brigadier General the commanding officer of the 3rd PC Zone, Col. Dumlao; I have today also signed the papers promoting to the rank of Brigadier General the commanding officer of Task Force Lawin, Col. Jazmen; in the Philippine Army, I have promoted to the rank of Brigadier General the commanding officer of the 3rd Brigade, Col. Cauton; and I have promoted to the rank of Brigadier General the present

superintendent of the Philippine Military Academy, Col. Ugalde, and the commanding officer of the General Staff College, Col. Perez.

To each and every one of them my congratulations. I am continuing to reassess all the recommendations made by the Secretary of National Defense, Chief of Staff and the Board of Generals on the promotions to General.

I have accepted the pledge of loyalty of our men in uniform, in the name of the people, and I repeat, we regard our people as our anchor in these difficult times.

I am your President and Commander-in-Chief, but only temporarily. So, you actually pledge loyalty not to a person but to a symbol, the symbol of the sovereignty of our people. May it always be so — that you remain loyal to that symbol whoever he may be, and to the Constitution, and to the Republic of the Philippines.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines]

Speech of President Marcos, The Economic Prospects Are Brighter Now, September 22, 1970

The
Are Brighter Now

Economic

Prospects

YES, I DID cancel a few appointments to come here. One of these appointments was a long distance call from Washington from the First Lady. The previous speakers, especially Mr. Arambulo, referred to the fact that I am all alone in the Palace anyway so I might as well be with the businessmen and commiserate with them. You must admit, we must all admit, that businessmen no matter how good looking, make a poor substitute for the First Lady.

But I am indeed very happy to be with you. The business leaders of our country are in this organization. And, of course, it was only last month that I came before you and during this meeting I expressed optimism about our national ability to dominate every possible difficulty that the economy might face. Present conditions indicate our optimism was not unjustified.

Our difficulties, as you know, are new, and now we can say that it was undue pessimism that made some of our commentators refer to them as crippling, devastating, overwhelming ills. Actually and in truth the experts will tell us that there are very few truly sick or ill economies in the world, although there are underdeveloped ones beset with many difficulties. If our economy had been sick as diagnosed by some of the would-be: prophets this nation would have sunk long, long ago.

But consider the crisis that we have gone through. How many were those who were ready to evacuate their homes last January and February, during the demonstrations against the well-to-do and against the establishment? How many were ready to donate, say, twenty-five percent or even one-half of all their worldly possessions in order to meet the problems that we had then? But now, they have forgotten all of this. Haven't we? This is I think an indication that things have fared well in the past several months.

The lessons of the last few months point to one thing. We are now convinced that there is no problem whether of a local or national magnitude that insurmountable, provided we are willing to make the temporary sacrifices that go with the solution of these problems.

And I advisedly utilize the term "temporary sacrifice." I remember when I was preparing to become a teacher of law before the war. I read one professor's commentary on his wisdom. He said: I write books, my lectures are original and initiate new theories, but when I begin to repeat myself, then I am called wise.

Tonight, I am going to repeat some of the basic formulas that we adopted as far back as 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1969 because often times we, and I include myself, the planners, the policy makers, the implementors, the citizenry, forget the primary and ultimate objectives because of the more peremptory and more urgent although temporary, harassments that come from the sides. It is said that the true mark of a leader is seen when he remembers the main thrust and movement which he has initiated and, disregarding the hurting, often painful, harassments that come from the sides, moves forward with resolution and seeks the attainment of the objectives which gave purpose to the original plan.

The historian Arnold Toynbee once propounded a theory of history and development. He said that every civilization responds to a certain challenge, which merely means, I guess, that when there are no more challenges to a civilization, that civilization begins to decay and degenerate. But when the challenges arise and impose a burden upon the people then the people must gather the strength to show that these challenges and burdens do not faze them. The very survival and vitality of a civilization has always depended on the response given by a people in a given historical time when the challenge is made. So we do not determine the success of any nation by the absence of difficulty but by the manner with which the people face difficulty nor do we consider successful a country or a people because of the absence of a crisis but because of the manner by which they saw through the crisis. It is also said that the great peoples on earth have been the peoples who have conquered almost insurmountable obstacles.

It seems to me that this historical theory is particularly applicable to the conditions of our national economy.

Had we despaired instead of taking the proper measures to meet the problems that faced us this year, our economy would have indeed become sick by now.

We started this year, as many times before, with a balance of payments problem. This was the original problem. We sometimes forget this. We knew, however, that this was not the root of the problem: It is the nature of the development process of a country to incur a certain amount of trade deficits. The basic problem was in the structure of our external debt, and we all agreed about this.

We chose to retire previously contracted debts and finance them with short-term loans, instead of contracting long-term obligations to finance development projects, which, by nature, have a long gestation period. And this was true not only of government, it was true of the private sector.

Laudable as the objectives were, this situation could not last without recourse to further foreign borrowing. But there were certain restrictions which made it difficult for the country to obtain the necessary loans.

And I refer to those restrictions because I heard some of our wise men asking, why did we not borrow on long-term conditions before? Why have we thought of it just now? Let me speak of these restrictions.

What were these restrictions? These are contained in Republic Act 4860. First, the Flag Law, which gives an initial advantage of 15 per cent. Very few people realize that a 30 percent increase in the margin of profit is quite a big one. Now, we shall not speak of the advantages enjoyed by Filipinos because there are advantages that we deliberately and voluntarily contrived. But I refer to it as a theoretical cause for the increase in costs. Secondly, the provisions that the Philippines can only obtain loans from countries with which she has diplomatic relations, thus excluding those member-countries of the United Nations with which the Philippines has no diplomatic relations but with which we are willing to grant loans on terms more concessionary than can normally be obtained, and I refer to this because I listened to, and I read, comments to the effect that we should follow through on these loans from other countries, but the problem is, the law does not allow it. And, of course, I am being blamed for not borrowing from these countries notwithstanding the fact that there is this limitation. Now, thirdly, the provision that loans can only be obtained for self-liquidating projects. We have made a study of the various powers given to executives all over the world and we are one of the few countries where this limited provision exists.

This explains the lopsidedness of the external debt structure towards short-term loans, a condition that necessitated the measures which you are now familiar with, namely: the "floating rate" adopted in the February Central Bank Circular 299 and 306, the roll-over of loans from the American commercial group the passage of the Export Incentives Bill; the dollar deposit scheme; the amendments to the restrictions of Republic Act 4860 now in Congress, and the creation of the External Debt Management Office.

As a result of these measures, international reserves at the end of June showed considerable improvement over last year's level. This amounted to \$210.6 million, making an increase of \$34.3 million, or 19 percent, over reserves of a year ago. So if you hear anybody say that we have progressed, yes certainly we have progressed in some areas, but our original objective has been only partially attained.

During the first semester of this year, foreign exchange receipts exceeded disbursements by \$36 million. For the same period last year, foreign exchange transactions showed a net disbursement of \$16 million.

In merchandise trade the latest available data show that for the first five months of this year, imports totalled \$445.3 million and exports \$415.8 million. This resulted in a trade deficit of \$29.5 million, compared to a deficit of \$118.7 million for the same period last year.

On the other hand, on the basis of the external debt schedule as of June 30, 1970, the debt service ratio for FY 1970 is fairly high at 9.521. But from then on, it tapers off to 0.165 by 1973 and 0.021 by 1980.

Not a few, I know, consider the measures taken by this administration to be heroic, including those who have spoken before me. Some call them severe, but none, so far as I know has responsibly debated with the necessity of these measures. On the contrary, some of the measures, if not all, were proposed by the business sector of the Philippines. Those who contend, on the other hand, that the government should not have allowed a situation to develop in which these pleasures would have to be undertaken, do not appreciate or are deliberately blind to the routine problems of a developing economy.

But anyone, with an economic sense, I suppose, should know that the economic situation is part of our historical development, that we could not push the economy forward to modernization without cost and effort in terms of sacrifice and discipline. And now comes the question, but why 1970? Well, probably, the most direct and frank answer to this is, because it just happens that the sacrifices and discipline that were required after the elections of 1969, when the political pressure was strong, no longer exist.

As a matter of fact, to keep the economy going, we should learn the habit of discipline so that the gains we have achieved would not be dissipated. And I am certain that the businessmen of the Philippines understand and realize this.

The prospects, to begin with, are brighter now, precisely as a result of these measures undertaken. Our external debt servicing capacity, to begin with, has increased. A comparison of the projected debt-service ratio—that is, the ratio between debt service and current earnings—with the maximum considered permissible by development experts (20 to 23 per cent according to the Federal Reserve System) shows that the country can contract additional loans as early as 1971, assuming loan terms of 8 per cent, a 2-year grace period and in 12-equal annual installments.

The view from this point of our national progress is therefore entirely encouraging. For the first time since the bleak years not very long ago, when the nation despaired of our economic future, the rest of the world regards us with faith and confidence. Our economy has been restored to that state of health and vitality which assures other countries of the world, notably the developed ones of the competence of the leadership and the citizenry of this country to pursue sustained growth. What is the evidence of this confidence? We are now deluged with offers of loans but under terms which we may not be able to accept because of the imposition of the International Monetary Fund conditions. Financing institutions and governments abroad, assured of this new Filipino competence are now willing to extend us credit in large amounts to enable us to undertake further development. The World Bank has lately assured us that it is ready to extend to us a loan of \$75 million every year for the next several years. The Export-Import Bank is busy in the restructuring of private sector loans, dollar loans. Financing institutions in Europe and Japan have rendered us tribute, Banks in Great Britain, (the latest word from this sector appeared, I guess, in some of the newspapers this morning) are ready to finance our rural electrification program. All of them have come forward with declarations of confidence in the Philippine economy, in the form of commitments.

Under the 20 per cent assumption of maximum permissible ratio, and speak now of the debt service ratio, the country can safely borrow up to \$1,326 million from 1972 to 1974.

Now, there are some people who are worried about indebtedness. And my only explanation for this, as Filipinos all know, is the attitude of, say, the old school hacendero who has a thousand hectares but, in the way of the traditional conservative investor, refuses to borrow money to put in an irrigation system and make his land more productive. But his children, having been trained in the new economy, insists upon borrowing, let's say, half a million pesos, in order to put in an irrigation system. There is this conflict you see. A conflict in concepts in agriculture, in industry, in government policies. It has been my persuasion to decide in favor of the bolder, more progressive course for the economy.

Of course, we must take precautions. Now, going back to the hacendero who owns a thousand hectares. If we were to follow his policy and that is, let the land stagnate as long as we do not lose it, let the farm give us only 30 cavans of rice per hectare, but let us not take a chance, let us not risk, let us not gamble, because he calls borrowing a gamble, if we followed this idea, we would not get anywhere. But his children insist upon the irrigation system. So, now, they borrow P500,000 or say even a million. Now, if the hacendero were to utilize this P1 million for a new Cadillac or a Rolls Royce, or spend it in the fleshpots of Roxas Boulevard, as some people do, now that would be a

different matter. Then, it would be a losing gamble. But if the money goes to an irrigation system; and the irrigation system not only doubles but trebles, even quadruples, the yield of the farm, then, my friends, the loan is not a risk, for it increases not only the value of the property but increases as well the landowner's profits. This is the simple way of explaining this conflict between the two schools of thought in our country today. Schools of thought in conflict not only in government, I repeat, but also in the rest of the private sector. And I, as President, have had the honor and the pleasure of deciding in favor of the younger economist, the younger economist who says, we have rich natural resources but we cannot develop them if we just stand still and let these natural resources lie fallow, because we refuse to borrow any capital to develop them.

The choice is easy. There are only two alternatives open to the government for raising funds — tax or borrow. When you tax, everybody complains; when you borrow, those who do not know the facts complain. Since there are fewer people who complain when you borrow, I guess that even from the viewpoint of numbers it is better to borrow.

Under the 25 per cent assumption of debt service ratio the country can borrow as much as \$815.5 million in 1971, and for the Four-Year Development Plan period and that is from 1970 to 1974, a total of \$ 1,652 million. Up to 1977, new borrowings can reach a total of \$3,832 million. Now these are not just figures that I have just set up for this speech. These are figures arrived at after months and months of study by experts, not only local but foreign.

With these assumed terms, therefore, the total borrowings required by the Four-Year Development Plan for FY 1971-1974, namely— 1,170 million, can be contracted without posing any threat to external stability. As a matter of fact, the acquisition of such loans, in making possible the attainment of objectives set out in the Plan, will aid in strengthening the Philippine peso.

The Plan, moreover, envisions the expansion of exports at 8.3 per cent per annum, with the main thrust coming from minerals, specifically copper, nickel, and iron ore concentrates, sugar, copra, and other coconut products. On this basis, the trade gap is expected to gradually narrow from – 140 million in FY 1970 to – 80 million in FY 1971, and eventually close during the Plan period.

I spoke of the main thrust in mining. We are now working on incentives to be given to oil prospecting. They have just struck oil somewhere in Brunei and it is the belief of many that oil exists here in the Philippines and, therefore, we are studying the possibility of giving tax exemption to the first two firms that discover oil in the Philippines.

In the event, however, of a shortfall in exports resulting in an annual growth of 7.9 per cent per annum in FY 1970-1971, imports would have to be compressed to a 3.6 per cent annual growth in order to close the trade gap at the end of the Plan period. Since imports cannot be contracted without affecting economic growth, any shortfall in export receipts would mean increased borrowings.

Therefore, it is my pleasure to announce to you today that in accordance with this basic policy, we have drawn up the Export Incentives Bill, which Congress has passed.

Now, allow me to read some of the provisions of this bill. I do not think that many of us realize the importance of the Export Incentives Bill.

This act is entitled, An Act to Invigorate the Country's Export Trade as a Means of Accelerating Economic Growth by Granting Certain Incentives and Exemptions to Registered Export Producers, Export Traders and Service Exporters, Repealing Export Incentives Granted under Republic Act Number Fifty-One Hundred Eighty-Six and for Other Purposes.

Now, I need not define to you what is meant by export producers. You know that this means those that are registered with the BOI, in accordance with this Act, and engaged in the manufacture or processing of export products. What are registered export traders? They are those which derive at least 50 percent of their gross income for the year in which the incentives are claimed from the sale abroad or export products bought by it from two or more registered export producers.

And what are registered service exports? They are persons registered with the BOI, engaged or proposing to engage in rendering technical, professional or other services which are paid for in foreign Currency, but not limited to, the fields of law, medicine, accounting, management, valuation, appraisals, engineering, construction, geodetics, surveying, teaching, etc.

What are export products? The export products provided for under this law are those which are manufactured or processed products not more than 80 per cent of whose individual F.O.B. Philippine port value is attributable to imported raw materials. May I repeat that. Not more than 80 per cent of whose individual F.O.B. Philippine port value is attributable to imported raw materials.

And what are the incentives for registered export producers? Every registered export producer shall enjoy, for a period of 10 years from its registration, a tax credit equivalent to the sales, compensating and specific taxes and duties on the supplies, raw materials and semi-manufactured product used in the manufacture, processing or production of its export products. That is, 10 years of the tax credit; and every registered export producer shall be entitled for the first five years from its registration to deduct from its taxable income an amount equivalent to a portion of the total export revenue for a particular year.

Tax exemption on imported capital equipment and tax credit on domestic, capital equipment. There shall be incentives to registered export traders, and the Board can grant additional incentives. These shall include all or any of the following: to use an amount equivalent to double its direct labor cost in applying the formula for reduced income tax provided in paragraph so and so.

So, you can see that this particular law, since it is now law, will indeed serve to encourage Philippine exports. And with the expectation of improved export performance, surplus and invisible transactions will increase the inflow of investments and investment income payments.

With the expectations of improved export performance, a net surplus in invisible transactions and increased inflow of investment income payments, the current account deficit is projected to decrease from \$251 million in FY 1970 to \$178 million in FY 1971 and to \$153 million in 1974.

As projected in the Plan, the country will continue to incur deficits under the capital account as well as amortize past debts. In addition, to maintain a certain minimum of security against currency instability, the Plan provides for an average annual increase of \$45 million in international reserves.

Finally, the financing of these transactions will involve additional foreign borrowings amounting to \$1,170 during the Plan period—exactly as projected in the Plan.

I alluded to a historical theory at the beginning of this talk, and I said that the measures we have taken this year were in response to a challenge to the national economy. The Four-Year Development Plan, which I discussed at length last month in a meeting with you, is also a challenge. It is not a self-implementing blueprint but a guide to economic action.

By citing what we have achieved thus far, I do not mean to give you, much less those in government, the planners and the policy makers a sense of euphoria. Things are looking up, to be sure; we have gone far, that is certain; but they do not spell an end to effort and discipline.

I would prefer very much a relaxation of credit and I notice this is a very sensitive point with respect to businessmen. But if I may not be criticized by the present generation I would be damned by future generations for irresponsibility and this I will not accept.

Our problems have been man-made and human ingenuity, effort, and discipline, which, also derive from man, can therefore solve these problems. The essential thing is that we should work and work together, and I know that the businessmen of our country and members of this organization will continue to work together.

May I congratulate you for assuming the burdens arising from the various problems that we are facing. Oh, yes, they say the businessmen complain, but it is the right of everyone to complain. But I know that while complaining, each and every one of us realizes that we still must shoulder the burdens that have been imposed upon us by circumstances.

I congratulate the leadership and the membership of this organization, and it is my hope that we will continue this dialogue that we have maintained through the past several years.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos at the UNIDO-ECAFE 1st Asian Investment Meeting, September 23, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the UNIDO-ECAFE 1st Asian Investment Meeting

[Delivered on September 23, 1970]

Foreign
and Regional Development

Investments

I GREET THE various ambassadors and those who have gone out of their way to participate in this UNIDO-ECAFE 1st Asian Investment Promotion Meeting in Manila.

We welcome this meeting sponsored by UNIDO-ECAFE to bring together proponents of industrial projects in developing countries with prospective investors from developed countries in these various projects. In taking the initiative to organize forums like this, UNIDO and ECAFE recognize the limitations of foreign aid and the ever-increasing importance of private foreign investment in assisting the economic growth of developing countries.

The past few years have seen a growing disenchantment on the part both of developed and developing countries with the efficiency of foreign aid. The flows of aid reflect this. In 1957, the net flow of financial aid to developing countries amounted to about \$3.5 billion. In addition, \$400 million were received by multi-lateral development agencies.

These flows of financial resources reached a peak in 1967 when developed countries contributed about \$5.9 billion directly to developing countries and over \$700 million to multi-lateral development agencies. Since 1967, it seems that the desire of the developed countries to increase their foreign aid has somehow slackened.

On the other hand, net private investment and loans, especially in the form of export credits, have doubled in twelve years from about \$3 billion in 1968, and there is no sign that this growth will slow down. Most of this increase has been in the form of loans, since between 1956 and 1968, net private direct investment has increased by only \$425 million from \$2 and 1/3 billion to \$2 and 3/4 billion.

It is therefore relevant to talk at this time of ways of stimulating private investments by developed countries in the developing countries of the world. Historically, private investments from the advanced countries have been made in such areas as mining, petroleum production and other extractive industries. In 1966, for example, less than 30 per cent of these investments were made in manufacturing and most of those manufacturing investments were in enterprises designed to serve only the domestic markets which have surrounded themselves with high protective walls.

The opportunities for such highly protected, import substituting type investments in manufacturing in many developing countries have disappeared fairly fast because their domestic markets are small. Furthermore, the difficulties of competing with foreign firms for such limited domestic markets have been the usual source of pressures and irritants. The apprehension of foreign investors that as time goes on the initial welcome for the new technology and foreign capital in manufacturing will wear out probably stems largely from their experience in these import substituting, highly protected, domestic market oriented areas of manufacturing activities. These pressures for national participation will of course become less as national partners are taken into the ventures. Some far-sighted foreign firms which are already in these ventures have in fact taken steps to induce greater investment participation from nationals of the host country, either through the sale of a portion of the foreign ownership of the enterprise to nationals or by accepting capital contributions from the nationals to provide the funds required for the expansion of the enterprise.

Many of these pressures for greater national participation can be substantially avoided if the foreign entrepreneurs set up export oriented manufacturing ventures. This will enable the enterprise, in which the foreign investor has made his investments, to overcome the disadvantages of the limited market which a developed country normally offers for many kinds of manufactured products. It becomes possible to establish an economic size plant without necessitating a monopoly in the domestic market.

In this connection, we welcome the assistance by UNIDO-ECAFE in promoting greater trade among developing countries in the ECAFE region. It recognizes the technology and economic realities that capital-intensive projects often require a far greater market than a particular developing country can offer. These factors favor the establishment of a regional industrial complex which will enable capital-intensive projects established in individual countries of the region to serve the other countries of that region. We also welcome the efforts of the UNCTAD to obtain unilateral tariff and non-tariff preferences from the developed countries specially with regard to the output of relatively labor-intensive manufacturing activities in developing countries.

Foreign investments and foreign trade are therefore corollary and complimentary and we would ask the prospective investors from developed countries to consider the mutual benefits that would arise if these were linked to one another.

The Philippine experience seems to bear out the various impressions on foreign investments that I have shared with you today. After the World War II, for example, we granted parity rights to American citizens partly because of the hope that American investments would thereby flow in massive amounts into the Philippines. However, it was only during the 1950s when we instituted foreign exchange and import controls that substantial American investments came into the Philippines, mainly for import substituting, domestic market oriented industries. This influx apparently was due largely to their decision to get within our tariff walls in order to avoid being left out of a lucrative domestic market. It now appears that it may have been better in our policy on foreign investment to have given greater guidance and exercised more discrimination in our welcome to foreign investments. For this reason, the Philippines has recently passed two complimentary laws, R.A. 5186 and R.A. 5455, to set the ground rules for foreign investment, indicating their rights as well as the specific areas where they are welcome. In making explicit the positive role that foreign investments is envisioned to play in this country, we have listed the preferred areas of investment in an annual Investment Priorities Plans. In preferred non-pioneer areas, foreigners are allowed to invest in up to 40 per cent of the common and voting shares of the corporation. In fact, they are encouraged to invest on a minority basis in these enterprises because they receive the same incentives given to 100 per cent-owned Filipino firms, including tariff protection and a guaranteed share of the market. Moreover, there is no limit to the extent of their beneficial ownership—the proportion on non-voting shares they may hold.

In the pioneer-areas, foreign investment is particularly welcome. Not only are there more incentives for pioneer than for non-pioneer enterprise, subject only to the requirement that the enterprise must attain 60 per cent Filipino ownership within twenty years. This twenty-year period may be extended by another twenty years if there is not enough Filipino capital willing or able to buy the shares or if there is some other reason which our Board of Investments considers sufficient to warrant such an extension. Foreign investment is particularly encouraged in these pioneer areas because in addition to their finances they possess the expertise needed to carry out the pioneer projects successfully. Our government's policy is that the development of those projects where the capital requirements are too heavy and the technical skills presently too specialized for Filipinos should not be postponed because there is a pressing need to accelerate the growth of the economy and generate more employment.

In all areas of business activity permitted by our Constitution, except in retail trade, foreigners may invest in up to 30 per cent of an enterprise, outstanding capital stock on the sole condition that the Board of Investments be informed on the investment for purposes of record. Foreigners may own more than 30 per cent of the outstanding voting capital stock of an enterprise provided that the Board of Investments approves the application for such an investment. It should be noted that the Board is directed to grant this authority unless the investment is in business activities which are already overcrowded, adequately exploited by Filipinos, or inconsistent with the Investment Priorities Plan of the Board.

I have just signed the Export Incentives Act which grants greater incentives to export oriented ventures, especially when they utilize local raw material and fare labor intensive. While the Act presently gives foreign firms in pioneer

areas all the incentives that are granted to Filipinos, I have suggested to Congress in approving the Act that certain amendments should be subsequently included to grant incentives to foreign firms even in non-pioneer areas provided that their entire output is exported. I made this suggestion because I am convinced that foreign investment has a legitimate and necessary role to play in the growth of a developing country. I am confident that so long as the host country recognizes the justified profit motive of the foreign firm and so long as the foreign firms recognize the objectives and aspirations of their host country, the flow of private foreign investments into developing countries will increase substantially.

In closing, I extend to all of you the welcome of my country. May our meetings bring; new initiatives into the ECAFE region, generate employment and intensify the economic development of this part of the world.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the induction of officers of the Manila Motion Pictures Producers Association,
September 26, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the induction of officers of the Manila Motion Pictures Producers Association

[Delivered at The Plaza, September 26, 1970]

New Goals for the Movie Industry

WHEN I SPEAK to this gathering of film producers, artist and technicians. I am aware that I am speaking to a group whose work is vital and whose influence is enormous in our society. Those of us whose work is to lead and govern; look to this community to provide our people a vital and purposive entertainment industry and to harness that industry for the task of building progressives and healthy nation.

I would be dishonest not to admit that the mere experience of meeting and associating with the beautiful stars of our film industry is for me already a very real pleasure, but tonight I am even more pleased that aside from this signal-pleasure, I am accorded the honor of addressing our film producers, those men, who more than any other group govern and direct the course of our film industry.

For a long time now I have wanted to meet with you to discuss the problems that obtain in your work and the way by which all of us, you in the industry and I in the government, can use our resources to solve these problems and to really develop our motion picture industry. The present state of the industry, where it is indeed and how it is making use of its opportunities, suggest to my mind that there is a great deal that we can do to upgrade the quality of our films and to make them truly relevant to our lives and to our history as a nation.

Philippine cinema has simply reached the point where it must either advance or regress, either live or die. This is not to say that the opportunities for a good and prosperous life as an industry are not there; they are there, have always been, and today the opportunities have never been more inviting. We need only to consider the state of the cinema in America, Europe and Asia to see how vital this medium can be in our lives and how self-sustaining it can be as an industry.

It is for us now to seize these opportunities and make our film industry a truly vital force in the lives of our people and in the economy of our country. And I would like to tell you tonight that you are not alone in dreaming of this advancement; this concern, this hope, we share in common.

But saying that we are one in this hope is surely not the same thing as saying that it shall be realized. We shall have to inquire again into the basic goals of our movie industry and nourish it with those goals that are enduring rather than ephemeral, if we are to realize this hope. Above all, we must see the problems not merely in the light of each producer's special concerns, but in the light of common goals and larger concerns.

This I submit, requires long and thorough study.

To begin with, there is the problem of technical facilities presently available to the industry.

In a world literally exploding with the wonders of new discoveries in the art of film-making, the Filipino film continues to use sub-standard equipment and technical know how. We continue to make do with what we had two decades ago, and it is not surprising that our product has remained the same — a pale comparison to the work of other filmmakers in the world today.

Yet the problem of equality is not to be explained merely by the absence of technical equipment. Complementary to this lack of technical facilities is an even graver lack of talent and know how to inform the local cinema. By this, I do not mean any lack whatsoever of good actors and actresses. This we have in abundance; what we do not have are the directors, writers, film editors and cinematographers who more than anyone in the industry are responsible for the quality of the film product. Our film industry has simply failed to attract such talent into the business; the few talented film-makers whom we had some years ago have since left the industry for greener fields.

In saying this, I do not mean to belittle the obstacles that confront every filmmaker and producer whenever the cinema is bound by the canons of popular tastes and mass consumption. The making of one single film requires such a huge investment, that to recover it, the film must be seen by a good portion of our film-going public. And it is surely no new discovery of ours that what is considered artistic or excellent is more often than not the dish not of the mass but of the *elite*.

Yet, granting that our local films must seek its audience among the masses in order to survive, it is my belief that even in the task of providing good entertainment the local film industry leaves much to be desired. Today, we seem to mistake the popular for the vulgar, and even for the patently obscene.

Even if we confine our goals only to good entertainment, I submit that such entertainment can be made relevant to our lives, can be reflective of what is uniquely Filipino, without ceasing to be popular. The fact is many of us have a tendency to underestimate the capacity of the masses to appreciate what is good, and because of this underestimation, most of our films retain this obsessive tendency to be unintelligent and silly.

It seems to me that more than the lack of capital obtaining within the industry, the reason for its failure to be self-generating and self-sustaining is to be found in a confusion of goals and a fear of treading what is not safe and has not been tried before.

This fear and this confusion has constricted the imagination of the local film industry. And like any other enterprise, the absence of imagination results in stagnation and decay.

To infuse new life into the industry, we must re-examine therefore the goals of our movie industry, and having done this we must map out a new course for development. Then and only then can it begin to attract new capital and new talent, which alone can be the basis for its advance.

The presence of an association such as this is a good beginning for such a re-examination. Because you are the guardians and the lifeblood of the industry, a consensus of opinion among you can have sweeping effects on the industry.

It is my belief that the solution of the problem facing the industry cannot lie simply in the institution of a government subsidy for the industry or in the reduction of taxes on local films.

My administration is prepared to extend to you every assistance in your plan to develop the industry, but the price of development demands on your part the will to lift it from the morass in which we find it.

I am hopeful that this group and the other film organizations will pool their resources and conduct a thorough study of our motion picture industry. In such an undertaking, my administration is prepared to assist you at once.

On the basis of such a study, we can then make plans together for a concerted and joint development program.

I must now summarize and conclude.

I have tried to delineate to you what I take to be the problems of our film industry. I have charted the opportunities open to you as film-producers and financiers. I now leave it to you to explore them further.

It is my hope that having seen one another again, neither you nor I shall be overwhelmed by the problems before us; and knowing that we share the same hopes, we shall not flinch.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 22nd National Convention of the Philippine Jaycees, October 1, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 22nd National Convention of the Philippine Jaycees

[Delivered at The Plaza, October 1, 1970]

The Philippines Beyond the Seventies

MR. YATCO, PRESIDENT Liwanag of the Philippine Jaycees, and those two energetic leaders, Tony Pangilinan and Boy Calo, I understand, are all engaged in political activity. I don't know what the Comelec will say about them, for I haven't heard of any of them filing their papers of candidacy.

The public enthusiasm, the cheering and the boos, the rousing political meetings and the pervasive propaganda, the urgency of a political campaign are missing in the race for delegate seats. The Comelec, of course, and the Constitutional Convention Law have prevented all this. Thus, we are experiencing an experiment in political campaigns.

The pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other. From an extreme of prolix speeches, of sound and fury in campaigns, of excessive expenditures, we have moved to a rare modulation, even to a veritable paucity in the discussion of issues and in light shed on the men running for a convention seat.

Anyway, I am indeed very happy to be here with you. Your President will bear witness to the fact that I was so eager to be here that at 9 o'clock I was all prepared to come here, only to be informed by my advance party that there was not a single Jaycee here at the Rizal theater. Worried that perhaps some mishap had befallen the entire Jaycee organization, I had my men make inquiries, and I was informed that you were engaged in a demonstration. But it was the kind of demonstration that we welcome, the kind of demonstration which we all hope everybody will engage in, which would show the enthusiasm of the young.

I greet each and every member of this convention. You represent various regions of the country. Indeed, I see here my friends from Sulu and Cotabato, and I am very glad that they were able to come, notwithstanding the reports of an impending tribal war. At least, that is what the papers say. I have just received the report on this matter of Secretary Ponce Enrile, who arrived in Manila barely 30 minutes ago. I sent him to the South to find out what the situation was. I always do. Whenever I read anything serious in the newspapers, I always send my own investigators. It is better to find out directly because sources of information are a little bit unreliable nowadays. I said just a little bit unreliable, mind you.

Well, you and I belong to the younger generation. And I hope you will pardon me if I include myself. And the younger generation, as you know, is obsessed with what is going to become of the world and of our country and of our people. Whenever there are any new plans, we speak of the present decade, the 70's. This decade is supposed to mold the future. This is the womb of the days to come. But today let me talk to you of the future after the 70's.

What will be the image of the Philippines and of this part of the world after the seventies?

We can almost hear our critics or detractors voicing the old saying, "Take care of today and tomorrow will take care of itself." There was probably a time when we could survive and even flourish and indeed progress, with this old attitude. But that was sometime ago. I do not believe that is possible now, in this modern world of cataclysmic, sudden, shocking change.

There is nothing we can do about the present, so some people say except to live with it. Present problems are the result, however, of past action or inaction, which led me to say that the role of a President or a leader of the people is to correct the mistakes of past leadership and past Presidents. You therefore become so occupied with rectifying the errors of the past that you seldom have enough time to plan for the future.

Well, it's about time we started planning for the future. And as soon as became President in 1965, you remember, I organized Presidential Commissions that have since been working quietly. Presidential study groups from all sectors were put to work to tell us, tell me, tell the decision makers tell the planning groups, what we want the Philippines to be twenty year from now, thirty years from now. I even asked the military planners, "Fifty years from now, what will the Philippines be doing in the matter of security. What will we do with the military bases, or with the SEATO, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization? What will be our policy with respect to Red China? What do we expect Red China to become? Will time be at moderating influence or will this conflict between Russia and Red China continue? Will it explode?" These are the questions that the leader asks the experts, the men who probe into the future and therefore can give some kind of a guide to the decision maker. When we say that we are solving present problems, we are actually merely managing them, according to some observers, or controlling them by temporary "crash" measures.

But the future is yet to come. We can anticipate its main outlines and provide in the present the solutions to problems that will arise.

That is, for good or ill, the way of the modern world. There are many who say, why don't we leave that to the younger generation? Anyway, that's going to be their world. But the younger generation will certainly damn us if we do not now lay the basis for the decisions that they have to make, ten years, twenty years from now. And when I say "they," I perhaps mean you. I understand there are 53 candidates from the Jaycee membership for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Oh, that may not be enough to control the Constitutional Convention, but it certainly will exert an influence on the Constitutional Convention, if all of you get elected.

As businessmen and modern managers, you know that this is also the way of modern enterprise. You want to know what your business will be like, or how it will be operating two years, three years, five years and better yet ten to twenty years from now. This is but simple foresight for to be unconcerned about the future is to surrender to circumstance which is not the way and the character of man. The human specie is supposed to be differentiated from all other vertebrates by his capacity to change his environment, present and future. And by environment I don't refer merely to his physical surroundings but to the ideas that create those physical surroundings.

Projections are common, common to both business and to the public sector. You also know that we live in a world of rapid change, as I have said, shocking, cataclysmic, sudden change. And what is a decade in the history or the life of a nation? It's just a dot in the continuing history of a country. It was not so when the world was younger, I suppose, when economies were parochial, and a change in one part of the world took a pig, long time to reach the other end. But in our modern times, a decision in Moscow or in Washington or in Peking or in Cairo or Tel Aviv, will reverberate throughout the world in a matter of minutes if not seconds, and Crisis may come and go in a matter of hours or days.

As a developing country, there are tremendous demands upon us. You will know this. Even the developed countries which have all the resources and skills to meet the problems of the future have to plan ahead.

You see the big industrial countries planning now in terms not of 1975 or 1979, but in terms of the year 2,000, and the Philippines will again be left behind if we do not also do the same. And notwithstanding all this long-term planning, all these projections, sometimes things go awry. Plans fail to respond to unexpected situations, and therein we find the human factor at work. You can appreciate, therefore, the urgency with which developing countries, already limited in resources, limited in capability must prepare for the future that is even now daily gaining upon us.

I have often quoted the wise observation in reply to the question what must a man do in Asia in order to progress, and the answer was in Asia, a man merely to stand still must run. To stand still, you must run.

In a previous speech before another group of business and industrial leaders, I said that the prospects for the seventies, in so far as the economy was concerned, had become brighter because of the discipline we imposed on ourselves this year.

I note that the theme under this administration of President Liwanag is self-discipline and this is indeed something that we must all think of seriously, and practice and implement individually and as a nation. We voiced optimism about solving our balance-of-payments problems, and our optimism was well rewarded, yours and mine. In March, for instance, I think the exports amounted only to about \$35 million. In May and June, they went up to \$125 million. In January of this year the dollar reserves were only about \$175 million. Now, they have gone up to \$235 million. We have been able to restructure about \$300 million worth of short-term loans. We have been able to pay standby credits. I notice the ambassador from Japan is here, Ambassador Urabe. The Japanese government has extended to us a \$50 million standby loan. And today, October 1st, the consultative group of about 12 nations called or invited by the World Bank is meeting in Paris on the Philippine 4-year economic social-development program to look particularly into the opening of investment and trade credits, supplier's credit, and other accommodations that may be extended to the Philippines after having, shall we say, passed the peak of crisis. We are now trying to consolidate our stronger position, gained from all this self-discipline, for the entire strategy of meeting the balance of payments problem rested on self-discipline. And self-discipline is not too pleasant when you come to think of it. Discipline presupposes and connotes restraints self-denial, and self-denial is never popular, whether with the younger people or with the older people, whether with males or females.

Now, notwithstanding the difficulties we encountered, we are moving forward. This does not mean that we have solved all our problems. No, not by any means. But we are over the hump and we are now moving forward to the other plans that we had prepared sometime last year.

I have often been asked: why were these decisions made in 1970, not in 1969 or 1968? The decision makers were notified of this crisis, which was approaching sometime in August, September, October, November. And here is one of the weaknesses of our democracy that must be met, and that is, the political pressures which often require the postponement of urgent decisions.

There was an election in November and, predictably, everybody kept postponing decisions that could affect the political campaign. I, for one, had insisted upon an immediate decision, strong in my confidence that irrespective of whatever decision would be arrived at the political results would not be affected. But I was overruled. I was overruled and the decision was delayed; not until 1970 was there a definite decision made.

Here you see again the workings of what I have always described as managing, merely managing the circumstances, managing and trying to survive. We must now plan ahead.

Within the period of the 4-year Development Plan, which is now being discussed in Paris, we were to have an increase of 6.5 per cent in the Gross National Product. Now, these are familiar figures which you already know but let me repeat them for the television and radio audience who, I understand, are listening all over the country this morning. Anyway, the constant increase in population is anywhere from 3.2 to 3.5, and assuming that we will not be able to control it, you would see the narrow margin between progress and retrogression. We must control our population growth now. This is one of the things that we must plan for, not only for the decade of the 70s but for the next several decades. Speaking of population control, well, I think I am a faithful practitioner of this particular science, or rather, the Presidency has imposed on me this particular discipline.

Though we need to talk of population control now, do you know that the results of the steps that we are taking toward population control will not affect this generation? It will affect the next generation or the generation after that. But we must take steps now. This is what I mean by the long projection.

Of course there are many people who say, why should we bother about these long term programs when there are many urgent things that we must attend to at this time — peace and order, roads, and others of immediate concern. Well, I don't know about Makati, but that's what they say in Manila. But this is merely to emphasize the fact that there is a perennial tug-of-war between the immediate, short term, urgent peremptory requirements and the long-

term but lasting demands inherent in the long projection, the growth perspective, the plans for generations ahead and not only in the next 40 days. Caught in the middle of this tug-of-war is always the President. Congress for example approves all kinds of laws. They will approve P7 billion worth of appropriations when the income of government is only P3 billion. So you have a deficit of P4 billion and the President is supposed to create the P4 billion. And when he cuts down on expenses in one part of economic activity, either of the private sector or that of government, he gets blamed.

But, I guess, that is why you are President, I keep telling myself. You are President so that you can be blamed for things that nobody else can be blamed for. But that's true. That is why if the President is capable, whenever there is hesitation, whenever the decision makers and the planners hesitate from an unwillingness to assume responsibility from an unpopular decision, it is the duty of the leader to assume responsibility immediately even if it may make him unpopular. This is the role of the leader.

And I speak of this because the Jaycees is a leadership group. This is a pool of leadership on which the country will draw in the future. Just remember what I have said today — that if a leader tends to be a weathervane, always trying to feel the pulse of the people and go with the wind, he will never be able to love the country or the nation. Not only once, but very often, he will have to stand alone and accept the worst possible accusations against him, knowing fully well that he has chosen to assume the responsibility and the blame for decisions imposed by circumstances.

As I keep repeating, and as I wrote to Bongbong the other day, loneliness is not to be feared. He is all alone there in the Worth Abbey School. He wrote me yesterday that he has learned to clean a bathroom big enough for ten boys in five minutes flat. Of course he was trained in the palace, but as I was saying, and I have been telling him always, loneliness should never be shunned by anyone who wants to be a leader because when you are a leader, loneliness is always the other side of the coin, not only of freedom but of leadership. You can never be free unless you learn to be lonely and alone. You will never be a leader unless you are capable of making decisions and assuming responsibility alone.

I am heartened by the fact that your convention theme this year is self-discipline because this is precisely the very heart of self-discipline. I do not foresee any time in the immediate future when we can safely discard self-discipline without forfeiting the future of the Philippines.

When a country is prosperous, is rich, is big, it can afford to make some mistakes or even many mistakes. But when a country is developing and is small, its resources are limited; it cannot therefore afford even a single mistake, especially in planning and implementation. A single mistake could be a reversal and a retrogression, and may mean the loss of decades of hard work by the government and the people.

And thus the importance of the competence of a leader, and this competence depends for effectiveness upon the men whom he chooses to help him acquire the facts on which he bases decisions.

We are called upon to secure our nation — economically, politically, socially — in a world that changes so rapidly.

The essential question for leadership is this: what will the world be like beyond the seventies? In our present reflections, especially where they relate to the economy, we only take account of certain fixed factors, such as the end of parity in 1974, the termination of the Laurel-Langley agreement, and its possible replacement, eventual peace in Vietnam with the promised withdrawal of American ground forces, and I say ground forces advisedly, the continual, if gradual, growth of our neighbors in Southeast Asia and in Asia in general, and the development of certain specific relations in the regions.

Now this specific relations may pertain to cultural, industrial or economic and even political relations. It behooves the leader, and you are leaders, to look into the various facets of such relationships. What are the alternatives? What are the options that our government may have? And if you were in the place of the leader, what would you do? We want to see a peaceful cooperating Asia so that it will not be dominated or overwhelmed by what may be the natural law of the jungle, which seems to prevail even in this modern age, which in some societies dictates that the rich shall grow richer and the poor, poorer. We can manage this law only to a certain extent. Beyond this still is the law.

In the late seventies, what will happen to Japan, and the United States, Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore? Japan, which is now an industrial society, may join the United States as a super power. What will be its inclinations? How do we in the Philippines propose to live in this new context? How about Red China? As I said in the beginning, will there be a moderation among its leaders? Will they discard the old philosophy of an Asian hegemony under the domination of Red China? How about the Russian threat? The new bases being put up on the islands of the Indian Ocean? What nation in this part of the world has a maritime tradition and therefore may pose an external threat to other nations? What is the prospect of the clash of ideologies not only in our country but in other countries in Asia? What do we intend to do about this? How about diplomatic relations with Russia? With Red China? With the other socialist countries?

Will there; be diversification of our products and diversification of our markets, and if so what are we doing about it? These are the questions that arise in the mind of a leader because certainly it will be a sad, sad thing if you and the succeeding generations will say that Marcos did not even think of this problem, when it was in his power to mold the beginning of a progressive policy. Well, I must tell you that as of now the developing countries still have the three major requirements for living — food, shelter, and clothing— as their principal problems. As of now, the Philippines is not any different. We must alter and change this obsession and this concern, we; must grow beyond this problem.

We need, therefore, to make projections, as I have said, so that we can relate the demands of the future to our own goals as a nation. We need, as well, to reformulate our goals, because we cannot wed old goals to new conditions.

For this purpose, as I said, I have established presidential commissions or study groups. One group of about 300 scholars have already submitted their studies and their recommendations, and they are “eye openers.” It is my hope that we will be able to get some of you to participate in these study groups in this projection, for I shall continue to call on specialists in the public and in the private sector, to look closely into the problems beyond the seventies. This nation can no longer move in the world with its traditional blinders. Without intellectual discipline and foresight, we will not be able to survive, much less progress.

But we cannot wait until such a staff or commission shall have submitted its report. We know now the problems of our cities, some of them. The second problem, next to pollution control, is pollution. What are we doing about it? Look at the Pasig River. I remember when I was young, I used to be a member of an outboard motorboat racers group, and we used to race down the Pasig River. I turned turtle right in front of Malacañang, or rather, just behind Malacañang. But the water was so clean that it was a pleasant swim to the river bank. Well, one of my cabinet members fell into the Pasig River sometime ago and he almost died, not from the effort of swimming to the shore but from the contaminated water.

Pollution is not true only of the Philippines, it is also true of Europe, of the United States. What was it that somebody said of Lake Erie in the United States? He said that if you fall into the Lake, into lake Erie, you do not get back to shore and you do not get dirty, you disintegrate.

And when we speak of pollution, we go into the problem of conservation. Some people have made fun of my obsession with conservation and indicted me for inviting General Lindbergh here to emphasize the need for conservation. But this is one of the problems not only of this decade, not only of the seventies, but of several decades to come up to the year 2000.

I have cancelled many forest concessions. I have set aside anywhere from 1 million to 2 million hectares of land so that they may not be touched by any commercial or industrial enterprise, and I have been attacked on this by critics who say that I am blind to the requirements of the modern world.

But my feeling is that pollution and conservation are the twin problems that go hand in hand with population control. This is going to be your problem when you become the leaders of government and even now as business leaders. When you make decisions you will be confronted by all these problems. The dangers of pollution are upon us; and they will get worse, they will affect the genetic future of Filipinos.

Now, the ecological balance is in danger and we must do something about it. If we are able to attend to this problem now it should not be through the obsolete vision of past plans but in the light of what shall happen 10 years from now.

Can you imagine, therefore, the difficulty of a leader when he is asked to put more funds into the effort to maintain the ecological balance? From the viewpoint of the great majority of our people this concern is not too urgent because they feel that the available money must go first to patrol cars or telecommunications facilities of the police, or arms for local policemen, or public works because the roads were destroyed in Casiguran, and things like that. You have a difficult decision right in front of you, and while you are making the decision nobody is helping. But that is why you are a leader because you are supposed to stand straight despite harassments from all sides, and while you are trying to maintain your equanimity, you must also have the presence of mind to solve present and future dangers.

The nature of social unrest has imperceptibly changed. The old dissidents were very much concerned about land and land reform. But we have now dissenters who question even the entire system, even as this system, unbeknownst to them is changing — and will even be more drastically changed, perhaps, in the next two years.

We decided sometime ago, when I was still President of the Senate in fact, on the adoption of the land reform code, that we must split the big haciendas, encomiendas, feudal estates. Well and good. We must give five hectares to each family; this is known as the family size plot. Well and good. That is to say, the idea was good about a generation ago, — or as late as 1950, let us say. Came the 1960s, and there were an average of five children among those who acquired land under land reform. And so the five hectares have to be subdivided among the five children, and each one gets one hectare for one family.

Now comes the following generation and there will be five more children, as per average. I have only three so I am below the average, I guess. But we are going to subdivide the one hectare all over again, and every new family will have one fifth of a hectare. So the entire system of land reform is under question now. And the immediate answer, of course, is cooperatives. I have always said that if any principle of socialism or communism is applicable to our people and to our situation and problems, let us adopt it, without adopting the political ideology of dictatorship, of godlessness, and even of an elite group ruling our society without elections, and which rely on violence as the only instrument of change and reform. Let us adopt those that fit our requirements. We are now experimenting with cooperative farming, as you may have noted.

You see, therefore, the changes in almost every new decade. The educational system has changed while our backs were turned to our problems. School boys and girls are no longer naive trusters in the future, they want to make their own future and I don't blame them. I was interviewed sometime yesterday and I was asked, how do you feel towards these demonstrators? And I said, I feel friendly towards them because not too long ago I led some demonstrators from the University of the Philippines myself. I was also a demonstrator and I know their feelings. I realize the urgency of attending to their requirements because they believe they are right. And maybe they are right. We have to listen to them no matter how radical they are. We must listen to them provided that they do not use violence. They will find in me a collaborator in the effort to make a better Philippines.

Now, what are the consequences of these changes? The consequences of these changes, of these developments, to future leadership are shattering now.

There is the rapid obsolescence of ideas — even moral sentiments. Slowly the world is turning into an open society. I will not talk of Copenhagen, Stockholm, Amsterdam or London, or pornography or the new standards in art. Although we don't see very much art in it, it is there. And no matter how you try to stop it, it is coming. As I said, there is a rapid obsolescence of ideas — of moral sentiments, of standards. Of course, we will try to maintain our old values. And at the same time, try to sympathize and understand the new developments. How many development economics ideas have come and gone in the last 10 years? Apart from the fact that economic systems are not pure and have cultural undertones, the strategies of a decade ago are not so useful now as they were then. Old visions of national frontiers gave way to new exigencies. Who would have believed, for example, two years ago that West Germany would sign a non-aggression pact with Russia? But they did, they just did and with this single action, the very nature and complexion of European politics completely changed.

What about our own politics, domestic as well as international? It has been said that the perceptions of many politicians are so many years behind actual realities. I am rather inclined to agree with this. Frankly, we hear the same hoary protestations against taxes, the same platitudes about government expenditures and operations and the same ancient platforms withered by time.

Only now are we witnessing the integration of politics with social policy, and this a new development. The National Social Action Council, to name but one example, is a triad of effort between the ecumenical church, the civic sector, and the government. Who would have imagined that this could be possible during our time? We have begun to realize that the survival of society, its progress, depends on collective effort, on a plurality of leadership, rather than a single center, which tells people what to do.

With the obsolescence of ideas naturally goes the traditional concepts of leadership. The criteria now surmount administrative or legal abilities but are more emphatic on vision, on energy, and the charisma to transmute ideas and programs into reality. Social status, political heritage, will not be the main issues in the late seventies and beyond — but the capacity to make people move forward and towards goals which they themselves have set.

How about the church? Well, you now have church ecumenism. We are not far from political ecumenism. Now, let this not be misconstrued again. Some people might misread this to say that Marcos has prophesied that democracy and communism will get together, and that in the Philippines there will be both communism and democracy. I did not say that. I say that in the future more and more, if man is to survive, there will be political ecumenism. And I refer to the future, the long future, the seventies and beyond.

The challenge before us, therefore, is a challenge, I would say, to intelligence and imagination. It is not our difficulties, whether in resources or anything, that will cripple us—but the way we view our difficulties. Of course, all resources are scarce; they will always be scarce in a developing society. The difference lies in the choice of priorities. And in the ingenuity of the people and leadership. But above all things is the mental picture that we have of the society that we hope to bring about in our world, in our region, and in our country.

Our reformists do not have a clear picture of the society they want. Because that is the very nature of reform. They do not go beyond the slogans of equal opportunity, equal rights, because, as I said, we have failed in the longer projections. Let us help them, let us help the reformists. Let us help them project the future, and perhaps prepare for them a vision of what they want and what perhaps we want as well. There should be goals and there should be progress. We need to be more specific; we need to make our vision operational.

Discussion, my friends, is only useful when it leads to public education. It is, therefore, imperative that we develop the intelligence of our people, their imagination, heighten their imaginative ingenuity and their self-discipline, so that they can understand fully the implications of the challenge.

The challenge says that we must often do two or more things at the same time; never have we been challenged with this before; always in the past we have been asked to consider one thing at a time, and we found out that was the secret of achievement. But now and in the future, we shall be compelled to do three things at a time. The challenge is simultaneous. First-things-first was effective as a policy in a stable world; in a changing world, the challenge is many-headed and I repeat, simultaneous. We will be fighting on many fronts. We must learn to do so now, not tomorrow, not in the future, but now. If we cannot cope with this situation, if a leadership cannot emerge capable of making us cope with it, then I must say that we shall merely drift as a nation, no better than a man who lives a hand-to-mouth existence in a neighborhood that is affluent.

And that is the difficulty in a democracy. Because in a democracy, everyone must be heard. And while you are fighting on many fronts there will be many others who will call attention to other fronts, and while you are hard-pressed in a crisis, other crises will be created by those who do not wish you well. But this is the very meaning of democracy.

So now, we must work, we must study. We must understand our world. I ask you, the new leaders, to understand your government, your community, to understand yourselves because, my friends, this is, and I repeat, the very start of the projections for the late '70's and '80's of which I have spoken.

We must begin to understand the world in which we live, the new ideas, the new values, the new concepts, the new initiatives. To misunderstand them is to completely fail. I trust that you, the Jaycees, will lead in understanding this new world.

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Address of President Marcos at the 5th Anniversary Program of "Let's Talk Business", October 21, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 5th Anniversary Program of "Let's Talk Business"

[Delivered on October 21, 1970]

Let's Talk Progress

I CONGRATULATE THOSE who have initiated "Let's Talk Business." I have always regarded your group as a brave little company because, like all those who deal with prognostications and projections you must think and act with courage. In an unpredictable and unstable area like economics, there is constant need for such boldness, matched of course by an equal measure of knowledge and expertise.

I think it especially propitious that I should have this opportunity to discuss our economic prospects and the remaining problems we must face. Many salient phases and problems of our economic development you have already discussed on your various programs, and if instant solutions were not actually perfected here, at least we gained some perspective by examining our problems and our directions, our initiatives and our present situation. I hope that tonight, we have been able to do this and that I shall be able to provide further light by way of this short talk.

Perhaps the question that should be asked is, where is the Philippines today? Where are we in this first year of the new decade of the 70's?

While it is too early to evaluate fully the efficacy of the measures we have taken to counteract the balance of payments pressures which had been mounting through the years since even before I became President, a comparison of the country's external debt structure as of June 30 this year and that of a year ago gives some favorable indications. For whereas last year, of a total loan outstanding of \$1,480 million, short-term borrowings accounted for 42 per cent, this year, of a total outstanding loan of \$1,880 million, short-term obligations accounted for only 17 per cent. We hope to be able to attend to this 17 per cent.

This indicates the soundness of our new attitudes to the development process. For one thing, in the first half of the sixties, from 1960 to 1965, the government chose to retire the debt that it had previously contracted, instead of contracting long-term obligations. As a result, the trade deficit in some years was even compounded by net outflows in the capital account. This was an impossible situation. No country in the world has an infinite supply of international reserves; yet we had to finance not only the excess of imports over exports but also the net outflows of capital.

In contrast, today we accept as a matter of principle that trade deficits are inevitable during the development process. This is true not only in the Philippines, it is true in every developing country. These trade deficits, however, need to be financed. And since these deficits generally represent investments on projects which have a long gestation period, their financing is normally achieved through the inflow of long-term capital.

You are of course familiar with the exchange reform and stabilization program which have impressed the monetary authorities outside of our country. We shall not talk of them tonight therefore.

But let me say, however, that the resulting foreign trade picture for the first half of 1970 is quite satisfactory. International reserves, \$165 million at mid-year 1969 and \$126 million at year's end, were up to \$210 million in 3 mid-year 1970. This was largely due to the favorable developments in merchandise trade. While import payments

fell from \$575 million in the first half of 1969 to \$534 million in the first half of this year, export receipts increased from \$441 million to \$515 million.

Consequently, the trade gap, \$134 million last year, was reduced to only \$19 million this year. And as I have already stated we have projected, and we expect on the basis of performance in the past several months, a surplus of \$35 million at the end of December this year.

Now, on credit restrictions. We have been talking here of money in circulation. What has been the effect on the money supply, by credit restrictions?

The net effect of the measures we adopted was a contraction of money supply by P122.5 million from the end of 1969 to the middle of 1970 for the period of six months. I repeat we contracted the money supply by P122.5 million. Now, this may not be acceptable to Mr. Cabarruz and the rest of the big money group, but this is what has happened.

The first semester of this year was similarly characterized by fiscal restraint, so that while government cash operations for the first semester of FY 1969 yielded a deficit of P89 million, transactions during the first half of this year, the first half of 1970, did not end in a deficit but with surplus of P92 million. This reversion resulted not only from the moderation in expenditures but also from the increase in revenues derived from new taxes and better tax administration.

At this point, I wish to call your attention to an important empirical truth in our economic life. This is, that as the development process gets under way, the demand for infrastructure facilities is greatly intensified. At the same time, higher incomes, the increasing complexity of the economic and social environment, and the spread of popular education bring to bear increased demands for government expenditures.

Now, if all of these demands by the times should be financed, there would be a need to increase the proportion of government revenue to total national incomes. It is in recognition of this need that, in recent years, serious efforts were made not only to broaden the tax base through new tax measures but also to improve the efficiency of the tax collection machinery. Consequently, while in FY 1969 the ratio of government revenue to GNP was 8.4 per cent, the ratio, in FY 1969 was up 9.4 per cent.

Now, we still are not contented with this; we hope to be able to increase this. We have been thinking in terms of 12 per cent, as in other countries, but we are still a little way to go.

For this reason, this Administration has opted for the alternative of rapid growth through a budget deficit against the alternative of stagnation under a sterile but allegedly balanced budget, a budget that may consist of nothing but salaries for government employees. We feel that the government should borrow, but it should borrow principally for such, capital expenditures like irrigation systems, hydro-electric projects, roads, piers, airfields, warehouses, factories, ships and the like; otherwise the country will stagnate. In the past four years, capital expenditures grew at an average rate of 34 per cent per year. Current expenditures, in the meantime that we have been holding back, grew by 14.5 per cent per year. Furthermore, under the capital account, expenditures for economic development predominated throughout, maintaining an average ratio of 0.64. Under the current account, on the other hand, economic development expenditures recorded the biggest increases, running at an annual average rate of 23.6 per cent.

There is a current feeling that I am spending or we are spending too much on the Armed Forces. I would like to inform you that according to the records, we have been able to reduce expenditures of our Armed Forces from 17 per cent to 14 per cent of the budget.

In FY 1969, had we chosen to move sluggishly towards the already long delayed fulfillment of our growth aspirations, we would have continued to live in the false comfort of excessive caution and timidity. Instead, we faced up to the realities of our economic situation and acted accordingly. Those who would not sympathize with our aims or who could not bear to see the government succeed for whatever reason have sought to sketch a dark picture of the deficit spending that a full-size development program has made inevitable in the meantime that adequate

sources of revenue do not exist. But this was a decision which government had to make as soon as I became President and I hope that on your part you will comprehend the requirements that we have had to fulfill.

In 1969, as you probably know, our economic goals necessitated a recourse to borrowing to bridge the financial gap. What was this gap? This gap amounted to P750 million, which was occasioned by expenditures for projects of a most needful and indispensable nature. Here in Manila and in other centers of population the question is often asked, "My God what deficit spending! Where did it all go?" I wish some of our people here in Manila would go around the country, would travel on the roads we have built, count the school houses, the hospitals, the irrigation systems, the hydroelectric systems for these are where we have spent this money.

When I was still a Congressman I used to make very interesting studies on how much a president averages in expenditure per province. I discovered that most presidents averaged 5 million per province during their entire four-year terms. Five million per province. Now, let us go to Bulacan or Rizal, and let us start with Bulacan, the smaller province. Do you know how much we spent in Bulacan in four years? We spent P400 million, and yet so many people here in Manila ask me, where did the money go? As if the public officers were running away with the money box of the treasury.

No, we have been spending this for what we feel are priority projects. Now, we may differ about what our priority projects should be, but certainly we all agree that we have to start spending on economic projects or we will stagnate. I agree with you though that we must spend on productive enterprises. Now, even that term productive enterprises has been the subject of long and serious and intense debate not only in the planning group but also in Congress.

These projects, for instance, that we have been talking about may include the Philippine-Japan Friendship Highway and the establishment and maintenance of more schools. I need not repeat here that we were, able to put up about 90,000 school rooms in four years. And that project does not amount to just small money. Also we spent on the construction of bridges, such as the one we built across the Cagayan River. Did you know that before I became President, there was not a single bridge across the entire length of the Cagayan River? And that whenever there was shortage of rice on the eastern side of the Cagayan River, there was a surplus of rice on the western side of the same river? This was so because rice could not be transported across to the other side since there was no bridge. We are now building several bridges over and across the Cagayan River, and across many rivers of our country.

We have also financed more power and irrigation projects and flood control facilities, but at the same time we have provided the necessary peso counterpart for necessary dollar borrowings. Calamities got their own share of our [increased expenditures.

Oh, yes, I have been asked, how has the series of typhoons affected the projections? The sugar people tell me that the projection for the industry should probably decrease by not more than 5 per cent, but the copra people in some provinces are worried. Catanduanes industry is completely wiped out so far as copra production is concerned. And abaca in the Bicol provinces, they say, has been greatly affected, but the other provinces were not as seriously affected as we had thought. So, this is our situation.

What of the years ahead?

In order to generate further investment activity, the bulk of public capital expenditures shall be concentrated on the continued provision of infrastructure and other social overhead facilities. We cannot lose the momentum now.

In this respect, the rural electrification program has high priority. At present, only 7.5 million of our entire population variously estimated from 37 million to 39 million, enjoy the benefits of electricity. Of this number, four million live in Manila, two million in other urban areas, and only 1.5 million in rural areas. This means that in the farms and barrios only one out of every 16 families enjoys the benefits of electricity.

The importance of electrification and our competence to provide it have been recognized even abroad. Only recently, favorable endorsement of our rural electrification program was secured from English and American

bankers and financiers. Of course, some people have asked why the First Lady intervened in this offer. Now, let us see what her intervention was. She was asked what the Philippines needed, and you know she and I keep conversing about these things, and she is pretty well versed on the needs of our country, as well as I am. And so she pointed out frankly that one of the primary requirements and needs of our economy was electrification, and that is why she was asked to all these conferences on projects on electrification.

What are the other areas where we should undertake greater effort? Of course, these areas will include, and you have brought this out here, export encouragement, industrialization, population control, and control of our environment which includes such things as conservation and anti-pollution measures.

In earlier days the higher rate of population growth was perfectly consistent with economic progress. However, times have changed. Resources have in general become scarce relative to population and must now be efficiently allocated. And that is why more and more we refer to the planning group all the request for allocation of resources. This is galling in a way, yes, we admit that, and sometimes it may be prejudicial to specific areas of economic activity. But there is no other way of working out the development of our country.

We shall also devote increased effort to the formation and support of agricultural cooperatives. The remaining requirements of the land reform program must be met with increased means and energy. The program to distribute free medicines in areas where they are most needed will be intensified. The manpower program; the upgrading and expansion of education where we would like to see our high school graduates capable of entering industry with the skills to earn a living, the increase in the salaries of teachers, the resumption of the infrastructure development — these and more will call for great public investments. We cannot, where we are now, ignore these requirements without sliding back to the poverty and frustrations, and what is more, the tyranny of inaction that characterized our past. We broke away from these more than five years ago. We cannot go back to them.

Private investment, on the other hand, shall continue to be induced into those areas that are considered economically desirable, as set out in the Priorities Plan of the Board of Investments, considering employment generated, foreign exchange earned or saved, the extent of the use of domestic resources, and the existence of forward and backward linkages.

I think it is now fairly well established that the prospects of growth and progress in our country are considerable, even — or perhaps especially — in the eyes of foreign observers. As one New York banker informed the monetary authorities, perhaps foreigners have even greater confidence and trust in our future than we have ourselves. You are probably aware of the favorable reaction of the international community that met in Paris earlier this month as well as the meeting in Manila under the sponsorship of UNIDO/ECAFE investors with Filipino entrepreneurs in need of capital, to the efforts of our government in economic development. Taking due recognition of the impressive progress that has already been made by us, the consultative group came to the agreement that the present financial difficulties, and I quote verbatim, the present financial difficulties could be overcome within a short period. As a token of confidence in the capacity of our economy for accelerated growth, most of the countries represented in Paris expressed support of the World Bank whether on the proposal to form a consultative group for the Philippines or on a bilateral basis with the Philippines.

This is an opportunity for me to say that most of the credit for our progress and for the confidence we have developed abroad in our economy belongs not to any special group but to our own people. Their understanding and cooperation, their willingness to think in terms of our large goals and to forego small immediate comforts, and their trust in the competence and dedication of their chosen leaders — all these have been essential, and will continue to be essential in the years ahead.

I have no doubt that the application of these moral and spiritual qualities upon a vast potential of our country, itself already partly fulfilled, will produce that degree of national transformation that is the highest aim of all our thoughts and deeds. And I am certain that the discussions in the programs of “Let’s Talk Business” have aided in establishing this confidence and this trust.

I congratulate again all those who had had anything to do with and have participated in “Let’s Talk Business” on the program’s 5th anniversary.

Source: National Library

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos at the Kick-Off Ceremonies of National Education and Fund Campaign of the League of Puericulture Centers, November 16, 1970

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Kick-Off Ceremonies of National Education and Fund Campaign of the League of Puericulture Centers

[Delivered at Malacañang Palace, November 16, 1970]

Defusing the Population Bomb

TO SHOW THAT we are supporting the puericulture centers, as are the other leaders here present, may I ask the First Lady to hand over our personal contribution to the puericulture national and educational and fund campaign.

I have just contributed a thousand pesos. The national government is contributing to the puericulture centers about P721.800 every year. And this year we will increase this contribution to the puericulture centers. It is quite true that the puericulture centers now constitute a permanent institution in our life. Fifty seven years ago, the first puericulture center was established. May I note, before was born. Since then the puericulture center has metamorphosed from conventional health center into a multi-purpose institution, and to an active agent of community development.

The puericulture centers are the clinics of the poor. By and large, the centers attend not only to maternity cases, as they were originally intended to do, but also provide general medical attention. This explains why the masses of our rural region regard the puericulture center as an important part of their lives. Now, you know why the First Lady and I are always here with you. Of course, the First Lady and I are always together whatever maybe the problems that we are facing.

But the reason we have taken these puericulture centers under our wing, as it were, is the fact that we, more than anybody else, realize the important role the puericulture center plays in the lives of our poor people, the disadvantaged elements of our society. Of course, the old puericulture centers have been further revitalized by the organization of the National League of Puericulture Centers which now sponsors this yearly program. It is a recognition of the role played by these institutions in our country that I have included puericulture centers in the major programs of our government since in fact I assumed office in 1966. In the health program, there are special or specific programs like, To Save a Life in Every Barrio which is under the supervision of the First Lady because it is a social welfare program. And puericulture centers play a major role in this endeavor.

In our miracle rice production program and in the home gardening or vegetable production program, among others, we have also harnessed the puericulture centers. Now, when I created the Population Commission sometime ago, before the election, before the 1969 elections — I was advised against tackling the population control problem before the elections because they said this was politically explosive and therefore I should not commit myself one way or the other before the elections — despite the study made by the leaders and their advice, I took a gamble because I realized that our people have strength and foresight, and so I went before the people, before the electorate and I said, the population problem is a problem that we must face now. We cannot delay facing up to it and any candidate for President or for any national office must take a stand on the population control problem.

I then appointed the head of the League of Puericulture Centers as a member, one of the leading members of the Commission on Population. I also appointed Bishop Gaviola to the Commission, to represent the hierarchy. Bishop Gaviola, the Secretary General of the Catholic Church, and I were taken aback when we saw the resolution being prepared; we were taken t aback because we felt that there might be opposition from the members of the Church hierarchy considering that the resolution adopted by the Population Commission left to the individual conscience the matter of determining what method may be adopted in family planning, whether the artificial or the natural method. And, as you know, these are quite controversial. But Monsignor Gaviola was in the Population Commission and he

approved the resolution, and so did the members of the hierarchy of the Church whom I also consulted. And because of this, we went full force into the Population Control Program.

Today, the puericulture center movement has 802 centers while the Population Center League has 802 members. There are 1,400 municipalities or towns in the Philippines. There are also 1,400 rural health units, and, as you all know, of course, before I came to the Presidency, there were only about 300 complete rural health units. When I conducted a survey in 1966, I discovered that 60 per cent of the population of such regions in Mindanao and the Visayas and the Mt. Province never saw a doctor. Yes, 60 per cent of those who died in 1965 and 1966 had never seen a doctor or a nurse in their whole lives.

And so here was a country and a people, ostensibly living in a civilized society, in a progressive state and democracy, yet 60 per cent of those among the people who had died had never seen a doctor or a nurse.

We therefore looked around to check how we could supplement the medical and health efforts of government. It was touch and go for a while because there were many who thought that the public health program was a little too ambitious. To put one rural health unit in every municipality, they said, would bankrupt the government, but we went ahead. And now when they ask me where a lot of the money spent by the government went, I point to the rural health units, to the doctors and nurses, to the dentists and the midwives, and to the puericulture centers, to the PACD, all the health facilities and services which have gone into the rural areas. In many parts of the country today, the puericulture center has preempted or taken the place of government in helping the medically indigent.

We are now about to start the medicare program which is at the core a program for the medically indigent. We are just waiting for the time when we can gather enough resources. Commissioner Sychangco is here. Commissioner Sychangco has grown old from raising funds for the programs of our government.

My dream and my goal is to see a puericulture center established in all parts, in all centers of population, of the Philippines. That means you still have 600 centers to go, that you will need 600 more before you will have a puericulture center in every municipality of the Philippines.

And while I am President, I will extend you all available help and support in order that you can attain this goal.

One of my proposals to Congress was for government aid to the puericulture centers, and this bill was introduced by Congressman Sanchez sometime ago, but you know we were facing so many urgent problems then as now, so the bill did not go through. It was proposed that P6,000 be given as aid to every puericulture center without a maternity unit, and P8,000 to every puericulture center with a maternity unit.

When the Congress will consider this I do not really know, but perhaps you can exert pressure on the members of the House and the Senate, especially the latter. Maybe they do not realize the importance of the puericulture centers in the provinces, but you and I know. Our people depend on you, on the puericulture centers and we must persist, patiently perhaps but unremittingly in pushing through this bill so that we can get enough funds for this particular program.

I need not go into the unselfish manner by which you have obtained help for the puericulture centers. Most of those who are working for you are volunteer workers, I believe. Do you still have volunteer workers in the puericulture centers? Yes, well most of you realize that this is the highest form of cooperative action that we have in our country. These workers are a diverse lot, and they are well spread all over the nation. You have extended help not only to the health program, but also to the Community Development Program, my Presidential Arm for Community Development. And your success in reducing infant mortality alone is already a monument to your work. But then you see by helping to reduce infant mortality you have also created another problem, and this problem is population explosion.

Before I go any further, may I acknowledge the aid that has been given by the USAID to 164 puericulture centers.

We are grateful for this help given to those 164 puericulture centers, and I understand that this financial assistance has boosted significantly your in-service training and family planning program.

I have been informed that you have had some modest success as well in promoting family planning among our people. And perhaps it is now time for these 802 puericulture centers throughout the country to get involved in solving one of the most crucial human problems of our time — population explosion.

It is my plan that we shall harness not only the government offices and personnel to the program pertaining to population control, not only the health worker, but also the teachers and other personnel of the Department of Education, the Community Development, the Agricultural Productivity Commission, and all local officials, from governors down to the capitan del barrio, because our problem, this problem is also their problem.

The problem of runaway population growth is frighteningly real. We are multiplying at a rate which our pace of economic development cannot sustain.

The statistics are familiar to you. The average Filipina bears six children. I have only three so far. Two babies are born every minute. The average population growth ranges from 3.2 to 3.5 per cent or an increase of 1 million Filipinos every year. At the end of this day, some 3,200 babies shall have been born throughout the country.

Our population grows at more than 50 per cent of the world average. Our population right now is a little over 37 million. By 1980 or roughly nine years from now, it is expected to re-explode to 51.4 million, 69.8 million by 1990, and 110 million in the year 2000 or thirty years from now.

Roughly this means that we have to feed, clothe, house and provide jobs for Filipinos on a radically wider scale than we are doing now.

And we must meet our present backlog in these areas which is already tremendous. To provide for the needs of the succeeding generations requires no less than an overnight success in our efforts at economic and social development.

Of course, it is tempting to remain complacent and fold our hands and say, that is not our problem, that is the problem of the President in 1980, or the President in 1990, the President in 2000, because the terrifying consequence of population explosion will come in the future. We don't perhaps feel it too much now, but the world of the future is your world too because it is the world of your children.

It has fallen, too, upon this generation and upon this leadership now, not tomorrow but now, to act decisively on this grave issue. We are called upon to alter a course of destiny which the future generations would have no way of coping with. We are asked to secure for our children a better quality of life.

Knowing all these projects and the probabilities in the next 20,30 years, we cannot ignore this challenge without being recreant in our moral responsibility to safeguard our civilization. To do so would be an act of cowardice no less for this question is not merely a matter of comfort, it is a matter of security, of national security.

We are actually feeling now the effects of a vigorous population growth. The slum colonies, the competition for jobs, traffic jams, criminality, the increasing demand for public services — these are manifestations of the stresses created by population explosion.

Of course, we are accelerating our effort at development to confront this issue. Economic growth has increased tremendously in the past four years. Total food production is up. Our manpower and youth development program has buoyed up employment opportunities. Our industries continue to grow. There will be no stepping back in our drive towards a more affording society.

But to be realistic about it, we do not now have the capability to meet the requirements of our present rate of population growth. It is a race that can be won only over a long period of time. And we must begin now.

Another thing to consider is that even if we institute population control measures right now, this minute, we will not see the results until after about 15 to 20 years. Population control takes time. And time may be running out on us.

In our country, the consequences of the population problem afflict not the rich and the middle class but the already teeming poor.

It is the poor who bear the burdens imposed by population explosion. It is the poor who are likely to reap the Malthusian after-effects of uncontrolled population growth in the years to come. It is the poor who suffer and there are a great many of them in our country. And a suffering poor means an unstable society and an unstable society means a threat to all, even to the rich and to the middle class. And, therefore, I call upon every segment of our population every sector of our society, to support this program.

The prosecution of a family planning program in the Philippines must be taken in the context of our economic situation. The poor need not suffer because of lack of information or assistance in family planning.

Our present program calls for the dissemination of knowledge and the provision of facilities for scientific family planning.

Now, I wish to state that it is not the purpose of government, or of the government leadership, to impose birth control measures on the citizens and to make family planning a compulsory policy. No, far from it.

Such a decisive step must be left to the judgment and conscience of the individual, as the resolution of the Population Commission says or states. Our concern is to impress on the people the urgent need for controlling the population. And this is the information program, in which all of us must participate. Everyone, everyone who realizes this problem will become an active agent of population control. And if we can, we shall see to it that every citizen will receive information on the urgency of action on this problem.

There is a moral dimension to this issue of course. In the end, family planning is a matter of choice. And I have reason to believe that our people would choose to have and to raise children in an atmosphere that assures them a decent and relatively comfortable life.

Family planning, in the main, calls for a higher form of discipline. It is an assertion of the will, an exercise of our right to shape our destiny, to dictate the quality of our individual and national life.

I am pleased to acknowledge now, formally the participation of the National League of Puericulture Centers in this great endeavor. We should now increase our financial and material assistance to these centers not only to promote family planning but to help them expand all their services.

I am also pleased to acknowledge the participation of the private sector, presented here by some of our prominent leaders in business and of the of the various churches in our efforts to promote family planning. The writing on the wall is too stark for us to miss it. Briefly, the message is that rapid population growth is a bomb that must be defused. And we can defuse it. We can defuse it acting now. We must, therefore, act today. It is my hope that you will spread this message to every municipality, to every area of our country. I know the role you play in the local community. I know the role played by the puericulture alters. Most of the mothers come to you, indeed most of the members of families come to you for advice. I ask you, therefore, to get together with all the leaders of your community, the teachers, the government men, and spread the word that we must now engage in population control. We will leave to the individual the right of choice on the means he will use, but he must do something about it. I repeat, this is something which is crucial to our country and to our people. Yes, we will be engaged apparently by other urgent problems, but this problem which every right thinking man must think of today. It is a problem that can be easily staved off, it is a problem which perhaps you and I could easily keep away, from which we can stay away. It is a responsibility we need not bear on our shoulders, because we tell ourselves it is after all something which neither our children nor we ourselves feel now. But heaven forbid that our children should ever curse us in the future, 15 to 20 years from now, for, having failed to take any step whatsoever to solve this problem, when we could have solved it by initiating the steps that would defuse this bomb.

And so I urge each and everyone of you to adopt this program as your primary program in the next several years. I repeat, while I am President this will be one of the principal programs of the national government.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Fourth General Assembly and Third Asian Congress of Pharmaceutical Sciences, November 17, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Fourth General Assembly and Third Asian Congress of Pharmaceutical Sciences

[Delivered at the Philamlife Auditorium, November 17, 1970]

Health Problems in Asia

I AM VERY glad that I came to this assembly. Indeed there are about 6,000 pharmacists in the Philippines. I do not know how this compares with other countries but it seems to me that pharmacists outnumber even our lawyers in this country. I have always said that if there are any people to be exported we should start with the lawyers and the politicians, and I do not mean those in the political opposition either.

I am impressed by the unity of the profession demonstrated here today. I gather that this is the Fourth Assembly and the Third Asian Congress of Pharmaceutical Sciences under the auspices of the Federation of Asian Pharmaceutical Associations, which was organized in 1964.

Permit me to welcome the delegates who have come from other lands. I am glad that you came here after the typhoons and the floods, but if you come from other Asian countries, then you must realize and understand that this is a natural phenomenon over which we do not have control. Now the weather is a little better and I do hope that you will feel at home and that your brief stay here will be both pleasant and fruitful. And I am certain that with the congeniality demonstrated in the opening ceremonies, it cannot be anything else but fruitful and pleasant.

I am gratified to note that the theme of this conference is Asian Unity through Pharmacy. In a region of diverse cultures, historical backgrounds, and racial temperaments, unity in this very diversity is our goal. It is your goal in pharmacy, it is our goal in government, the goal of our ideology and statesmanship. This congress and assembly is itself a very laudable contribution to this goal, coming as it does from a highly specialized sector of the regional community, the pharmaceutical profession in Asia.

I note in your brochures that you are particularly interested in the establishment of uniform regulations on drug and food additives in Asia, fair practices in drug and food trading, and the protection and improvement of the health of all Asians. Towards those specific ends and the other objectives that you wish to achieve through regional cooperation, it is my pleasure today to come to you and say, I pledge wholeheartedly the support of the Philippine government. While I am President, you can rely on the cooperations that shall be extended by every office and agency of the national and local governments of the Republic of the Philippines. It has been said that statesmen and leaders, leaders of government and heads of state, do indeed want unity in this world. Only a fool, a hopeless fool seeks dissent and disunity or seeks to wage war. The active conference tables all over the world are proof and evidence of the efforts of state leaders, of government heads, to bring about the oneness of men and of humanity. But while man has succeeded in pushing beyond the known frontiers of natural science, political science has lagged behind. The human element has been an almost unconquerable obstacle in the search for unity among men.

It is my hope that where the statesmen and the government leaders have failed, you who are committed to science, you who are engaged in pushing forward the scientific frontiers for the well-being of man, individually and as nations, will succeed as individuals and as an association in this endeavor.

Inasmuch as you are interested in the protection and improvement of the health of Asians, and I daresay of the health of all men throughout the world, permit me to give to you an idea of the health picture in the Philippines.

Since the turn of the century the people of the Philippines have slowly but progressively improved their level of health as a result of a number of factors which include: (1) the continued interest and support of the government in the prosecution and promotion of the health of the people, (2) the more active cooperation and participation on the part of the population, (3) the application of developments in the medical and para-medical sciences, and (4) the contribution of international cooperation in the global fight to control if not eradicate human disease.

This progress in the state of health of the people may be seen in the following changes:

1. The expectation of life at birth of Filipinos increased from a little more than 25 years in 1918 to slightly more than 55 years in the 1965-69 period.
2. Reported deaths from all causes per 1000 population decreased from about 20 in 1920 to 7.0 in 1967. From 1950 to 1967 deaths from all causes per 1000 population decreased from 11.1 to 7.0 or about 37 per cent decrease.
3. Reported infant deaths from all causes per 1000 live births decreased from about 160 in 1926 to about 65 in 1967. During the period from 1950 to 1967 the infant death rate decreased from 101.6 infant deaths from all causes per 1000 live births to 65.2 or a decrease of about 36 per cent.
4. Significant decreases in mortality from specific diseases such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, and malaria have also been reported in scientific data and journals.

On the basis of all these significant developments, the population of the Philippines increased from 7.6 million in 1903 to about 37.1 million in 1967 or nearly a 5-fold increase in 66 years. Because of the improvement of health conditions, every minute in the Philippines two babies are born alive and kept alive. Every day 3200 babies are born in the Philippines. The average number of children per family, believe it or not, is six children. Every year there is an increase in our population by 1 million. Because of this explosive population growth, one of the highest in the world, the Filipino people are faced with the problem of controlling the birth rate to a level that cannot be supported by our resources. It is easy for us to be complacent, we who belong to my generation, because we shall not feel the painful impact of this population explosion today; but 15 to 20 years from now our children will.

The population of the Philippines increases by about one million new Filipinos every year, representing a growth rate of 3.5 per cent. It is beginning to be realized that the high population growth rate makes attempts to improve the living standards of the population almost impossible. Under my administration our goal has been to build 400,000 houses every year. We have not been able to accomplish this and yet with this increase in population we will have to double and treble the rate of construction of dwellings for our people.

It is perhaps also worth noting that while reported deaths with medical attention increased from 32 per cent in 1960 to 46 per cent in 1967, the fact remains that nearly 50 per cent of reported deaths did not have the benefit of medical attendance before I became President, indicating that progress in medical sciences failed to reach these individuals in their hour of need. When I first became President about six years ago, I conducted a survey and these figures came out. They are specially true in the rural areas of the Philippines. This was the reason for the reorganization of the health department of the government. Before I became President, there were only about 300 rural health units, that is, complete rural health units. Now, there are 1,400 rural health units or one rural health unit with a doctor, a nurse, a midwife and a dentist for every municipality, for the 1,400 municipalities or towns in the country. And if you think that it was an easy job to do, I hope to see you try it.

The irony here is that while the Philippines has a relatively satisfactory ratio of population to health manpower there is apparent maldistribution of doctors, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, midwives, and sanitary inspectors all over the country. Our professionals tend to practice in the urban centers leaving the countryside largely untended. This situation is complicated by the steady exodus of our health manpower to other countries, particularly the United States.

Measures are of course now being taken to regulate the outflow of Filipino professionals who are needed here. There is also a definite need to make the training in our medical and para-medical schools relevant to our needs. In this

respect perhaps I should say that the training should be relevant not only to the Philippines but to other parts of Asia in this day and age of regional cooperation and exchange.

In the face of all these developments, you may be interested in what the Philippine government is doing. The improvement of health services for the people, especially for those in the rural communities, is a principal program of my administration, as I have already indicated.

We have a program providing free medicines to the indigent population, we have, as I said, established rural health units and nutrition centers. We have encouraged volunteer work from all sectors of the community. Yesterday, participated in the fund campaign of the League of Puericulture Centers, of which there are 802 throughout the country. It is a purely voluntary service, it is voluntary work undertaken by the private sector, usually initiated and established by the women's club in every municipality and community.

We are now engaged in an information campaign not just for the people in the rural areas, but for the entire populace, a campaign to promote health consciousness through education.

We are instituting a more systematic and comprehensive health planning at the municipal, provincial, regional and national levels consistent with the policy of greater autonomy for the local governments and in the context of our national development planning.

These notes on the health situation in the Philippines may be useful to you who are concerned not only with the specific requirements of the pharmaceutical profession in Asia but with the related and over-all aspects of health in this country and in your countries and in all the Asian countries.

Incidentally, I remember being berated and severely criticized for distributing free medicines, through what was called Marcos Pharmaceutical Kits, throughout the country sometime ago. It started in 1967 and went on through 1968, and when the elections in 1969 came up and the distribution went on, everybody thought that it was a campaign gimmick. Well, the elections are over and we are still distributing medicines free to the medically indigent, and the Marcos Pharmaceutical Kit is still in great demand.

Now it is hoped that government will be able to coordinate with the pharmacists in the different municipalities in making medicines available to the people. I have hoped for this since my attention was called to the fact that the sales of local pharmacists have allegedly gone down when I started distributing free medicine. I am going to order the Secretary of Health, and I am in fact ordering him now, to get together with the heads of the pharmacist associations, and find the means of preventing any adverse effects on local pharmacies arising from the activities of the government in the health field.

There is much to be done and much to be achieved when professionals and scientists in the same field but from many diverse countries come together I am impressed by your objectives. I am impressed by the resolutions on the formulation of policies regarding Pan-Asiatic Drug regulation, pharmaceutical education and research in Asia, publication of an Asian Formulary, drug information, and drug marketing in this region. I welcome your special emphasis on drug information and drug marketing, because there is a growing problem of drug addiction among the juveniles in this country and in other countries. We are now waging a campaign against drug addiction, a campaign directed not only to the students themselves but to their parents as well, and I ask you to cooperate in this campaign.

I wish you success in all your undertaking, and I trust that in the event at there should be any need for cooperation at my level or at any other level in government., you will not hesitate to come to me. I invite the President of the Asian Federation of Pharmaceutical Associations, Doctor Taningco, to come to the Palace any time on any matter which may be of importance to you and which should be taken up with the President.

It is my hope that by thus giving assistance to you, we also give assistance to your efforts to establish unity here in Asia. And, again, I say, and I mean this sincerely, it is my hope that you as scientists in this region will succeed where apparently the statesmen, the leaders of state and government have failed. And may God go with you.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Message of President Marcos during the Papal Visit in the University of Santo Tomas, November 27, 1970

Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the Papal Visit in the University of Santo Tomas

[Delivered at University of Santo Tomas, November 27, 1970]

I am happy to join the officials, faculty and students of the University of Santo Tomas in welcoming to their campus His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, on his visit to the university, an occasion which should certainly become part of the history of that institution.

Indeed, for all Filipinos the papal visit is something to remember and to be grateful for, since it is both unique and rare. The UST is indeed privileged to play host to His Holiness, and it is my hope that all those who are blessed by his presence will come away from this encounter very much enriched in faith and spirit.

(Sgd.) FERDINAND E. MARCOS
President of the Philippines

Source: Miguel de Benavides, University of Santo Tomas

Address of President Marcos at the Opening Ceremony of the 1st Asian Conference on Agricultural Credit and Cooperatives, December 1, 1970

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Opening Ceremony of the 1st Asian Conference on Agricultural Credit and Cooperatives

[Delivered at the Philamlife Auditorium, December 1, 1970]

A Cooperative Ideology for a New Asia

YOU HAVE COME at a time when our country is still reeling from the effects of three typhoons and a flood that left Manila and several provinces in state of disarray. It is possible you may experience some inconvenience and discomfort due to the disruption of normal facilities. I hope, however, that the warmth of our welcome for you and our enthusiasm over your presence in our midst will make up for whatever inadequacies there may be.

This conference, I am informed, grew out of a workshop on agriculture credit for countries in the Far East that was started in 1956 in Manila and Baguio. We are doubly honored that this First Conference on Agricultural Credit and Cooperatives for all countries in Asia is also held here. This invites our gratitude and deepens our goodwill for all the nations participating in this conference.

Fourteen years have passed since the 1956 workshop. Many things have happened during those fourteen years in Asia and in the world at large. The time and the occasion do not permit the enumeration of these events. Certain developments and situations, however, have special relevance, to the subject matter of your conference. One of them, for instance, is the green revolution.

What many now call the green revolution is one event that has contemporary and far-reaching import and implications especially to the huge population of Asia whose lives have for so long been darkened by the spectre of hunger and want. The spectacular advances in production in many areas of agricultural particularly in rice which is Asia's principal staple, have lighted up hopes and confidence in the future. It is no small source of gratification that the green revolution has rapidly spread in this region and beyond as a result of international cooperation.

Advances in the field of agricultural production however brought about new problems and exacerbated old infirmities in our traditional societies. The spectacular increase in the production of a major crop like rice has always and will always create a complex of problems. Almost overnight the existing facilities for storage and processing became obsolete or at least sorely inadequate. Credit and financing, already inadequate to sustain the momentum of production, have to be greatly expanded to support the green revolution.

A corollary problem, perhaps even more vital to the whole social economy of agricultural production, is marketing. This problem has both domestic and international implications. Within the nation, the need for a different system of marketing has arisen — one that would break away from the exploitative middleman-dominated set-up which deprives the small farmers of a large share of the value of their produce and one that will be owned and controlled by the farmers themselves. This is essential to continued production. It is also a matter of social or economic justice.

In its international aspect, marketing of agricultural surpluses of countries in Asia brings these countries into competition with one another, most of Asia being agricultural and in many cases producing identical crops.

This, however, is only one facet of the problem. It is also, I feel, the less important facet. Under the pressure of common goals and aspirations, the nations of Asia, I am sure, will find the solution to this difficulty.

The more challenging facet or phase is the competition that certain advanced countries outside our region poses. Because of superior financial and bargaining position, these countries can dump their surplus agricultural crops in the available markets anywhere in the world on terms that we cannot compete with. This has happened in the past. It is bound to happen again. It is a problem that developing nations of Asia and elsewhere must learn how to overcome.

In the domestic and international aspects or dimensions of the marketing problem that the green revolution has brought to the fore, another development may be viewed in perspective: the eruption of social protest and discontent in Asia and for that matter in practically every country in our restive world. This social convulsion is, to be sure, not new, it has been with us for so long. In cent years, however, it has acquired the quality of a universal upheaval the meaning and message of which are as deep and profound as they are candid and clear.

The meaning and message of this universal upheaval is change in the established order of things—change in the structure and premises of the traditional societies. In one fearsome word it means one thing, revolution, whether is peaceful or violent.

There is another gentler but equally expressive term for this epochal phenomenon. It is social justice—the rising clamor of the poor and the disinherited of the world who have finally realized their rights, entitlements and worth as human beings and as members of the political and social orders from which they have been alienated for so long.

This rising clamor is, I think, loudest and clearest in Asia where it is also most relevant and justified.

All Asia, with the singular exception of Japan, is agricultural and in the main feudalistic in character. Its poverty is massive and its poor are being exposed to winds of change.

The winds blow from two directions: one from the West to which most Asians have had long attachment in colonial servitude; the other from the East, close by, where brother Asians, similarly despoiled by foreign domination, claim to have conquered poverty and ended the exploitation of man by man, and wish to export political ideologies.

Exposed to these competing winds of change, the masses of Asia are aroused and agitated. They are restive and confused. They are clamoring for change, for liberation from poverty, for social justice. And, they are learning to articulate in militant and organized activism.

It is against the backdrop of this historic drama of Asian masses actively seeking and demanding change that, I feel, this conference finds or should find its significance and its perspective.

Agricultural credit and cooperatives are strategic areas in which the imperious clamor for change in Asia can find a substantial measure of satisfaction. The participants in this conference who are all equipped with experience in the problems of agricultural credit and cooperatives will, I am sure, realize that timidity and orthodox methods of grappling with the problem of old-age poverty and stagnancy will no longer suffice. Bolder, more imaginative and more socially conscious ideas, policies and techniques in both programming and implementation are required if the race must be won between poverty and prosperity, between social chaos and social stability, between violent revolution and peaceful change.

We in the Philippines are trying to mobilize all available resources, human material and spiritual, to achieve the required social change and transformation through the ways of peace. In this historic task, we know we can learn from the experience of others. We therefore lay great value on conferences like this one that we are opening today. I am sure every delegate here shares the same mind and the same motivation.

Of the two fields that this conference will address its deliberations to — agricultural credit and cooperatives — the latter impresses me as the more basically vital and potentially more dynamic. For cooperatives are institutions of human beings with a deeply humanitarian philosophy and purpose, with a firm and faithful commitment to the achievement of social justice and economic democracy on the strength of voluntary action to satisfy common

economic and social needs of people. They are peculiarly suited to the economically small and weak for whom indeed they have been conceived. Propelled by the power of self-help and self-reliance, cooperatives can be effective means of nationalizing the problem of credit both with respect to generation of funds and to their efficient management. As institutions of people, they can replace or at least dance the institutions of poverty that today constitute the citadels of the status quo. They can thus bring about the revolutionary change that the temper of the times demands.

For the restless masses of Asia, cooperatives offer perhaps the only desirable and acceptable alternative to a violent revolution.

Asia is poor in material wealth but it is rich in human and natural resources. The capacity, for development must be drawn from and built upon the organization of a vast reservoir of human resources which after all constitute the real and true productive and creative power in any society. Mobilized, motivated and organized in accordance with the dynamic principles of cooperation, the great asses of Asia can transform this sprawling but depressed region into a giant power bloc that can out-pace the existing power system in the establishment of a new civilization.

In pursuing the cooperative vision, however, let us be practical and pragmatic. Cooperatives do not come out and develop out of a mere wish or whim or even a solemn declaration of intention or policy. Speeches will not organize cooperatives. In the existing environment, including the culture which shapes the attitudes and actuations of our peoples in Asia, cooperatives can only come to their own if supported and sustained by a consciously planned and consciously implemented program of education in cooperatives. Less than this will not be enough. Indeed we shall need more.

We shall need, to begin with, to elevate cooperatives or the cooperative system into an ideology. An ideology of change and development. An ideology of social reform and human reformation. A revolutionary ethic.

That is why I have taken time out from my schedule to come and give my views on this. That we may emphasize by my presence and by my words the importance of this new ideology not only to the nation, our Republic, but perhaps to all of Asia.

If we in Asia can adopt the cooperatives ideology, we shall be seeking our common development on ideological grounds where the decisive struggle in the world today is being waged.

The choice and the decision are not easy to make. Yet they must be made before it is too late.

At the proper time and occasion I hope to be able to take this up with our own national policy authorities in greater detail. In fact we have started to do this already. I may later formally propose it for the consideration of the constituted leaders of free Asia.

Meanwhile, I close with the hope that this conference will provide some fresh insight into the problems of cooperatives and how best to approach and solve them. Such insights can help in the formulation of a new ideology for a new Asia. A new ideology not for any political system nor for any country but for all of Asia, and especially for the poor of Asia. Very few people have realized the importance of this particular problem, but perhaps on this particular point lies the formation of a new society not only in Asia but throughout the world.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the closing plenary session of the Third National Convention of Small and Medium Industries, February 12, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the closing plenary session of the Third National Convention of Small and Medium Industries

[Delivered on February 12, 1971]

Assistance for the Small-
and Medium-Scale Industries

THIS NATIONAL CONVENTION of small and medium industries, those who are involved in the promotion and establishment of small and medium industries, is a welcome contribution to the dialogue that we must sustain particularly in these times of social and political upheaval.

This convention may not be noticed by most of our countrymen, but because you are gathered here to discuss the role of light industries in the development of our land, you deserve the attention of the Filipino people. This is the reason for my presence here tonight. It is my hope that I shall be able to call attention to the vital role played by small-and medium-scale industries in the Philippines.

I understand that this convention is sponsored or hosted by the National Council, which I created under Chairman Gerardo Sicat sometime ago. The council is to be commended for bringing together various sectors of the government and the business community, for the purpose of exploring, assessing and recommending measures for exploiting all the possibilities leading towards the expansion of an important segment of our economy.

Over the past year, we have been reorienting domestic policy in order, as I said in my State of the Nation Message last January 25, to redress the balance on the side of the people.” In other words where before the emphasis might have been purely economic now the welfare of the working class must be taken into account in any development scheme.

With this objective in mind — that is, greater emphasis on the welfare of the common man — I have created a multi-agency committee which is now working on the acceleration of the establishment of export oriented cottage industries all over the nation. The country now has a situation where large orders for export handicrafts and other products have to be refused because the present marketing, financing and production structure of these industries does not allow such orders to be filled within a satisfactory period of time; nor is there quality control.

An answer to this problem is being planned. Government agencies will mount a massive effort to promote the formation of new small-and medium-scale cottage industries by providing worker training, assisting in establishing production units and-financing of the production units.

To complement this effort, elements of the private sector have volunteered to assist in the formation of centers to be established in the ten regions into which the country has been divided for this very purpose. I have been meeting with the businessmen and my last meeting with them took place only yesterday. It was agreed that big business would contribute to this effort. I spoke of the ten regions of the Country. The centers in these regions will be responsible for marketing and financing the output of cottage industries in their respective regions. In this manner, it will be possible to take advantage of the strengths of central management, financing and marketing direction in the regional centers, to strengthen these industries without loss of the independence in operation now enjoyed by the different operators.

This cooperative effort of business and government will be initially funded with P240 million. I have directed the government financing institutions notably the SSS the GSIS, the DBP and the PNB, to set aside funds to be used as loans for small-scale and medium industries. The present fund represents an increase of P35 million over the initial outlay of P5 million, which I directed the SSS to allocate last year for the same purpose. I gather that the financial aid that was given to small-and medium-scale industries last year amounted to only P10 million all in. The P40 million is just the beginning. It is our hope that these small-and medium-scale industries will be capable of absorbing the amounts that we intend to make available for these industries.

I call on each one of you to join the nation in this effort which is a part of what I referred to as the democratic revolution. This alternative and this option I have offered to our people in lieu of violent revolution, and should end once and for all the injustices, the abject poverty of the great masses of our people, and over-reliance on external sources for the sustenance of our economy.

In this connection, we have adopted an industrial development policy that contemplates “horizontal integration” of industry. This policy has been expressed in the amendment to the third investment priorities plan of the Board of Investments, which I recently approved. If you have been watching the development in industries you might have read about this. It calls for incentives to be devised, so that existing industries like machine shops, foundries, and similar small-and medium-scale enterprises will be encouraged to supply components to be used in the manufacture on products listed in the investment priorities plan. The result will be to encourage the development of a manufacturing network with greater emphasis on small-and medium-scale industries.

At this juncture, perhaps it is necessary for me to recall the National Electrification Program. We intend to spend in the next three and a half years a total of six hundred million pesos for electrification. But the reason I call attention to this is because it is our hope that you in the small-and medium-scale industries will be able to fabricate the various requirements of our electrification program so that we will not be compelled to import these requirements. I have inserted this into the program, and I have insisted upon its inclusion as an alternative or option to be granted to the small-and medium-scale industries, knowing that you, if given the opportunity, will be able to meet certain requirements of the electrification program.

In this effort the government and the Filipino entrepreneurs are together and together they can achieve much in the development of import substitutes and the development of export industries particularly those suitable for our country-side and the different areas of the country. This will mean the uplifting of the Filipino peasant, the laborer and worker, from a subsistence level of livelihood.

Last year, our efforts in this area reached a new plateau. As a result, our export earnings from one area alone, cottage industry products, for the first half of 1970 totalled P53,670,000. The over-all export earnings for 1969 was P79,690,604. These figures do not include export earnings by light industries not registered with the NACIDA. And the NACIDA industries are expected to export this year about a hundred million pesos worth of products, and again this does not include light industries.

We have involved more government agencies to accelerate the emergence of medium industries. In addition to the NACIDA, the following are actively participating in our promotion program: The National Manpower and Youth Council, the National Institute of Science and Technology, the Board of Investments and the U.P. Institute of Small-Scale Industries. Of course I have created the National Council for Small-and Medium-Scale Industries to coordinate government efforts in the promotion and development of these industries.

This year, we shall tap the resources of the Department of Labor, the Department of Education, the Cooperative Administration Office and other government offices.

In your resolution, I noted that you asked for the approval of the Senate Bill No. 595 and House Bill No. 1943, otherwise known as the Small Enterprises Act, which creates a new office around the Institute of Small Industries under Director Cataña. If this be your wish, I shall certify this bill in order that it may be acted upon by Congress.

The number of registered industries last year rose to 41,493. These producers employed approximately 127,595 regular workers and 671,722 casual workers. We expect this number to go up this year. It is my hope that the small-and medium-scale industries will outdo the cottage industries in the amount and value of export products, in overall production, as well as in the number of employment opportunities generated.

In the next three years, we shall accelerate our thrust towards the fuller promotion of our small and medium industries. This promotion strategy shall become a permanent component of the national planning and developing process.

The trouble with this country is that nothing moves unless the President pushes it. I have been watching the development of small-and medium-scale industries, and I specially after I created the National Council for Small and medium Scale Industries, I closely watched it move forward. Of course, I am content with the efforts of everyone but I am not content with the reaction of our people. It is my hope that the people will now hear of all these efforts, and I shall see to it that the government and our people will pay more attention to small-and medium-scale industries in the Philippines.

With respect to cottage industries an initial amount of P10 million has been set aside for, the national program, which seeks to tie together the various independent operating groups, 41,000 of them. There are also various other efforts throughout the land.

The National Manpower and Youth Council shall coordinate the organization and implementation of the project, and the National Cottage Industries Development Authority shall constitute the bulk of administration.

But, of course, the over-all coordinator will be the Chairman of the Board of Investments, Mr. Vicente Paterno. As I said, we have initial investment, that is on the part of the government, of P10 million and we also hope that the private Rector will contribute another P10 million. It is my intention not only to utilize the National Export Trading Corporation but perhaps to organize a new corporation to attend to the export of all your products. We expect the projects to generate anywhere from 50,000 to 100,000 new jobs within this year or next year.

We are well aware that the nation is undergoing the traumas of a developing society where the dispossessed are straining to break me centuries-old shackles of tenancy and freedom and the captains of industries are to some extent over-reaching themselves.

Even so-called affluent societies are faced with internal problems that arise from the concentration of their riches in the hands of the few.

We can therefore read as ominous signs the continuing unrest among our wage earners, students, and peasants, and we should all strive to eliminate all the vestiges of oligarchic rule, feudalism and bureaucratic corruption.

This is an objective which is not merely assigned to government. It is also the objective of the private sector. This can be achieved not through violence or armed uprising but through the distribution of economic wealth at the widest range to benefit more of the populace — through land reform, small-scale manufacturing, cottage industries, community development, self-help projects.

The small-scale entrepreneurs may well be in the vanguard of this revolution. Some of them may graduate into heavy industries. But I would like them to remember that so long as they develop and sustain in themselves an acute social conscience or a genuine compassion for their workers or employees and concern for the community welfare, manifested in concrete, terms, the revolution will not likely swallow them up. We used to say that the rich of this land should, for their own survival, help the poor. We dare say that they should do so because it is right. It is not only necessary for survival, it is necessary because it is correct and just and proper. The poor do not need charity, simply the opportunity to uplift themselves. This, then, is our common task—for you who are in industry and for us in government—to provide the opportunities for the less fortunate to make a decent livelihood in order that they will be in position to participate fully in the political life of the nation.

And so, my friends, I close with this statement — that I am watching the progress of the small-and medium-scale industries. And so long as I am President you can rest assured that the Office of the President will utilize its powers and prerogatives to help you in every way it can.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the inaugural Ministerial Meeting of the Colombo Plan, February 23, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inaugural Ministerial Meeting of the Colombo Plan

[Delivered at the Savoy Hotel, February 23, 1971]

A Regional Social Conscience

ON BEHALF OF the Filipino people and the Republic of the Philippines, I attend a most cordial welcome to the delegates, observers and guests to the 21st Colombo Plan Ministerial Meeting.

I wish the Conference success and the attainment of its objectives.

I am personally, specially interested in the Colombo Plan since I have had the honor of representing our country in Ottawa in 1954, when we first entered the plan as a full member. This particular action of our delegation at that time attracted some interest because our entering was made without any special instructions from any government. I wonder if the delegates still engage in such independent activities.

I understand that this phase of the Consultative Committee Meeting of the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia represents the highest level of policy decision in this particular forum for regional and transregional cooperative action.

Your principal responsibility is not merely to review and reach a consensus in mutual counsel on the recommendation and technical studies worked out in the Officials Meeting during the week just ended. Your responsibility bears heavily on determining the future orientation, character and direction of the passive aid and assistance exchange undertaken within the Colombo Plan framework of cooperation.

We work for a common purpose. The original objective that moved the Colombo Plan countries to organize themselves two decades ago, in order to effect a workable system and reach a unified perspective in the economic operation activities among developed and developing nations, remains essentially the same and remains apparently elusive. The full achievement of this objective — which is, the economic development of the countries in this region — continues to elude our labors so that to this day we are agitated by the need to intensify and expand our cooperative efforts even more.

Nevertheless, it is indeed encouraging that as we persist in organizing and increasing our efforts — and constantly taking measures to improve their effectiveness — we see that the basis of all our cooperative endeavors is made stronger and more valid.

To the great masses of human beings inhabiting the planet, the aspiration for economic development and social progress remains a primordial struggle.

In our concern for the welfare of the peoples of the Colombo Plan countries, who constitute more than two-thirds of mankind, we must make certain that this aspiration shall deserve the utmost of our cooperative energy, determination; and wisdom.

And here our task is to ensure that our policy discussions, the technical studies by our experts, and the learned speeches of our delegates — all of which are systematically documented in conferences such as this — shall be translated in real earnest into practical programs of action that will, in time, produce tangible results and benefits reaching the humblest members of our constituent societies.

The need for organized cooperation among nations, on a scale that transcends regional and even ideological boundaries, has become an imperative which governments in the modern world may no longer ignore. Foreign aid and all forms of assistance exchange are today undertaken between the developed and developing societies for a purpose that goes beyond the mere impulse of charity, and this is well recognized, if only implicitly, by all countries engaged in assistance cooperation for development.

I am referring to the imperative need for survival, an imperative which imposes itself upon all developing countries, and just as inexorably upon all rich and developed nations.

Thus, the dominant anxiety in our times centers on the necessity to remove the source of this major peril to the future of human society.

We find this source in the existing disparity between the few but powerful states and the many weak states with their impoverished peoples, the sharp disparity in the conditions of life, economic opportunities and social status, indeed a disparity that is an anachronism and an abnormality in the modern world. There has developed from this disparity the urgent need to defuse the tension and impatience in depressed regions comprising the Third World.

To our peoples in South and Southeast Asia, this urgency is familiar enough and does not need further emphasis or dramatization. The daily fact of economic poverty and conditions of social underdevelopment, exacerbated by historic obstacles that frustrate their labors, and mock their national aspirations continue to mount, ticking nearer into social upheaval.

And unless the developing societies are given equal access to the facilities for full economic development, and their peoples afforded the means which will enable them to develop their full potentials and enjoy the simple requirements of human justice, social dignity, and their right to intellectual and cultural enrichment, the continuing threat to the survival of humanity shall remain real and inexorable.

The imperatives of cooperation have been described in blunter and less patient words by those who have grown bitter over what they consider the utility of their situation. They have become so bitter as to remark that the few among the nations of the world who are affluent must help, or God help them. Therefore, we must take heed of the voice of impatience; we must embark, in this crucial age, upon a partnership for cooperative development of all the peoples of the world, if we are to avert disaster.

We can gain satisfaction from the fact that the framework of the Colombo Plan exemplifies a valid and organized approach to the common development of the member countries. For here we see honest attempts to understand the individual requirements and peculiar problems of each member country, even as the mechanism for the operation of assistance exchange is subjected to periodic evaluation.

We must re-examine the traditional concept of aid. We must make certain that the philosophy of aid is not static and rigid. This is a mammoth task for both statesman and social scientist. This is the central problem confronting the technical expert and agitating today's thinker-activist.

And this is exactly what we must engage ourselves to do. More than the discussions of the necessary technical questions on the mechanism of aid and assistance cooperation, our ultimate concern must center on the end results of all these exercises. We must make sure that we consecrate our efforts to the central issue of development, and that development shall reach and touch the human individual, however obscure his status may be among the teeming masses of the peoples of Asia. You are most familiar and qualified to evaluate the thinking and proposed orientations outlined in the Pearson Report, and then, too, the reappraisal made by the technical experts of the whole rationale of technical assistance contained in the Capacity Study of the United Nations development System.

In the scope of the Colombo Plan, in which already more than \$27 billion have been expended in the last twenty years, the need for this guideline becomes no less imperative.

It is a matter of gratification that certain issues and relevant points related to our aim to enhance the efficiency of the functions of aid have been raised at this Conference. I believe they merit our full consideration and attention. On the question of technical assistance, for instance, there has been felt the need to utilize the services of local expertise instead of importing them from the developed countries. It is said that local expertise has an insight into the values of their own native societies which they can put to effective application and that experience shows that a foreign expert does not always fully grasp the peculiar ethos of the people with whom he has to work because it is almost always strange and alien to him.

Then, too, in the shift from bilateral to multilateral arrangements of assistance exchange, the equal importance of the need for quantitative and qualitative increase in the types of forms of technical assistance should receive as much stress. Indeed, it is worthwhile and timely now to shift from the traditional arrangement of project-to-project assistance to the more realistic country program approach. I trust that this sentiment will merit the sympathetic consideration of the donor countries.

But we, who belong to the developing societies and whose responsibility is to lead our peoples and to direct their energy towards economic development and social progress, realize well enough that the ultimate responsibility for improving the economic and social status of our societies rests on the native leadership and in the innate capacity of the great masses of our own peoples.

I believe that we all recognize that whatever aid and technical assistance we have received is meant to supplement our own resources and indigenous energy, and that in the end the purpose of all aid and assistance is precisely to remove the causes for such aid and assistance.

As we occupy ourselves with the problems of assistance and cooperation, we must persist in directing our sight to the ultimate ideal of all nations. This is, to use the words of the United Nations Charter, the sharing together on the widest scale possible of the improved quality of life in larger freedom.

National self-respect and our aspiration for true independence dictate this attitude. I urge understanding on the part of the donors of development assistance to our societies. I urge a recognition of the internal tensions occurring within our societies, tensions whose roots are imbedded in the very fact of underdevelopment. Many of the societies requiring development aid are laboring under the constraints of internal tensions and mass discontent, and this adds yet another handicap to those already existing and inherited from their history of colonialism. Their very history left with them institutionalized obstacles that heavily limit their capacity for growth.

Even as recipient countries advocate effective humanization of aid, that is to say, the infusion into the aid-giving policies of donor government of certain real concessions to selflessness and justice, developing societies require that their own efforts be afforded the chance to succeed. Our feeling is that this can be assured when traditional constraints and historic obstacles are removed. This accords fully with the desirability of improving international economic relationships and of observing the principles of mutuality in the opportunities of enjoying the great resources of our world.

This is the plea of the developing nations to the developed nations, and it is spoken in a voice of urgency and made manifest in the social ferment of our times.

I believe that the following points further merit the consideration of the distinguished delegates of this conference: 1) the improvement of financial assistance in the form of referred to as, "soft term" loans; 2) elimination of trade barriers affecting exports of the primary and export products; 3) regional schemes for monetary cooperation among developing countries, or arrangements whereby countries can help one another as proposed under the Asian Payments Union; and 4) a realistic review of the present demands by donor countries for the increase in international reserves of developing countries in order to determine the minimum level of international reserve holdings for insuring the healthy growth of international trade.

The catalogue of obstacles that developing societies have to surmount on their way to economic development is decidedly heavy. But of special difficulty is the urgency of what is developing to be the crisis of "Debt Explosion."

And here the frustration is keenest in the inability of developing countries to generate the sufficient capital for investments that can release the wealth of untapped resources.

Under this particular constraint, developing societies must turn to the more affluent nations for developing loans and capital assistance, as well as to international financing institutions whose lending policies are supposed to be geared with more understanding and sympathy to the peculiar requirements of poor countries. These development loans, therefore, should be made available under conditions less stringent than those loans given out in the pure nature of business transactions and thus dominantly motivated by the prospect of sure profits for the money lenders. Certain policies and systems are needed and must be devised to enable developing countries to gain access to development loans or foreign debts with a little more liberal terms, lesser interests, and ample allowances for grace periods that should be made operative when the debtor countries struggling for development encounter certain crisis and social ferment. For the harsh fact of underdevelopment affects the internal order of developing societies.

But in the internal ordering of developing societies, which is central to the purpose of effective maximum usefulness of assistance, the absorptive capacity of developing countries for assistance very much depends on structural reforms within their own societies.

We in the Philippines have begun the national task of entering the age of re-structuring our own society, even to the extent of a full-blown democratic revolution, to enable us to free our people from the historic obstacles that impede our efforts and frustrate our national goals.

There is an equal urgency, ladies and gentlemen, to initiate and institute certain reforms in the structure of international relations, concerning specifically the spheres of economic and international trade relationship between the developed and developing countries. We shall do well to consul here in the Colombo Plan scheme the manner in which this important forum contribute to these efforts for change and adjustment.

While individual countries take full responsibility and resort primarily to their own native devices to achieve social progress and economic development the assistance and cooperation available through this transregional framework can be made to respond to the particular aspirations of its member countries and thus lead the way for the active exercise by all nations of a social conscience, and in this process, help insure a secure and stable future for the whole society of mankind. In the greater perspective this is your obligation as it is mine and thus the obligation of all leaders of all developing and developed countries.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Sugarcane Planters Convention, February 24, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Sugarcane Planters Convention

[Delivered in Bacolod City, February 24, 1971]

Sugar and Reform

OUR NATION IS faced with grave challenges. The adequacy of our political system is being questioned. The viability of our economy is undergoing a severe test. Authority is being asked to justify itself all over again at almost all levels of our national life. Our society is under siege on many fronts.

The quality of our response to these challenges will determine whether our nation shall survive or perish, whether freedom in our land shall endure or vanish, whether our future is one of unity and progress or disunity and perdition

As President, I have already made my choice. We shall fight, no matter what the cost, for the survival of our nation in freedom, in unity, in progress.

But your government needs the cooperation of all our people, including you, the sugarcane planters. In fact, in determining the quality of our response to the challenges facing us, you in the sugar industry are in a privileged position to contribute decisively. For you have been and still are among the privileged few in our society. You have the ability and certainly the duty to respond to the challenges of our time — challenges which are deeply felt in your particular industry.

At bottom, the problems confronting us are not new. They have been with us over the years. What is new is the demand — a deep and compelling demand — to confront and liquidate these problems in our time. What is new is the impatience of our people to act on these problems right here and now.

Therefore, we, who are under a sovereign mandate to lead our people at this time, are called upon to act. The days of procrastination are over. We cannot evade the challenges.

We have to act — now.

You in the sugar industry have no problems with the government. Under my administration, you shall continue to enjoy government support and protection. We shall maintain and even try to improve our existing market for sugar in the United States.

At the same time, guided solely by our national interest, we shall explore the possibility of opening up new markets for our sugar anywhere else it may be needed. Also, we shall continue to support industry plants to improve efficiency and raise productivity. Our policy is to accelerate the growth of the sugar industry.

Henceforth, however, growth in the sugar industry shall serve to narrow rather than widen the gap between the many who are poor and the few who are rich. Instead of enriching further the few who are rich, let us improve the quality of life of the many who are poor, the many who are ignorant and the many who are sick.

This is the new direction — the new goal. From now on, we shall measure progress in the sugar industry no longer in terms of new millionaires, but in terms of the number of people rescued from poverty, ignorance and disease.

How do we bring about this transforming redirection in the sugar industry?

The answer, as I said in my State of the Nation message, is a democratic revolution designed to integrate the working masses into the mainstream of wealth and power in the sugar industry.

The main agents of this revolution — a peaceful revolution for progress and social justice — are the trade union movement and the cooperative system.

Of course, there have been, as there still are, trade unions and cooperatives in the sugar industry. Like our age old problems, trade unions and cooperatives have been with us all these years. However, they have not been allowed to function as fully and effectively as they should. They have not been allowed to fulfill their democratizing mission. Our task today in the sugar industry is to give them a chance to operate fully in the interest of real, democratic partnership between employer and employees.

In this spirit, I ask labor management representatives in the sugar industry to work out immediately practical schemes of cooperation in the field of housing. These housing schemes should be designed to provide, as soon as possible, a decent house and lot for every worker and his family in the industry. The government is prepared to provide technical and other forms of assistance in working out these schemes. In fact, I will ask the National Housing Corporation at the proper time to consider these housing schemes for sugar workers a part of the massive low-cost housing program of the government.

The housing schemes I have in mind should take care immediately of the regular workers in sugar plantations and sugar centrals. Eventually, however, the schemes should be expanded to cover the *sacadas* or migrant workers who constitute an explosive element of instability in the sugar industry.

If possible, in keeping with the spirit of the democratic revolution, I suggest that the housing elements be made an integral part of collective bargaining agreements. In this way, the housing schemes will become truly an act of partnership between labor and capital.

At the same time, I ask representatives of labor and management in the sugar industry to explore other practical areas of cooperation, including the setting up of consumers, producers and marketing cooperatives. Through labor-management negotiations, arrangements may be made through which management may provide seed capital for these cooperatives. The possibility of flushing the social amelioration fund for this purpose should be explored.

In short, I want to see, as soon as possible, positive and creative acts of partnership between labor and management in the sugar industry — acts of partnership designed, as I said earlier, to integrate the masses into the system of wealth and power in the industry.

Lessons on cooperatives from Scandinavia and other countries point to only one thing: cooperatives are our only workable compromise between free enterprise and socialism because while they preserve private ownership they restrain an otherwise unbridled desire for profits. Moreover, cooperatives result not only in a fairer distribution of capital and profit, but also distribute as fairly genius, skills and technology.

It is to your credit that more than any other group of farmers you are pioneers in cooperative endeavor. The Sugar Planters Cooperative Marketing Association, for example, was organized even before the war. You can, therefore, pioneer all over again in a new age of cooperatives in our country.

These are some starting points for a democratic revolution in the sugar industry. They are modest initial steps. Let us set to work on them as soon as possible — in the interest of a just, free and progressively sugar industry.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the opening ceremonies of the fourth meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South East Asian Nations, March 12, 1971

New Direction for ASEAN

ON BEHALF OF the Filipino people, allow me to extend to you a most cordial welcome to our country. I sincerely wish that your deliberations will be fruitful to each one and beneficial to all and that this meeting will lead to effective results and achievements.

I recall with pleasure a statement I made in the course of my state visit to Southeast Asia shortly after the inception of ASEAN in 1967. At that time, I strongly reiterated my country's firm support for the lofty ideals of ASEAN: peace and freedom through social justice, economic well-being through concerted action, all in the spirit of equality and partnership, understanding and good will.

I was inspired by the realization that these nations, known by all to have been hapless victims of some of the world powers, thought of by some as a veritable testing ground for contending ideologies, feared by a few to be the probable arena of future armed clashes, had at last reached a common awakening.

We were aware at last of the potentialities that lay before us. We were finally conscious of the need to create a harmonious stability in the region so that in our own way, we would be able to contribute towards the attainment of the dream of a better world.

Looking back through the parallel histories of our nations, we notice one common misfortune. Where in reality our peoples should have been closely bound to one another by strong ties of kinship, similarities in outlook and way of life, the resemblance of ideals, there came instead an inexorable play of invidious and divisive forces beyond our control.

The region was torn asunder, our various nations sequestered and bound by alien ties with no notice of the inherent closeness of the peoples in the region to one another. Our eyes were distinctly turned outward to sights dimly beyond us. And in the process, we were left with hardly more than a vague awareness of one another's existence.

It took time and an abrupt alteration of the world order before our disparate destinies began to take a different turn. Probably with the instinctive awareness that our several destinies must merge in time, we began to rebuild lost bridges, to restore the ancient ties, to renew forgotten hopes.

It was not an easy task, for it is always hard to build on memories where these memories have been turned to mere recollections of what we once were. Neither was it an impossible undertaking, for the hidden ties that bound us proved to be much stronger than the artificial ties that were imposed upon us.

Slowly, gradually, we moved closer to renewal until finally, our unfortunate history became no more than a past wilderness out of which there came that distinct cry: We are Asian brothers.

As I said it then, and as I reiterate it now: ASEAN shall continue to enjoy my country's firm support and the wholehearted willingness of the Filipino people to contribute towards the attainment of its goals.

Even at the time the historic ASEAN declaration was signed in 1967, I made it a firm resolve to give continuing support to ASEAN. It has been and will continue to be an important policy of my government to continue to elicit the warm support of the Filipino people for ASEAN. Regarding this, I am pleased to inform you that we have been successful and that the Filipino people stand firmly and solidly behind me in support of ASEAN.

Recognizing the congruity of our national aspirations with the broader interests of the whole ASEAN region, the Filipino nation is one in its firm resolve to help make ASEAN a truly effective medium for the attainment of economic and social progress. We offer what there is to give. We ask no more than what is good for all.

Looking back on the progress of ASEAN from the time of its inception, I am pleased to note the achievements in the pursuance of joint projects in the fields of tourism, transport and communications, mass media, science and technology, food production and supply.

Considering the broad spectrum of regional activities covered by ASEAN, these achievements are encouraging, to say the least. In all sincerity, I wish to congratulate the ASEAN Secretaries-General and various permanent committees responsible for the implementation of these projects.

A brief survey of existing regional organizations throughout the world will show that no other organization covers as wide a range of regional activities as the ASEAN.

Viewed as a reflection of the willingness of ASEAN peoples to foster oneness and harmony in the region, this distinct quality of ASEAN is a cause for admiration. It removes all doubt as to our sincerity in setting up a viable example of regional cooperation.

Thus far many of the key ASEAN projects are in the preliminary but indispensable planning stage. Distinct programs of economic cooperation indicative of direction and specific objectives beyond the general principles stated in the Bangkok Declaration are beginning to emerge. When we think that the members of the ASEAN have just begun to get acquainted with each other, and when we think further that considerable economic difficulties beset the countries in the region, I find this development a source of great encouragement.

The danger is that ASEAN will attempt too much too soon. Our eagerness to concentrate on efforts on regional economic cooperation, with particular emphasis on specific objectives that take into account the economic realities of the region, is understandable. But it is better to make haste slowly to prevent discouraging and costly setbacks.

I sound this note of caution because ASEAN is set to embark on a new stage in its career. We are about to begin more ambitious projects in economic cooperation and I am sure that our common desire is to get them off the ground without delay but with minimum risks for the future of the ASEAN.

I am aware of the criticisms directed against the ASEAN. It is said that ASEAN has not achieved anything significant or tangible. I have heard this repeatedly and this question has been thrown at me by most every commentator and observer.

At the same time, there are announcements made about the great strides being made by other regional organizations towards the expansion of intra-regional trade, the lowering of intra-regional tariff barriers, the pooling of resources, joint ventures in specific industries, the formulation of unified economic policies.

In short, other regional organizations seem to be well on the way to the establishment of viable free trade areas, common markets and other forms of economic unions.

This gives rise to uneasy apprehensions that ASEAN might be left behind as other regions of the world move on towards economic prosperity through effective regional cooperation. There is also that uneasy fear that ASEAN might be left in the outer fringes of decision-making on vital economic issues of great importance not only to the world at large but to the region. You who have worked to bring the ASEAN to its present stage of growth know better than any of your critics that these accusations do not correspond to the facts.

I refuse to believe that we are defaulting on the arduous task of achieving economic prosperity for our peoples. The fact that an ASEAN can be set up at all is an achievement in itself, and surely of great significance for the future of our peoples.

One other danger may confront the ASEAN.

We are all aware of the immense natural resources in the region. We all realize that the combined total population of ASEAN constitutes a vast market. Considering these two factors alone, we should expect a rush for economic influence, new markets and trading partners in our region.

Many will be eager to avail themselves of the many opportunities latent in the area. They are welcome provided their interests do not conflict with the collective interest of the ASEAN region. We must beware of solutions which might appear expedient today but which may constitute great obstacles in the long-term economic development of the ASEAN region.

A common endeavor towards greater prosperity in the ASEAN countries seems not only possible but necessary. It is said, for instance, that there is hardly any intra-regional trade at present. Perhaps it is time to begin to involve ourselves more vigorously in developing closer trade relations.

Perhaps it is also time that we should now concentrate on the development of a payments union. You will recall that some years ago I proposed the formation of an ASEAN Payments Union and I refer to all of Asia. I concede; that plans for such an arrangement covering all of Asia will take time to be perfected. We can perhaps begin with a limited payments union for the ASEAN region.

Patience has always been an Asian virtue. It is common to our peoples. But I should warn that only a thin line divides patience and lack of action. In the pursuit of regional economic cooperation, too much patience may be a ruinous vice, inaction is certainly a dreaded evil.

I believe that the time for action has come.

I therefore propose the adoption of new directions in regional economic cooperation. I invite the ASEAN ministers present in this gathering to join me in proclaiming the seventies as the ASEAN Development Decade. I request the earnest participation of each ASEAN member country towards the drawing up of a definite and specific program for economic cooperation which should include a set of immediate short-term goals as well as a definition of long-range objectives.

It is imperative that this program be accompanied by an appropriate timetable to ensure adequate preparation on the part of the ASEAN governments for promoting implementation. I further request that this program be made ready as soon as possible.

I believe that the goal of ASEAN economic cooperation, ultimately, should be the establishment of an ASEAN common market which would promote throughout the region a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increased stability, a rapid improvement of the standards of living of our people and closer relations between member countries.

While the setting up of an ASEAN common market might seem to be a steep undertaking in the light of our previous experience, let us not forget that the experience of other regional associations will prove to be of use in our efforts.

In addition, we have the full support of the United Nations and other international organizations. The United Nations-Sponsored Study on ASEAN Economic Cooperation which is now making good progress would be of great help towards the immediate setting up of our courses of action.

And as we consider this ultimate goal of a common market, we should also consider the possibilities for immediate action toward the expansion of inter-regional trade. As we know, trade among ASEAN countries represents a small fraction of the region's total trade.

Precisely because of this, there is plenty of room for expansion. It might be worthwhile setting up at an early stage, a limited free trade on a selective commodity basis. Such an arrangement would require a minimum of political decisions and would be likely available for immediate implementation.

At the same time, it will help ASEAN governments considerably in undertaking institutional readjustments preparatory to trade expansion on a wider range of subjects.

We are faced with difficult tasks. Our economies are greatly strained by our efforts at industrialization. Poverty looms as a constant spectre in our respective countries.

The pitiful social conditions existing in our region demand immediate remedies. We need to put our houses in order so that our people may live in harmony, peace and economic well-being.

This I am now trying to accomplish for the Filipino people by concentrating the national effort towards a just and fair democratic revolution. This you are now trying to accomplish in your own distinct ways of working for the same noble end for your respective peoples.

Let us wish each other luck for we will need it. Let us sincerely hope that ASEAN will bring us nearer to our dream of a better world.

Let us devote our utmost efforts to making ASEAN an effective means for the attainment of common aspirations and thus combine determined action and noble intent.

To each and everyone of you again, welcome and my best wishes for achievements in this conference.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos before the Sugar Club of the Philippines, March 18, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Sugar Club of the Philippines

[Delivered at the Intercontinental Hotel, March 18, 1971]

The Importance of Sugar

I AM ALWAYS very happy to come to conventions of the sugar clubs and sugar associations. I am always glad to be with you. We are kindred spirits, you and I, because the sugar industry is often blamed for many things which it is not responsible for, just like the President. I also like the way you conduct your affairs. I noted that you are much faster in passing legislation, unlike the Congress. And certainly this has been a very fruitful occasion. I am happy about the approval of these principles. I have just read the Declaration of Principles and witnessed the signing of these documents which initiates a fine movement in the sugar industry.

If you remember, I cried out for a democratic revolution on January 25 of this year, at the time when most of the prognosticators were insisting that there was going to be a violent revolution. One of the primary goals of the democratic revolution is the narrowing of the gap between the rich and the poor. It is to give hope to the helpless in our society. The democratic revolution is the alternative that I have offered, an alternative to violent revolution, a peaceful alternative. This actually articulates your position and the position of the responsible elements in our society, for a survey indicated that anywhere from 84 to 90 per cent of our population are against violent revolution, but there are 10 to 16 per cent of our population toying with the idea of violence as a solution to our problems. It is not that there are 10 to 16 per cent who will join a revolution; it merely means that this 10 to 16 per cent feel that if nothing is done soon they may have to meet with a violent revolution. Out of this 10 to 16 per cent, perhaps only one per cent will join an actual revolution. But that would be enough.

The social question seems to be whether the privileged few in our society will help bring about a peaceful revolution or will refuse, thus leaving the option of restructuring the social order to the underprivileged. As I have asked in my State of the Nation address, shall the affluent change this society in order that they may have a place in it or will they leave the task to the small men, the people who are deprived? If this happens, they may create a society in which you and I will have no place.

Thus it is that I welcome the pioneering spirit that is symbolized in your Declaration of Principles, for it is to me an answer to the social question that I too have answered with the democratic revolution. It is pioneering because among all our agricultural industries, you are first in the establishment of this Sugar Industry Social and Economic Foundation, replacing, if you will remember, the old Social Amelioration Fund which I suggested to be established by the sugar industry sometime ago.

This is indeed a pilot project because it is an experiment in capitalism with a conscience, capitalism with a conscience which actually is the answer to most of our problems today.

I am very happy that the ambassador of the United States to the Philippines is here because I know that he has extended to us great assistance in this current crisis which the sugar industry faces. And I am very happy that he is here to witness all the activities of the sugar association, the refineries, the processing, the sugar planting. I am glad that he witnessed me pledge of involvement of every man, woman and child in the sugar industry in this new experiment.

I am told by those who are helping us out in the United States, and by our ambassador, that without in any way prejudicing the interests of the American government and the American people, the American ambassador has gone out of his way to help us maintain our present quota in the United States. Well, let us applaud him.

I understand that when our ambassador to the United States came before some of the officials who were going to make the decisions and started explaining the situation of the Philippine sugar industry, he was told that it was all right, Ambassador Byroade had already told them about the situation. So, you see, he is not saying very much, but he is watching and listening to everything.

If the sugar industry collapses, the Philippine economy collapses. Let me demonstrate to you, to our people, and especially to those who have made it a habit to attack the sugar industry and Marcos for supporting the sugar industry, the truth of this contention.

You know in 1954-1955, you had a production record of 1,324,857 short tons and in 1968-1969, 1,761,000 short tons; and then in 1970-1971 you reached a new record. In 1969-1970 you reached a new record of 2,124,314. The crop year 1970-1971 production is expected to go higher, to 2,362,894 tons, and in 1974-1975 2,700,000 tons. The percentage of sugar export earnings in relation to the total export earnings of the Philippines was initially 20 percent. By this year, it should be and it will be 25 per cent, or 1/4 of the entire export earnings of the Philippines, all from sugar. You can imagine therefore what would happen if this one quarter of the entire export earnings of the country should suddenly be lost.

Why are export earnings so important? Because export earnings bring in more foreign exchange or more dollars, and we need dollars to bring in goods. What kind of goods? Right now, we are bringing in capital goods. What are capital goods? An example is machinery for our industrialization program. And why do we need industrialization? Because we cannot absorb our unemployed in agriculture nor can we increase the per capita income of our people except by developing a balanced agro-industrial economy. But we will not be able to do so unless we keep on earning dollars. At the same time, from the monetary point of view, if we lost 25 per cent of our export earnings, then our currency will be eroded in value, externally and perhaps internally. Meaning, it will have less value and if you think that prices are very high now the prices will go higher, and I address this to the ordinary Filipino, the common man, the housewives, the employees, the wage earners, because they keep asking "what is in sugar for us?"

We have no connection whatsoever with sugar, we have no connection whatsoever with logging, no connection with mining, so why is Marcos so interested in these big industries? He says he is against the oligarchs and yet he is helping them? Well, of course, I am against the oligarchs who use their economic and political influence to advance their economic interest. But does that mean that I am against everybody who is rich? No. I am in favor of protecting the economy, but at the same time I want it so restructured that the benefits of progressive economy will not go only to the affluent, to the rich but, will go down, seep down to the level of the common man, especially the laborer and the agricultural worker. And this is exactly what we are all aiming at.

You are pioneers in establishing the Sugar Industry Social and Economic Development Fund, which will be set up from two per cent of the gross product. It actually is a good basis, for two per cent of the gross product given as an outright share is a fair share, with 90 per cent going to supplementary salaries, bonuses and other financial payments to those who labor in the sugar industry. Well, I would like to see this followed by other industries, not only in agriculture but also in other industries in the Philippines: two per cent of the gross products to go to labor in actual payments.

Going back to my theme, sugar, or for that matter logging or mining or manufacturing, has a direct effect upon the lives of every man and woman and child. If these sources of foreign exchange and dollars, are not encouraged, are not given protection, are not attended to, then the one who will suffer ultimately will be the small man.

The Filipina housewives and the children will suffer because the prices are bound to go up. Everybody is now talking about prices, everybody is talking about the cost of living, well we should count our blessings, because if we had failed in our efforts to attain monetary stability last year, there would have been chaos and confusion in this country. Very few people realize this but last year was a very critical year. You will note that last year, I was very quiet about the economic situation. I kept my peace, I even refused to answer any attack or charge because my mind was concentrated on the monetary stability problem. If we had failed there, in the balancing of Imports with exports, dollar earnings with dollar expenditures, my friends, the revolution that we have been talking about, might have

come. I am not saying that the communists have given up, but they would have had a good occasion to start a revolution if we had failed.

All of you who are in the know realize therefore that we have reason to be thankful. I appealed for reason at a breakfast prayer meeting, where I spoke about praying and got lampooned for it. Some critics say that it is all that Marcos does — pray. He does nothing else. That is not exactly true, but there are times when we need a little prayer. I tell you, I prayed a lot last year and I intend to pray a lot this year.

We are facing this temporary crisis in the United States because of our quota. They have explained this to you and there is no further need to explain except to say that we expect understanding from the United States. I do not believe that the United States government, whether it is the Congress or the executive department, will easily disregard the persuasive arguments that we have advanced in support of the continuance of the quota, or if possible its increase. I feel that the American sense of fair play will give us our due.

I also wanted to come before you to assure you of two things. First, that after having explained the importance of sugar to our people I would like to inform you that your government, your President, and all those who are helping him, are utilizing all the powers of the Presidency in order that we can surmount this obstacle, this crisis that we are facing now in the sugar industry. And we count on old friends to help us out in this predicament. Next, I would like to assure all investors whether American or of any other nationality, about fair treatment in the Philippines. You have demonstrated by your declaration of principles and by your various programs for social amelioration, particularly the fair treatment of the sacadas and the workers in the sugar industry, your new orientation, your capitalism with a conscience concept, and by the Declaration of Principles itself and the organization of the foundation.

Now, by thus taking this attitude and initiating these programs, you have answered some of the critics of the sugar industry, not only here but abroad. May I, however, say that perhaps now we should not think alone of this immediate crisis but of the other crises to come. And what are these other crises? One will be the crisis of surplus. In a year or two, you will have such a surplus in the sugar industry that quota or no quota you will have monumental problems. Therefore, it behooves us, as men with foresight, to now get organized on this propose, and I intend to immediately initiate the first step, I propose the organization of a Sugar Commission which will now look into those problems. I repeat, prognostications and projections say that by 1974 or 1975, your production will increase to 2,700,000 tons.

You and I know that your cost of production is higher than the world price even under present circumstances. This year it is 4.8 cents per pound, equal to the Caribbean rate, at the Caribbean level of 5 1/2 cents per pound, which is similar or equal to the domestic price. And your surpluses will therefore be a pressure upon not only the domestic market but also upon the world market. And it will constitute a problem which we must now start to solve. It is my hope that all elements of the sugar industry, from the sugar planters to the sugar millers and processors will join hands on this. I have faith and trust in the judgment and wisdom of your leaders. They have already, I understand, started studies on this matter. I called their attention to it many times in the past and they agreed with me that we must organize as soon as possible a Sugar Commission to look into the problems of the sugar industry, not only on a short range basis but on a long range basis.

And so, my friends, I am very glad indeed that we have met this morning. I am very happy that you have finally approved, in the most expeditious fashion, the Declaration of Principles.

I would like to say that in the Philippines today there are people who keep asking what the democratic revolution means. Well, this is one meaning of the democratic revolution: that instead of a revolution from below, a revolution at the top, among the leaders of our society, for you constitute that select group of leaders in this particular industry, has been generated. A democratic revolution at the top that is peaceful and within the confines and restrictions of the law. This is what I would like to encourage. And I call upon the other industries, agricultural or industrial, all the other economic activists, to now pursue this same line. I ask every industry leader group to sit down and look into the possibility of increasing the participation of labor not only in the profits but also in the preparation of long range policy.

Of course, you and I will have to await the Constitutional Convention, when this august body will determine the nature of our fundamental charter. But now, before the Constitutional Convention meets, it is necessary that the citizenry be appraised of the options and the alternatives that they have. It is necessary that we tell our people that there is hope and that they need not despair. It is necessary that we do this, specially in the urban centers of our country, for it is here in the midst of distressing conditions that you hear advocacies of an alien ideology. We are an open society and we encourage dissent, but I repeat, the government will not tolerate the continued use of violence, not only against the government but against society.

I hope that this step taken by the sugar association, the sugar club, will be duplicated, I repeat, by other sectors of our economy. And it is my hope that as we move forward there will be more leaders like you, leaders like those in the sugar industry, who can take it upon themselves to assume responsibility for reform and change. For indeed there is need for reform and change. We keep repeating this, we keep re-emphasizing it yet the movement is too slow. The movement in both agriculture and industry is slow because many of the leaders of our economy still seem unimpressed by the danger apparent, by the threat of violent revolution. There are some people who go to the extent of saying, "Perhaps it would be best if somebody started a violent rebellion so that the leaders of our economy would be shocked into realizing that now is the time to act, that we can no longer postpone action."

Let me congratulate you again for your initiative in pioneering in this area, and let me end with the prayer that this act of yours will be emulated in every sector of our economy.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Graduation Ceremony of the Philippine Military Academy, April 2, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Graduation Ceremony of the Philippine Military Academy

[Delivered in Baguio City, April 2, 1971]

The Communist Conspiracy

HERE, AT THE Philippine Military Academy, it has become a hallowed custom once a year to pay tribute not only to the group of distinguished young individuals who finish the special four-year course, and this afternoon I also wish to contribute to this hallowed custom by paying tribute to an ideal, and that is the ideal of excellence. For it is the pursuit of this ideal that has given the Philippine Military Academy its great prestige. By pursuing this ideal, the graduates of the Philippine Military Academy assure the Armed Forces and the nation as a whole a steady source of human material for responsible leadership.

It is therefore my great pride and pleasure to congratulate the Academy's graduates this year. I am sure mine is only one of countless voices throughout the nation which articulate praise and admiration for your achievement.

While taking note of this achievement, I must also ask you however to bear in mind that the future which you face will demand even more sacrifice and hard work from each of you. We live in times which require endless dedication to the principle of excellence which guided you through the past four years in this Academy.

Owing to the requirements of national development, the soldier today is called upon to perform extraordinary duties, to fulfill responsibilities quite beyond the limits of the traditional military career. I am sure you are aware that the military man in our time is no longer merely a soldier but is also a builder, a social scientist, and in many ways a teacher.

If you are to continue the success that you have already achieved in this Academy, you must be ready to meet the numerous tests of courage and determination by which you will be measured outside this training ground.

Out of the numerous responsibilities that you will be called upon to fulfill, I am mainly concerned today with your responsibility, soldiers, to provide our people with leadership in meeting the problem of subversion. For no matter how hard you and the rest of us may work, we are bound to lose the gains we make if we do not stand fast against the danger posed by those who seek to undermine our institutions, and the security of the nation.

This danger is real, and has been with us for a long time. Although it may be under cover, it may present itself through many faces, but it is there. And the main source of this danger is the Communist conspiracy, which has been a persistent threat to our democratic system for at least 40 years. Allow me, therefore, to speak of this communist conspiracy.

The organized subversion of our democratic institutions began actually on November 7, 1930, when the *Partido Komunista* was inaugurated at Plaza Moriones, in Tondo. In an endeavor to bring together into a single force the labor and peasant elements, the *Partido Komunista* established a base in Manila and then worked its way into the provinces, particularly in Central and Southern Luzon.

Three times since then it has been declared a subversive force although this is largely forgotten nowadays — first in 1933, when it was outlawed by no less than the Supreme Court of the Philippines; again in 1948, when it was outlawed by President Roxas; and once more in 1957, when Congress passed Republic Act No. 1700.

Throughout its career, the Communist organization in this country has aimed at the violent overthrow of duly constituted government, and conducted itself accordingly, by a combination of the so-called “parliamentary struggle” and violence, sabotage, and relentless propaganda.

In order to further its ends, the Communist conspiracy has endeavored at various times to coalesce with other elements, including political parties. It has put up a “united front” with one or another of these elements at various times, and set up such organizations as the Frente Popular, the League for the Defense of Democracy, the Philippine Youth Congress and other front groups. In 1938, it merged with the Socialist Party and became the *Partido Komunista Ng Pilipinas* otherwise known as the (PKP).

Its first formal venture into armed struggle as a means of subversion came in March 1942, when the Hukbalahap was organized in Barrio Batibat, in Concepcion, Tarlac. Since then, it has alternated between phases of pronounced parliamentary struggle and armed struggle, although at all times it maintained a military arm to terrorize the citizenry and, if possible, the government.

Since 1946, it has also taken an active part in elections, merging with political elements which were willing to boost its program of action and perhaps hasten the fulfillment of its aims.

A high point in the Communist conspiracy in this country came late in 1949 when, taking advantage of a certain amount of political instability, the Communist leadership pronounced the existence of a so-called “revolutionary situation” and accordingly sought to foster an atmosphere of strife and crisis. Hukbalahap raids and ambushes, an increase in armed clashes and casualties, and a sense of impending disaster promoted among certain elements in the nation — by means of these, the communists pressed their armed offensive! following a strategy meeting of the PKP politburo in January, 1950. Note that this coincided with the fall of the Chiang government, and the takeover by Mao Tse-tung of the mainland of China. At this strategy meeting, the Communist leadership set the date for their planned takeover of power on May 1, 1952.

The communist rebellion of 1950 was thus characterized by guerrilla action, with jabs and thrusts at various places, particularly in Central and Southern Luzon. At one time, if you will remember, some 14,000 armed dissidents bore arms and invested the communist movement with some amount of prowess. These were veterans of the Second World War, utilizing arms that had been used against the enemy that invaded our land and had not been returned to the Armed Forces of either the United States or the Philippines. But the communist conspiracy underestimated the competence, the discipline and the dedication of the Armed Forces.

What started out in the first month of 1950 as a promising guerrilla campaign began to collapse in October of that year when the Armed Forces military intelligence service destroyed the Communist politburo in Manila. Further intelligence work broke the back of a rising communist front organization, the Congress of Labor Organizations. It is perhaps necessary to note that these successes were accompanied or were made possible by the suspension of the privilege of the *writ of habeas corpus* by President Quirino.

These intelligence successes were accompanied by unceasing military action by our Armed Forces, which succeeded shortly in putting the dissident troops to rout and scattering their shreds into the mountain sanctuaries. Without the aid of any foreign troops, indeed without in the slightest measure desiring the assistance of foreign troops, the Armed Forces of the Philippines vanquished the Communist guerrilla action. It thus established for the Philippines the record of being the only Asian country that has demolished an actual communist rebellion through the sheer courage, skill and sturdiness of its own unaided soldiery.

In 1970, after comparatively quiescent years following its rout twenty years ago, the Communist conspiracy in the Philippines once more mounted a more less massive and overt act to overthrow the government. But it was a rebellion unlike that of 1950.

The accent in the fresh outburst of Communist energy in 1970 and this year has been on propaganda and agitation. Likely elements in youth, peasant and labor groups, as well as among certain intellectuals, are enticed by all means and manner of propaganda into the Communist conspiracy. Political indoctrination is conducted in schools and

elsewhere today, some openly, others covertly. Various organizations, including some quite well known nationalist groups, are wittingly or unwittingly the staging ground or breeding place of Communist indoctrination. A number of these front organizations have been active in the promotion, support or actual conduct of demonstrations and rallies set up to give a degree of verisimilitude to the Communist pretense that the entire country is seized with an overwhelming revolutionary fervor.

The propaganda, at certain times, especially in 1970, has been accompanied by violence and armed action against the forces of government. But on the whole the present communist endeavor is carried out by means of jargon. Propaganda has sought to manipulate the attitudes and behavior of various elements through themes with a peculiar fascination for a specific group. Thus the young are induced by appeals to nationalism; laborers and peasants are told about the hopelessness of their economic condition.

All these could in time produce a situation critical enough to warrant a more or less sustained use of the government's military resources. I am sure that as before, the Armed Forces will acquit themselves with great distinction. For the experience of 1950 has shown that in a time of crisis it is the Armed Forces which bear the brunt of the responsibility for protecting the nation and preserving the liberties and freedoms which are the substance of our present society. But let me not be misconstrued. It is not the military that is the principal arm of the government in the struggle against communism. The principal arm against communism is reform and the socio-economic development program.

I say this both with hope and conviction, because I know that the Communist threat is relentless and no moment must pass but that we are fully awake and prepared. The Communist Party, in its continuing effort to overthrow the government by force, has persisted for the last 40 years, in spite of serious reverses that saw many of its leaders killed or incarcerated after being declared enemies of the state and of constituted authority. The leaders of the Communist movement and the ideologues of the Communist Party say they plan not in terms of years nor in terms of decades, but in terms even of centuries. If this is so, then I speak to the officers who in their time will meet with the problem of communist conspiracy.

The local Communist Party has employed every conceivable trick or stratagem in this endeavor. It has shifted many times in its tactics, using legal and parliamentary means when conditions seem to endow this strategy with wisdom; and when this fails, resorting to skirmishes with the Armed Forces, or killing innocent citizens in ambushes.

At other times, it resorts to spreading false propaganda against the government, or against individuals and groups who would easily bend to its will. By such means, communism has portrayed itself as the guardian of freedom and democracy in this country. Does this mean that government is perfect, that our society does not need reform? No. In many instances, communism has utilized valid grievances and valid demands for reform as premises for preparing the staging ground against both government and society.

On the other hand, Communist agitators, intent on the success of their deception, have marched in student demonstrations, destroying both public and private property. Never mind if the economy of the nation suffers, never mind if the work of the government and of the private sector grinds to a stop, and never mind if innocent civilians suffer, provided they advance an inch forward in their march to power.

From the start, the Communist Party in the Philippines has sought by every means to undermine the social order. It has attempted to penetrate the government for the purpose of destroying it. It did so during the time of President Quezon, but failed. This serious setback sent the communists into a new flurry of organization, transforming Central Luzon into a hotbed of subversion. From then on, Central Luzon was the center of the dissident movement, under such leaders as Luis Taruc, Pedro Abad Santos, Crisanto Evangelista and some Chinese nationals imported from Red China.

Insurgents, determined to strengthen their hold on the peasants, organized the Barrio United Defense Corps and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magsasaka sa Pilipinas. They even formed their own "government."

For their part, the Armed Forces have dealt with the Communist conspiracy with firmness and dignity, balancing the realities of the situation with the imperatives of national security and survival.

The Armed Forces dealt a decisive blow to the dissident movement, specially the traditionalist, or Moscow-oriented Communists, when elements of the 10th BCT killed Huk Supremo Pedro Taruc last October in Angeles City, and before that, captured Commander Sumulong, their top commander. Likewise, the Armed Forces have put an end to the careers of Huk leaders, Zaragoza and Del Mundo, to mention only the more prominent ones in fairly recent days.

We still have to contend with what the more aggressive Communist Party faction or the Maoist or Peking-oriented Communists today call its military arm and which is referred to as The New People's Army, of whom so-called Commander Dante is the known leader. There was an attempt in several violent student demonstrations last year, when student activists referred to Dante as "our next President," to break into Malacañang Palace, shouting his name and that of Mao Tse-tung, and raising the red flag. They threw live bombs into the Palace grounds and burned some buildings. But the Armed Forces of the Philippines resisted the temptation of retaliating with equal force. While they rammed a truck against the Palace gates and some of the elements entered the Palace grounds, the only counter-action was to push them out; this was in accordance with the traditions of the Armed Forces.

But Dante or the students mouthing Maoist jargon will never compel lawful authority to renege on its commitment to democracy and freedom. The people themselves have seen through them, and read the plunder and deceit in their acts. Thus, when the University of the Philippines was taken over by these radical elements, especially those of the student organizations, the Armed Forces of the Philippines were not committed to repel this action. And these radical groups demonstrated that they were more rightist than the government; they were continuously criticized for being more fascist than any abusive soldier, and at the same time for being more abusive than any unthinking citizen.

The same comprehension has moved the authorities to move firmly against Nilo Tayag of the Kabataang Makabayan, who is now under army custody, as is also Leoncio Co, and is facing charges of having incited people to rise against the state.

Consider the record of the Communist conspiracy. Through various operations, it has killed no less than 298 persons from 1962 to 1968. It is responsible for 173 incidents of terrorism in 1969 alone, resulting in 196 killed, 37 kidnapped, and 103 wounded.

For the first two months of 1970 alone, there have been 42 dissident-initiated incidents resulting in 54 killed, one kidnapped and 35 wounded. Needless to say, this does not reflect the peaceable spirit which should counsel all our acts.

I have come here this afternoon to warn that the Communists will continue to try and subvert the government, whoever the President may be, and undermine the principles on which our democracy and our free institutions stand. Like Jose Lava, who said, "I entered prison as a Communist and I will go out as a Communists," they will persist in waging their kind of war.

We are all engaged in a decisive and critical struggle to achieve progress and prosperity for the present as well as for the future, in order to avert the possibility that our people will succumb to the communist counsel of despair and to prove to the world that we are a nation capable of self-determination and self-government.

The greatest challenge that confronts us today is the challenge of the communist ideology which has placed upon our shoulders the burden to prove that freedom and democracy, as principles of human society, will work for the Filipino people and secure for them better living conditions.

In the face of these difficulties, the Communist elements in our country would foster upon the masses the false belief that the ultimate solution to our basic national problems is an armed revolution. They cry to everyone, we must reform, we must change, that reform and change is possible only by armed revolution. But we are a nation that has known the meaning of our freedom and the value of our democratic institutions for so long that we hold it as an

article of faith that we can overcome our problems without the use of force and violence. The elders of your country and nation, who know the meaning of war, who have seen war and participated in it, answer, and they say, yes, we need reform, we need change. But we can attain reform and change without violence, peacefully and within the context of the Constitution or the law. For the use of violence totally negates the essential value of human life regardless of the cause under which it is waged.

We set ourselves in opposition to the Communist theory of effecting social and political change through bloodshed and the use of arms because we know that the progress of democracy and a free society can very well realize these ends. No matter how ardently we may desire progress, we will not build the edifice of tomorrow upon the mangled bodies of our fellow men or splash its walls with the blood of innocent men.

We have seen in our own time, during the hard and trying years of the war and also in the period of peace, the endurance of our people and their inherent capacity for survival. We are certain that our people and their government can work out satisfactory solutions to the various problems of the nation without going through a wasteful, debilitating and disgraceful revolution of arms.

It is on the basis of our national experience and the fundamental principles of our society, therefore, that we formulate and present the concept of a democratic revolution as our answer to the Communist prophecy of doom.

As I have stated it before, and as I do so again now, the solution to our basic national problems lies in the institution and effective implementation of reforms in the various aspects of social and political life. These reforms can be achieved through peaceful means. This is the essence of the democratic revolution.

I am taking this opportunity to stress the significance of this concept again because unless vital and meaningful reforms are made in our society and our government to bring about a substantial change in the living conditions of our people, in your own time, either as young lieutenants or as senior commanders you the graduates assembled here today might suddenly wake up to the sounds of battle and find yourselves led to the battlefields to fight a war against you own brothers and to redeem with your own blood our precious legacy of freedom. Indeed, it is fearful anticipation of this possible situation of brother fighting against brother, Filipinos killing Filipinos, an event which I know will be a very costly experience for all of us, that I have insisted on a policy of peaceful reform in our government and society.

I call on this year's graduates of the Philippine Military Academy even as I have called on all the citizens of this Republic, to lend themselves to the successful prosecution of this democratic revolution. The transformation of our society is a goal we have long sought to achieve. Today we have both the opportunity and, I am sure, the ability to make that transformation possible. But we must insist that it be a peaceful transformation, a change that will endure because it satisfies the requirements of human dignity while it also responds to the values that have moved and sustained this nation and all of mankind for centuries. The change that the communist conspiracy will bring by means of division and bloodshed cannot but be ephemeral, and must be rejected.

You have the power to make that rejection firm and absolute, and to insist on the only reasonable alternative. I invite you to assert that power in the service of the Filipino people.

Again, to each and everyone of you, my congratulations.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 27th Session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE),
April 20, 1971

Justice to Nations, Justice to Peoples

ONCE MORE THE Philippines is honored with the opportunity to host the 27th Session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. It will be recalled that the last time was in May of 1963 for its 19th Session. Even then, I followed with personal interest ECAFE's blueprint for Asian regional economic development. I shared the vision of the planners and leaders of this organization of Asia's potential for contributing to the world's economic and social progress and stability.

For the past two decades, the attention of the world has been focused on Asia and the Far East not only as a major crossroad of international politics, but also as an experiment in regional development. The world seems to be starting another complete turn, as Asia, once the primary cradle of civilization, again makes a challenge to repeat history. In the past, the East was the reference point for culture, technology, and civilization. But in recent history, the East, especially this part of Asia, has developed a different image, projecting the impression of a fragmented and divided Asian community.

It is with deep concern that we should look into the future of Asia with an even more analytical outlook than to its past. It is proper that we view the Asian situation from the context of development and stability — as a struggle, not of nations, but of peoples who seek a certain degree of identity.

A look at the last decade in Asia will show us that the problem has been the lack of social and political stability. Development goals and objectives have been set against a background of serious political developments in this region. Despite these unfavorable conditions, however, it is gratifying to note that the result of efforts in the attainment of these goals has been quite modest but impressive. Economic growth, reflected in increases in gross national product within the region and among member countries, has shown an increasing trend. There have been remarkable improvements in technology, foreign aid and trade.

ECAFE's achievements in developing and promoting the economic and social life of the peoples in the area are too well known to bear repetition. In the last two decades, the Commission has established institutions directly designed to accomplish the development objectives of the region. Among these are the Asian Development Bank, with permanent headquarters here in Manila; the Asian Institute for Iron and Steel in Singapore; the Asian Institute of Development and Planning located in Bangkok; the Asian Statistical Institute in Tokyo; and the Asian Coconut Community in Djakarta.

As the list indicates, the ECAFE's activities encompass the problems of the region. The spirit underlying these activities counts as much as the activities themselves. For what the ECAFE has done, to a greater degree than most regional organizations, is to develop awareness and ensure cooperation among Asian countries. Thus, its major projects — the Mekong River Project, the utilization of water resources, the development of industry and natural resources as well as transportation and communications in the ECAFE region — are thoroughly informed with this spirit. Indeed the projects would not have been possible without it.

The achievements of ECAFE in the region have been made possible by the sincere cooperation of all member countries. As one of these members, the Philippines will continue to remain a loyal and a helpful partner in the common task of regional economic and social development.

We appreciate the value of ECAFE's considerable efforts in improving the quality of life of the peoples of Asia. We do realize at the same time that the problems of development are multifarious, and often resistant to quick solutions. The vastness and diversity of the region militate against easy and simple answers to the complicated questions of national and regional growth. The Commission therefore cannot rest on its laurels. As effective a machinery as the ECAFE is, we have to face the fact that, in relation to the problems, our progress has been rather slow. The question

is whether we can continue to ignore the mounting voices of impatience and the increasing frustration of multitudes of Asia before they spill over in manifestations of violence.

It is imperative that the ECAFE marshal its resources to promote the faster growth of the region. The concentrated effort represented by the First Development Decade has brought home to us the stern lesson that the harder we try, the farther back we seem to fall behind in the race for economic development.

Thus, it has been said that the gap between the richer and the poorer countries continues to widen, with only a remote prospect that the pernicious gap will be closed in a foreseeable future. Even as we prepare for renewed efforts to solve the problem in the Second Development Decade, a feeling of discouragement is growing, constantly fed by social instabilities which little by little are beginning to rise to the surface.

Although the growth rate of the ECAFE region as a whole rose from 4 per cent to 4.4 per cent per annum during the First Development Decade, and although the growth in the agricultural sector was most encouraging, yet the region as a whole fell short of the agreed target of 5 per cent.

The failure to reach the growth target acquires a somber cast when we recall that in the last two years of the first Development Decade, the growth rate rose to a spectacular 5.3 per cent annually. This figure suggests that, we failed to perform at anywhere near our true capacity. We are left with the guilty feeling that if the conditions had been right, we could have surpassed easily the 5 per cent growth target.

In part, the disappointing result of the First Development Decade is due to the population explosion. In nearly all of the developing regions, the rate of population growth jumped from 2.2 per cent annually to 2.5 per cent. In particular, Southeast Asia showed an increase higher than the rest of the developing regions, for the rate of population growth in the area rose by nearly one-half per cent annually during the period.

The accelerated population growth has had a drastic effect on the per capita income, reducing that income— and therefore development— by a significant amount. While there has been no slackening in development efforts, the paradoxical result is that we in the developing areas are getting less than we are putting in.

But the lag in developing has not been wholly the result of natural factors such as the extremely high population growth. In part, it is also due to the unfortunate inability of the developing countries to mobilize the full potential of their resources for development.

I suggest that this is not entirely the fault of the developing countries. They are a consequence of the failure, if that is the word for it, of the developed countries to reconcile principle with practice in extending assistance to the less fortunate countries. Today, assistance to developing countries is a staggering burden which these countries can seldom afford to assume. To put it in another way, developing countries can accept the offered assistance only at the cost of retarding the pace of their economic development.

Perhaps I speak with a touch of hyperbole. But the fact is that developing countries today are in the grip of factors which together constitute what I would refer to as the Triad of Poverty. Unless the means are devised to break the vicious triangle, unless ways are discovered to restore the original meaning of international assistance, then I fear that the developing countries face a very bleak future indeed.

The first of these factors is the hardening of the terms of international loans which, together with the widespread practice of aid-typing, sharply circumscribes development where it does not limit the very planning process itself.

The second is the continued existence of immovable trade barriers which while it affects the entire international community affects, first of all and most adversely, the developing countries.

And the third is the requirement for the increase in international reserves which inhibits the mobilization of development resources among developing countries.

In particular, the last factor requires, to my mind, an immediate review, since its harsh impact is beginning to be felt by the less fortunate regions. The requirement for an international reserve may be a sound business practice. In the context of developing countries and their considerable difficulties, it may be an unwise economic practice. For the net effect of the requirement is to curtail national growth by reducing further the already limited amount of resources available in developing countries for investment purposes. As we can see, the requirement penalizes the very countries which are least able to increase their foreign reserves. And it places them in the unfair position of building up their reserves at the cost of a stagnating economy.

Under present conditions, there are only two ways the poorer countries can increase their international reserves. The first is through loans from the developed countries and the second is by drawing from domestic resources already earmarked for development purposes. In either case, the result is the same— an undue imposition on scarce capital resources, and a direct restriction on the growth potentials of the developing countries.

I urge the ECAFE to consider seriously the problems posed by this Triad of Poverty. The developed countries have their own problems too, as we are only too well aware. But precisely because they are developed, they are capable of withstanding stresses which developing countries are not. I should perhaps emphasize that concerted international action is needed to solve the refractory problems which in the end will affect not only the poorer but also the richer countries of the world.

Excellencies, my government and people are committed to the ideals of regional economic and social cooperation and share your concern for the prompt attainment of our objectives. Asia must speed up the pace of harnessing its energies and resources to combat the forces that keep it poor and underdeveloped. We in this meeting should orient our goals and policies to ensure that the economic and social opportunities available to the region are shared fairly and equitably by all.

The last few years have brought to the foreground an indispensable component of economic development. For the developing countries especially, this new component has altered in a radical way the values which we traditionally attach to economic development.

It is clear that economic growth is not a self-sufficient end of development. The true end of economic development is social progress. A development therefore that overlooks the social aspects, that does not confer a richer, quality to everyday life, that does not have as its purpose the enhancement of the human person — such a development misses the true meaning and the real dimension of national growth. Progress is for people.

The narrow view that economic development can be pursued at the expense of social progress arose in part because of the high demands of national growth which have compelled us to concentrate on the total mobilization of material resources. We have tended to forget that in fact the key resource of any nation is its human potential.

The recent past has demonstrated beyond dispute that neglect of the human factor can give rise to social instabilities which negate economic development. It can be accepted as a universal rule that economic development is hollow at its core if it does not benefit the greatest number.

Yet the development that we have achieved is one-sided at best. We are faced not only by the disparity in the distribution of wealth among countries but by a disparity which is even more tragic, namely, our inability through their traditional processes of economic development to distribute wealth evenly among the different segments of the domestic population.

Such a situation cannot be permitted to continue. To frustrate popular expectations in the face of visible material growth is the surest way of defeating that growth. Since growth in itself encourages instability, the great challenge to all developing countries is to promote economic and social progress as indivisible components of total growth.

Spreading the benefits of growth has sometimes been called social justice. But it is a matter of nomenclature. I for one view it as the real meaning of the democratic revolution — a revolution which all developing countries must undergo if they mean growth without paying the tragic price of social disruption.

The example of recent history has not been reassuring in this respect. We may have to face the fact of increased stresses on the social fabric, paradoxical ally perhaps as the very result of growth.

But it would be a pity if we began to accept this as an inevitable development. For it need not be — if we had wise counsel and were prepared to act on it. I ask the ECAFE therefore to devote itself, as to an urgent matter, to the study of procedures by which the developing countries can harmonize development plans which call for the necessary integration of social and economic, development goals.

In this matter, the non-regional members of the ECAFE together with the developed members in the region, could play a distinct role in helping accelerate the integrated development of Asia.

As we move forward into the Second Development Decade, we should recognize the cause for the shortfalls experienced in the First. We should not allow the seventies to slip by without accomplishing the targets we have set. The Commission must exert every effort to determine the appropriate strategy and direction to ensure the maximum realization of the objectives we seek to obtain.

As a leader of one of the member-countries, I view with deep concern and anxiety the future and political stability of the Asian community. As a people, we in the region comprise more than half of the world's population. We have common problems. I sincerely hope we can find common solutions.

With these parting words, I officially welcome you all to the Philippines and I sincerely hope that your session in Manila will be both fruitful and pleasant.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos at the First Tripartite Conference on Labor-Management Relations and Manpower Development, May 23, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the First Tripartite Conference on Labor-Management Relations and Manpower Development

[Delivered at Pope Pius XII, Ermita, Manila, May 23, 1971]

Industrial
and Freedom

Peace

through

Justice

I AM HERE today not to talk of anything else outside your concerns, much less of the supposed candidacy of Blas Ople, which is never seriously talked about, although I may not entirely disagree with the idea, but to share with you my own thoughts on labor relations and manpower development which I know you will discuss during the next four years.

Last Labor Day, before representatives of organized labor, I pledged to uphold the right of the Filipino workers to self-organization and to free collective bargaining, but some events have intervened since then which set back action. Today, before this tripartite congress of labor, management and government representatives I am proud to reaffirm solemnly and reiterate the same pledge. All of us must unite in order to assure the Filipino workingmen the right to organization and to free collective bargaining.

I make this pledge and commit my entire administration to this, and as President of the Philippines. I make this policy commitment guided by two fundamental assumptions: First, that we have reached the stage where we must again reiterate the generally accepted assumption. This is perhaps necessary as all of us stand confused at the crossroads of our national life, that government, management and labor reassesses their respective positions and clearly state in all candor what those positions are.

I have come up with certain basic principles. One, we are committed as a people to a free and democratic society, and no matter what anybody says this is the principle to which all or at least a greater number, a great majority of our people, are committed. And that, secondly, the system of free collective bargaining which we adopted in 1953 has worked satisfactorily in the last 18 years.

That we are committed to freedom and democracy is not subject to question to my mind. But whether all our people enjoy fully the blessings of freedom and democracy is an entirely different affair. Our unorganized workers, for example, have no full access to freedom and democracy, not because our laws deny them their rights in our constitution but precisely because they are unorganized and divided.

This was the basic consideration which compelled me in 1953, during the debates on the Industrial Peace Act, to fight for the adoption of a national policy which guaranteed our workers freedom of association and free collective bargaining. And the same consideration moved me in 1964, as President of the Senate, to spearhead the fight for the inclusion in the Land Reform Code of a provision extending the right to self-organization and free collective bargaining to our agricultural workers.

I believed then, and I believe it now, that our workers must get organized if they are to integrate themselves into our free and democratic society, and that one of the most effective ways of getting organized is to form a union for collective bargaining and other lawful aims.

And what does our experience in labor relations under the Industrial Peace Act during the last 18 years say? I think that the answer vindicates my position.

First of all, the Industrial Peace Act has provided our workers a framework to reinforce and to stabilize our social order. Instead of joining the Huks or the People's Army, or the Communist Party our workers have joined or organized unions all these years. Instead of seeking their own liberation through bloody revolution, our workers have actively sought a better life through the institution of free collective bargaining. In short, the workers of this nation have been utilizing the principle of democratic revolution which I spoke of in January 25 of this year.

Today, more than 20,000 Filipino workers all over the country are embraced by some 4,600 registered unions. No matter what their shortcomings are, these unions have raised the bargaining power of their members *vis-a-vis* their employers and the rest of society. As evidenced by their collective bargaining agreements, these unions have in one way or another, improved the terms and conditions of employment of their members, and through political action and other legitimate organized acts, they have tried, no matter how modestly, to prod society to reexamine its aptitude towards workers and succeeded. This is the most important part. In short, our unionists have become not only effective partners of their employers, but have also become change-seekers in society.

If you listen to some of the younger members of our society, it would seem as if they had a monopoly on the idea of reform. But long before they even thought of this, labor unionists and labor unions had already espoused the idea of reform. They had long started to actualize their own version of the democratic revolution, because of this freedom of organization and bargaining which they exercised.

But free collective bargaining has proved not only as an effective agent of social justice but also as a viable system of labor relations. Since 1953, under the free collective bargaining system, industrial relations in our country have been lively but stable. Compared with nation-wide and industry-wide strikes and lockouts, in Japan, the United States and countries in Europe, our own strikes and lockouts here are routine. In fact, our industrial relations have never really gone out of hand or assumed alarming proportions, our most serious strike being the 1963 waterfront strike in the Manila South Harbor. It was a costly, protracted and bloody strike but it was not due to the failure of our free collective bargaining system. Rather, it was brought about by partisan and trade union politics.

I have received a report from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Secretary Romulo, when he came back from abroad, and he informed me that he has to carry his own bags at the airport in Rome. There was a work stoppage in practically all of the countries that he went to. There was a postal strike in England and several strikes of hotel workers. There were strikes everywhere in the entire nation of Italy which was all but paralyzed. And he informed me that he never realized that an entire nation could be completely brought to a standstill by a strike until he saw what happened in Italy. And I told him, aren't you happy that here in the Philippines we have industrial peace, comparatively speaking, an industrial peace arising from the good relations between management and labor?

Moreover, the free collective bargaining system has absorbed and withstood for 18 years now the shocks of great economic and social readjustments. Now, let us go all the way back to the time of President Garcia, to the marginal fee; and to the time of then President Macapagal, the partial devaluation; and, again, the wage readjustment; and more recently, the floating rate as well as the new minimum wage. You think of all the things that could have happened with these possible sources of disturbance and disruption, these shifts in economic and monetary policy setting off tremendous difficulties and entailing painful readjustments in the field of labor relations. But our free collective bargaining system has proved equal to the challenge, thus amply demonstrating its resiliency and adequacy as a means of maintaining industrial peace.

During the last five years, there have been even more encouraging trends the field of labor relations. Up to 1965, according to labor department statistics the ratio between actual strikes and the number of strike notices filed every year was from 16 to 24 per cent. In other words, 16 to 24 out of every 100 strike notices exploded into actual strikes. Since 1966 the ratio has been cut down to 8 to 16 per cent. In fact, during the last three years, the number of actual strikes has never exceeded 9 per cent of pending strike notices.

However, the number of labor disputes or strike notices has more than doubled during the last 5 years — from 543 in 1965 to 1,083 in 1970. These are due mainly to (1) sheer economic expansion resulting in the rise of more establishments and more unions, and (2) increased confidence of trade unions in the conciliation service of the Labor Department, resulting in the filing of strike notices even when they were not required by law as in unfair labor practice cases.

These figures attest to the dynamism and vitality of our free collective bargaining system — a system which, by and large, has maintained peace through justice and freedom in our society during the last 18 years.

Nevertheless, our free collective bargaining system is faced by many problems, some of which threaten to defeat its purpose or bring about its breakdown. I am sure you will discuss these problems yourselves in the course of this tripartite congress and I hope you will come up in the end with effective and workable solutions. For my part, I will limit myself to the discussion of three major problems: first, union busting on the part of unscrupulous and tradition-bound employers; second, union raidings on the part of some labor groups; and third, the inadequacy of government response to these problems.

Now, let's turn to the first. Union busting is an old management practice to prevent the formation of a union or to destroy an existing one. This is done mainly through either the setting up of a company union, or the employment of legal technicalities, or dismissal, harassment, discrimination, and other unfair labor practices against union officers and members. The Court of Industrial Relations is supposed to curb and penalize these unfair labor practices, but instead of doing so, it has reportedly encouraged in a number of cases the perpetration of such practices. I understand that before a petition for certification election or an unfair labor practice charge is resolved by the court, an unscrupulous employer has already succeeded in busting the union or in preventing the formation of one, often resulting in strikes and lockouts. Sadder still to note, some labor groups and their leaders have reportedly allowed themselves to become instruments of some employers in busting rival unions or in preventing their recognition through unfair maneuvers in court or at the picket lines.

But there are inter-union and intra-union rivalries which happen independently of management. These rivalries arise mainly from the overlapping jurisdiction of our major labor groups. Since they are all general federations, conflicts of interests and clashes of forces are inevitable among them. In the heat and bitterness of their rivalries, some labor groups wittingly or unwittingly play into the hands of employers who are waiting in ambush to divide and rule the labor movement for their own selfish purposes.

Again, problems arising from inter-union and intra-union rivalries are under the jurisdiction of the Court of Industrial Relations, which alone has the power to resolve them. Almost invariably, however, the CIR fails to act on time to resolve such disputes before damaging strikes can take place. How many times have the labor leaders come to me with this complaint? Where the employers themselves are responsible for creating a multi-million situation, then those employers deserve their own sad plight. However, where the rivalries are carried out by the unions independently of management, it is I think the urgent duty of the court to provide immediate relief.

But at the bottom of the problems of union busting and union raiding is j actually lack of labor education among our workers. If our workers are aware of their rights and responsibilities as employees and unionists, they will no doubt detect and withstand the evil maneuvers of union busters and union raiders. That is why, in the end, the only real solution to union busting and union raiding is the enlightenment of all our workers.

The manpower development program that we launched a few years ago has turned out to be a successful program. Under this program, some 200,000 unemployed citizens have been prepared through vocational training for employment.

It is now time, I think, to make the manpower development program serve the actual needs of industry; to train people for immediate absorption by industry. In this way, our manpower development program can become an active instrument not only of economic progress but also of social change.

We are now reforming the educational system of the Philippines. We are engaged in a reformation which will bring out graduates that can be absorbed by industries or who will fit into industry and will relate to the development program and plans of our country. It is now time for the manpower development program to involve itself as well in this new orientation, in this new; change.

Now, taking all this into consideration, I recommend the following proposals for the consideration of this tripartite congress.

First, I propose the inclusion of employer-employee relations as a required subject in all elementary and high schools as well as in all vocational and technical institutions. I am also directing right now Secretary Ople to include labor relations as one of the subjects in all manpower training classes all over the country. For as we all know, all pupils, students or trainees will end up as employees or employers, the only exception being self-employed persons.

Second, I propose the holding of a compulsory election in every establishment within 60 days before the expiration of a three-year collective bargaining agreement for the purpose of determining the collective bargaining agent of the employees therein. I also propose the transfer, from the CIR to an administrative body like the Bureau of Labor Relations, of the power to order and conduct an election to settle inter-union or intra-union disputes.

Third, I propose to empower CIR hearing examiners, especially in the provinces, to decide and rule on all unfair labor practices and representation cases subject to review by CIR Judges in Manila upon request of the aggrieved parties. In due time, I am certifying to Congress a bill which will merge the Court of Industrial Relations and the Court of Agrarian Relations into a single labor and agrarian court, adopting the present atomic structure of the CAR and eliminating the present collegiate structure of the CIR for the purpose.

Fourth, I propose the abolition of the present union registration system which is an unnecessary and cumbersome extension of colonial policy. In place of the present system, unions shall be merely required to submit their names and addresses to the Labor Department whose duty shall consist only of compiling such names and addresses and publishing from time to time an official directory of all unions.

And fifth, I propose to make vocational training compulsory for all citizens of the country.

I ask all of you to discuss these proposals and indicate your consensus about them at the end of this congress. I will be guided by the consensus of this congress.

This, I understand, is the first major tripartite congress to be held in our country. Previous labor relations congresses were attended by representatives of labor and management only. I hope this innovation will prove fruitful and thus set a new pattern for the future. I trust all of you will do justice to this new idea, this new approach, which we owe to the innovating mind of Blas, my Secretary of Labor. He has been a good Secretary of Labor, you must admit. Paminsan-minsan nakakawala, pero magaling na Kalihim ng Paggawa.

My friends from labor, management and government this is your first major opportunity to work together towards the solution of our common problems. Let us make it a great success — for peace through justice and freedom for all.

Everywhere we hear the cry, there must be reform! This is one of the areas where we must now bring about reforms, but not through bloody revolution. Continue along the path that you have followed since the adoption of the Industrial Peace Act in 1952. You are the innovators, you are the original leaders of reform. I look forward, therefore, to the Tripartite Congress leading the way towards the peaceful reform of our society and the alteration of the attitudes of our people. This congress alone is an achievement in itself. The fact that management and government can sit down with labor and discuss their common problems is a monument to the new perspective, to the new attitudes, and to the change of heart of our people, and this, therefore, is an augury of the happy resolution of this period of confusion. And out of this congress a new body like the Bureau of Labor Relations, of the power to order and conduct an election to settle inter-union or intra-union disputes.

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Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Joint Graduation Exercises of the National Defense College and the Command and General Staff College, May 25, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Joint Graduation Exercises of the National Defense College and the Command and General Staff College

[Delivered at the Camp Aguinaldo Officers Club, May 25, 1971]

Leadership in a Time of Challenge

I TAKE SPECIAL pride in being here today to officiate at the Joint Graduation Exercises of the National Security Course of the National Defense College of the Philippines and the Associate Command and General Staff Course of the AFP Command and General Staff College.

I am heartened to see more and more of our civil government officials appreciate the need of sending their executives to the National Defense College for national security is the equal concern of both the civilian and the military. I am likewise heartened to note the continuing turnout of Command General Staff graduates who will eventually occupy positions of leadership in the Armed Forces.

Recently, I lifted the General Staff Corps eligibility as a requirement for promotion. It does not mean, however, that I have reduced the worth and importance of this eligibility. I do continue to recognize its necessity in the development of professionalism among the senior officers of our Armed Forces, especially officers of the line. All other factors being equal, an officer with the eligibility has a better likelihood of putting in a creditable performance than one who does not. The same is true for the course offered by the National Defense College. It is therefore my desire that both programs be pursued aggressively.

The seventies present formidable challenges to the nation and its leadership. Our nation is in a state of transition; it is entering a new phase in its political life. The transition is taking place amidst difficulties and obstacles. To many of our people, fazed perhaps by the tremendous odds, this has become a time of uncertainty. All facets of our national life are being challenged by potent social, economic and political realities.

Important decisions will have to be made, decisions that will call for wisdom, vision, a thorough awareness of the realities, the options available, and the course to make the right, even if painful, decisions.

These decisions will have to be made at a time in Asian history when upheavals have engulfed the rimland of Southeast Asia. The United Kingdom has modified its east of Suez politics, and the United States' Nixon Doctrine is about to realize itself. The ascendancy of Japan as a major power in Asia is becoming a reality. While Red China is perceptively changing its attitude towards the rest of the world, the problems of security it poses to the emerging nations in Asia remain.

This rapidly changing social and political environment is happening at a point in our national history when we are experiencing a spectacular physical growth.

To cite only a few of the accepted indicators of national progress: For successive years since 1966, the first year of my administration, we have consistently exceeded the growth rates we established as our targets. In Fiscal Year 1966-67, we planned a growth rate in the Gross National Product of 5.7%; actually, however, we achieved a growth rate of 6.2%. Again, in 1967-68, our target was a growth rate of 5.8%; our actual growth rate was 6.3%. And once again, in 1968-69, we planned a growth rate of 5.5%; our actual growth rate was 6.4%, or 1.1% more than we had planned.

The steady growth of the Gross National Product is even more graphic in its absolute figures from year to year. In 1968, GNP was P28,837 million; in 1969, it rose to P31,737 million; and in 1970, it climbed to P37,549 million.

Fiscal Year 1970 was an unusual year, because of our accumulated balance of payments situation. But even with the difficulties we had to suffer in this respect, we have, through sound fiscal management that the International Monetary Fund itself has acknowledged, been able to maintain a considerable momentum of national growth. From month to month last year, for instance, our operating cash deficits were considerably reduced or turned into surpluses, so that by the end of Calendar Year 1970, we had accumulated— in one year— a cash surplus of P168.8 million. If you compare this to the deficit of P946.81 million the previous year, which had been caused by necessary investments in the form of expenditures for roads and bridges, irrigation systems, schools, farm credit and barrio improvement, among others equally vital to progress, you have a vivid picture of our new national vigor.

Similarly, the total exports in Fiscal Year 1970 rose to \$932 million, an increase of 11.1 per cent over the previous Fiscal Year. On the other hand, imports decreased by 5.5%, indicating not only the soundness and validity of our strategy in bridging our trade gap but our ability to discipline and direct ourselves.

Likewise, unemployment has been reduced from a high point of 9.5% in 1962 to 6.7% in 1969, contrary to the claims of our detractors.

The population has grown considerably. Our agricultural revolution has just been launched. Our economic growth in the final analysis has been healthy, even vigorous. Our social evolution has been dynamic. We have better communication and transportation systems than at any previous time in our history. Our maritime vessels now sail the high seas. Our aerial flag travels the routes of Europe, the Middle East and the Pacific.

There are those, however, who for reasons of their own would rather shut their eyes to these signs of undeniable growth and gain. There are incontrovertible evidences of attempts to erode our strength and stability through subversion, rumor-mongering and other maneuvers.

Today, these forces have shifted their assault to the AFP. The central issue of the day against the AFP is a simple directive of the Chief of Constabulary to his command — a reminder, no more no less, to enforce the law. Yet the concerted attack launched against it is out of proportion. Our critics want to make it appear that a “mailed fist” policy is in the offing. We are suddenly accused of stifling dissent, of attempting to impose a fascistic rule. May I ask, has anyone been arrested in this country and held under detention beyond the normal period without a formal hearing? How many have been incarcerated for having extremist views or for libeling me and my family?

Today, we find Maoist converts holding demonstrations and rallies in the streets, exalting the virtues of communism, openly glorifying the local communist leaders and inciting people to revolt. Yet they have not been arrested nor made to account for their unlawful acts.

This is my answer to the self-serving, unfounded charges that we have stifled dissent and the unfair charge of fascism.

I am pleased to know that the National Defense College and the Command and Staff College have markedly modified their respective curricula to reflect contemporary and foreseeable changes. Both colleges are responding to the demands of change.

Significant shifts are expected in the Command and General Staff College this year. There will be marked changes in its basic character, although the central purpose and objectives will remain the same.

For both colleges to maintain their effectiveness, as well as their responsiveness, innovative changes will be required from time to time.

These changes would require enlightened management, a clear-cut sense of direction and a realistic assessment of the performance of its graduates in their new responsibilities or positions.

I have been informed that by direction of the Secretary of National Defense, the programs of instruction of both the AFP Command and Central Staff College and the National Defense College have been revised to be more responsive to the needs of the Armed Forces and the country as a whole. I would like to congratulate Secretary Enrile for taking this step.

It is always a pleasure to see that more qualified people join the ranks of educated officials to fill the ever increasing needs of national security. For our major task remains the attainment of a political, economic and social climate that is conducive to the fulfillment of our people's aspirations and the preservation of our freedom.

We face challenging times. But our response to the challenge gives cause for hope. Our Gross National Product, as I have said, has increased; a favorable balance in our export-import trade now obtains; an orderly restructuring of our society is in the offing with the coming Constitutional Convention.

But to advance these gains and at the same time preserve our way of life, we as a people must change.

What we seriously need today is change within ourselves, a change in some of our traditionally personal-centered values, a redirection of our attitude outward, a change that starts from the individual and is directed towards the community, a change that asks especially of us in the government what we can give to, rather than what we can get from, the people.

This attitude begins with involvement, an involvement that comes from genuine concern for the people, a concern rooted in a positive approach regarding the exercise of authority. The Christian concept of authority is service; in a democratic country, therefore, authority connotes service to the people from whom this authority is derived. Service to be truly meaningful must be active, purposeful and altruistic.

It is with this in mind that I pose this challenge to you as graduates, to apply your newly acquired education to a positive activism that will overcome the inertia of complacency and cynicism, to an involvement that will answer those who agitate for violent change, and to a revitalized leadership that will allow maintaining our options for bringing about change in our society without first, destroying it.

I shall lead this change as I have pledged to lead a democratic revolution that is truly Filipino — proud, tolerant and free.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the National Export Marketing Conference, May 26, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the National Export Marketing Conference

[Delivered on May 26, 1971]

Successful
A
of Government and Business

Export
Joint

Marketing:
Responsibility

AFTER WHAT I would call an overdose of comments voiced by quarters both well-meaning and otherwise, in criticism of government action, or in-action, it is cause for great relief and deep gratification to see a gathering of responsible citizens here this morning manfully facing their share of a chosen challenge. This challenge, in the words of your conference theme, is “successful export marketing,” a challenge that you — unlike so many of our fellow citizens who excel in less productive endeavors — have accepted as “a joint responsibility of government and business.”

I hope, however, that this conference will distinguish itself from number-less other conferences by going beyond the mere production of expert advice. I hope that this conference will lead to the generation of an actual resolve to move, to act, to do.

For the competitive position of our exports in world markets will not be enhanced by passively waiting for results after a diligent exchange of sparkling views. No share in the growth of world markets will come without our actively bidding for that share. And, admittedly, neither business nor government can undertake this effort apart from each other.

The government, as you know, has not been idle. Before exports became accepted by our leadership as the new wave of our future, there was the Investment Incentives Act which had started stimulating greater interest in this field of business. This encouragement was fashioned more concretely in the Export Incentives Act that came a little later. Priorities have likewise been offered to exports by the Central Bank and other government agencies, and export equipments and procedures have continually been simplified. The National Export Trading Corporation was organized, a foreign trade zone has been established in Bataan and an exports institute has just been set up by the Board of Investments.

The private sector, for its part, has moved with more measured pace. Rather; timidly, which is not surprising up to a point, the private sector has — to a limited extent — pioneered into new markets, developed new products, and grappled with the new sophistication required in world trade.

A look at our balance of payments, however, will show that we have yet to take maximum advantage of the array of opportunities available from our international trade.

For instance, for much longer than they should have, our exports have continued to be generally in the raw material form that is so vulnerable to wide price fluctuations. On the whole, these exports have been sold to the same traditional foreign markets. These facts are so well known that I repeat them here only for one reason. And that is, that our export methods have compounded the natural drawbacks arising from the type and limited marketing of our exports thus depriving us of the full potential returns even from the exportation of primary goods alone.

Nor have we been more imaginative or assiduous in consolidating our import requirements and securing the best terms in their procurement.

Small wonder then if, as was the case last year, we did labor like a mountain and brought forth no more than a mouse of a surplus in our balance of payments. We managed to raise our export volume by one-seventh but we had to cut our imports by nearly one-fifth. This severe drop in import volume gave rise to the dislocations that we see now in our economy. And all this for nearly naught because, while our export prices went up, the average prices of our imports rose by almost four times as much.

Clearly we are getting the short end in our terms of trade. And if we are to correct this situation and maximize the benefits possible from expanding and diversifying our foreign trade, we must get organized— not just on the government's side of it, nor the private sector's separately, but together. The private sector, as indicated by your conference theme, has accepted this joint, responsibility. The government and business then must marshall both their forces so that we may be able not only to sell but also to buy in world's markets, wherever these may turn out to be for us, at terms that can best promote our, national development.

To begin to succeed in our joint export marketing effort, business must weed out of its ranks the dishonest and the inefficient. It must avoid at all cost such malpractices as substandard shipments. It should coordinate and synchronize for greater economy, therefore more savings and higher earnings. It must be more willing and better prepared to take risks and venture into new products and markets.

Our businessmen should rethink their positions, their attitudes that prevent them from joining to their greater advantage larger units or associations, sharing technical information, and indeed ownership and management.

Even as we are alert to the competition around us, let us learn from our competitors. These multi-purpose organizations protect Japan's terms of trade, integrate domestic production, transport and distribution where these are required to maintain national competitiveness. Even as they earn healthy profits for their own operations, these trading companies — in the national interest — push their country's exports relentlessly in every market, getting them the best prices and largest market penetration possible. These same companies are responsible for securing again at the best terms obtainable, the materials, technology and capital that Japan's industries must have.

In meeting its responsibilities as helper, protector, and regulator, our government has recently actively promoted what I hope will eventually be the Philippine application of Japan's eminently successful trading company concept.

In support of this effort, I believe the government must consider certain undertakings promptly. For one thing, government financial institutions should coordinate their allocation programs for the various financial requirements for imports, exports and capital goods procurement. Special tariff benefits for the use of Philippine transport vessels should be in order, along with other forms of fiscal exports assistance. The benefits from the Export Incentives Act could be so refined that they would provide better encouragement to exports. Export credit insurance should complement this effort, as should the coordinated export promotion and market penetration work of our commercial attaches.

In addition, government must keep trying to allocate resources where they are most needed by the economy and in which they can be most efficiently utilized, withholding such resources from inefficient or useless undertakings. It should step up the development of our shipping industry, of waterways, harbors and ports. It would have to be even more selective for exports, as well as for smaller and newer industries. Finally government should consider concluding agreements that would be conducive to trading with other and more countries.

For its part, our private sector must consider giving its maximum cooperation in the organization and cooperation, particularly at its initial stage, of an international trading corporation patterned after Japan's "shoji kaisha." Assistance will be especially vital from certain industries which are in a position to lend substantial help. Considering these industries have been the beneficiaries of special support from the economy service whose profits are not confined to themselves.

Specifically, such industries could set the example for the private sector. They might course their trade as much as possible, if not exclusively, through the country's own trading company, at least for a reasonable trial period. This cooperation should enable the trading company to prove whether it can indeed perform better for both the economy and the industries that trade through it.

The cooperation from such industries would involve synchronizing their production as well as their materials handling and distribution in order to minimize idle time in loading operations. It would also entail scheduling backhaul shipments that would utilize the return voyages of vessels, which would be on time charter for greater economy.

Commercial banks could help too by enlarging their participation in the area of export financing. This help, I am glad to note, is increasingly becoming evident.

It is my sincere hope that the private sector, by itself and without wasting the nation's time, will find it both right and rewarding to identify public welfare with its own gain.

In that event, government need not try to use its persuasive abilities on business. It could then concentrate on doing its share of the joint responsibility in successful export marketing, instead of having to convince business that a good part of the cost of doing business in this country is the national interest.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

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Address of President Marcos at the opening ceremonies of the 18th Annual Convention of Rural Bankers Association of the Philippines, May 27, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening ceremonies of the 18th Annual Convention of Rural Bankers Association of the Philippines

[Delivered at Pines Hotel, Baguio City, May 27, 1971]

Rural Credit: A Pillar of Agriculture

I WISH TO congratulate the rural bankers who, jointly with the Central Bank of the Philippines, are holding their 18th Annual Convention at Baguio City on the theme: The Effective Utilization of Rural Bank Credit to Meet the Changing Pattern in our Rural Economy.

I have watched with pride the phenomenal growth of the rural banks in our country. Today, it is the most extensive rural banking system anywhere in Asia. I understand that you have grown into a network of 500 rural banks with combined resources of P650 million, as of December 1970. You have generated savings deposits with a cumulative total of P237 million. Your loan portfolio has reached a level of P1.16 billion and that some 1.9 million farmers have been extended your financial assistance. By any standard, this is a significant contribution to the economic development of the Philippines, as your loans go where they are needed most— to our small farmers and entrepreneurs.

As a Congressman from the Second District of Ilocos Norte, eighteen years ago, I had the privilege of sponsoring in the House of Representatives the bill which was subsequently enacted as Republic Act 720, otherwise known as the Rural Banks Act. Since then, and whenever it was within my power to do so, I have consistently lent support and encouragement to the expansion of our rural banking system.

You all know that our economy still relies heavily on the agricultural sector. About 36 per cent of our national income or roughly P10 billion is derived from 'agriculture. We have 9 million hectares of land planted to food crops. And yet much remains to be done. We must accelerate our food production through improved methods of cultivation, planting, cropping and marketing, to meet the ever-increasing needs of our expanding population and be able to gear our economy for greater exports.

That is why, after consultations with fiscal and monetary authorities, I have made it an overriding objective of this administration to accomplish in those five years what had not been achieved in two decades of agricultural development.

We are harnessing the resources of government and all available financing from world organizations, like the US AID and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for agriculture expansion. The Central Bank of the Philippines, through its sale of certificates of indebtedness, shall be able to draw P600 million from urban centers this year. The money will be channeled to the rural areas for production loans through the rural banking system.

For this reason, we will encourage the establishment of more rural banks. We want to double the present number to 1,000 rural banks within 5 years. This would require P3.7 billion in resources sufficient to generate a P4.8 billion loan volume a year to an estimated 4 million farmers.

The Supervised Credit Scheme which will characterize this massive financing for rural development calls for the stationing of one food production specialist in every rural bank of the country. I understand that for this coming crop

season, the Central Bank has recruited and trained 150 government food production specialists for initial placement in rural banks of land reform areas. The Central Bank's target is 1,000 food specialists drawn from fresh agricultural graduates and who will go through an intensive training program at UP Los Baños.

Our more immediate concern are the 176,000 tenant-lessees in the 16 provinces declared as land reform areas. These farmers sadly lack the financing to give true meaning to their "emancipation" from the age-old bondage to the soil.

But social justice demands that these farmers be helped; hence, the Supervised Credit Scheme which the government is going to provide them, through the rural banks, on good faith alone. It is here where the expertise of the food production technician — living in the barrios with me farmers — can assure proper use of credit, increased production, and better market returns, to assure repayment of the loan as they fall due.

Criticisms have been levelled from some quarters that the government is favoring the rural banks to the prejudice of other entities also engaged in providing credit to the farmers. I say that the CB-Rural Bank scheme for supervised credit merely complements the efforts of other government or private entities.

To cite specific examples: The Development Bank of the Philippines, for all its massive resources, has been able to grant loans to an average of 15,000 farmers each year. ACA meets the requirements of just about 20 per cent of our farmers. That leaves a wide area in which millions of farmers have no available financing.

I appeal to, the rural banks to respond wholeheartedly to this program of Government to provide massive financing for tenant-lessees to enable their transition to owners of the land they till. I can see several avenues of reform within the rural banking system itself.

First, rural banks must exert greater efforts to gain deeper acceptance in their respective communities. One way is to take more stockholders, while retaining a reasonable degree of control. They could also reexamine their organizational set-up to see if it could stand improvement to meet expanded operations. And finally, I ask every rural banker to regard his profession as a splendid opportunity to serve the people and the country.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 18th National Convention of Manufacturers and Producers, May 28, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 18th National Convention of Manufacturers and Producers

[Delivered at the Manila Hotel, May 28, 1971]

The Challenge of Reform

LONG AFTER MY second term is ended, I shall certainly cherish it as one of the major achievements of my two administrations the fact that I have never failed to accept your invitation to address your annual convention.

This is my sixth year, and I think this is my sixth appearance before the chamber. Knowing fully well that every year you have your crises and grievances, some fanciful and some valid, I come back every year, I keep coming back to absorb more blows from the chamber because I know that they are given with sincerity and given with the hope that they will help in attaining needed reforms. For reformation in government and society is not just a sudden discovery of the year 1970 or '71, for government and society live upon change and reformation. Man himself started out with a compulsion for reformation, for if he had not reformed, like the other elements of his environment, he would have disappeared with them.

I am pleased to note the healthy and continuing pre-occupation of our private industry with social involvement in our task of nation building. Today, you reiterate in your 18th convention theme — “Philippine Industry and the Challenge of Reforms” — this responsible and sustained commitment to larger purposes than the profit motive and certainly nothing can encourage a government leader more than this. I feel that history shall long remember this timely harnessing of your entrepreneurial dynamism to candidly reappraise your role in our imperative drama of national reformation.

The challenge of reforms is not a monopoly of any segment of our society today. When we first called upon all our people to initiate the democratic revolution, it was precisely to underscore the universal application of an emerging mandate for national reforms. Leaders of government and captains of industry, the professional, the student, the housewife, and the ordinary citizen — all alike are confronted with the challenge to institute reforms in their own distinctive spheres of influence. But if we are truly to succeed in a rebirth of national purpose and achievement, it is imperative that whatever desired reforms are to be realized must be a common endeavor and not a partisan, selfish, private solution; must affect not only institutions but also the hearts of men; must not consist of words alone but of actions; must pervade all segments and levels of our society with unbiased prosecution and intent of purpose. The very soul of such a national reformation clearly dictates not only a political, but also a social as well as cultural, moral and economic renovation.

This indeed is the answer of an ordinary citizen, or of any man for that matter, to the cry we often hear from some of our desperate youths. They say, reform! And add, win reform by bloody revolution. Always, the ordinary citizen responds, reform yes; bloody revolution, no! For we can still attain reform by peaceful means. And, therefore, I am personally encouraged when I hear of the efforts of such organizations as the Philippine Chamber of Industries, to initiate reforms within its ranks, and to speak of social conscience as a part of business and, at least temporarily, superseding the profit motive.

That our political institutions need reform, there is hardly anyone who will deny. Indeed, a fundamental revision of these institutions is the very purpose of the coming Constitutional Convention. I was asked by the leaders of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, before the approval of the Constitution Act, whether it was timely to call the Constitutional Convention in view of the confusion and chaos apparently prevailing in our country. And my answer was an unmitigated and uncompromising, yes, it is timely for this is the answer to those who seek revolution,

as it is the answer to our problems and the riddles of our epoch. The awakening expectations of our people express their best wishes and hopes for success in this historic endeavor to the members of the Constitutional Convention which I now reiterate and express here.

And yet, we must all realize that desired reforms in our political life need not wait for an amendment of our fundamental law. Indeed, it has been one of the priority objectives of my administration to complete the vital overhaul of our entire government structure before the end of this current fiscal year. The Reorganization Commission which I have directed to undertake this comprehensive renovation of our governmental machinery is even now finalizing its recommendation. And its recommendations, which have now leaked to the press are even now meeting with criticism from all quarters. I am sure that this recommendation will reflect a new and revitalized blueprint of governmental institutions more responsive to the socio-economic urgencies of our times, and the need for speedy dispensation of justice as well as of social welfare.

Because we firmly believe that justice delayed is justice denied, I have continuously tried my best not only to appoint men of unquestioned moral integrity, judicial competence, and human compassion to the judiciary, but also to fill every vacant bench with the least delay. And yet, we must confess that the task of instituting reforms can sometimes proceed at a pace to provoke everybody's impatience and the pessimism of some. You will, for instance, recall our recent temporary financial difficulties and our effort to institute financial reforms. The pessimists started heralding the threat of financial chaos and the ultimate collapse of our economy. We can now smile back at such dire predictions. For our adoption of an exchange reform program that featured the floating rate, complemented by the passage of the Stabilization Act, not only restored equilibrium in our balance of payments but also established monetary stability in our domestic front. And, perhaps, it is timely too at this stage to remind ourselves of why we acquired the balance of payments problems. The encouragement of manufacturing and production from 1966 to 1969 resulted in the fact that in 1969, 90 per cent or more of the dollar expenditures went to factories and raw materials, with raw materials constituting about 45 per cent. In short, in that year, 90 per cent of all the dollars that we spent abroad went to you; the manufacturers and the producers, and this resulted in the foreign exchange problem for that year.

The problem called for the adoption of the floating rate and other measures necessary to solve the said problem of balance of payments. The manufacturers and producers grudgingly agreed to the measures of self-restraint, and I say this because I heard objections from some quarters, but all in all you did agree voluntarily. The private economic sector by and large has cooperated with the Central Bank, the monetary authorities, and with the government. And so I have come tonight to congratulate you for it. I came here to say to you that we have cleared the hump. We ended the year 1970 with a comfortable surplus of \$112 million in stark contrast to the deficit of \$68 million in 1969. But although we can now take pride in the continuing surplus position in our balance of payments—indeed for the month of April we enjoyed a net surplus of \$27 million — this is however, no time to throw fiscal and financial caution to the winds. We shall, therefore, continue the strict adoption of the following financial policies: No new foreign borrowings shall be allowed in over-crowded areas of business activity. In contrast, preferences for new external debts shall be accorded to new ventures and/or expansion in (1) export-oriented industries; and (2) BOI approved priorities. Domestic savings shall be encouraged thru more effective monetary, credit, and fiscal instruments, even as continued vigilance in maintaining relatively stable prices will be increased.

I am glad to note that your responsible and resilient entrepreneurship has consistently supported my industrial strategy of promoting the development of intermediate and capital goods industries; of accelerating the economic chain of backward and forward linkages; of encouraging export-oriented industries which utilize indigenous raw materials, and generate greater employment opportunities; and lastly, of hastening the geographical dispersal of our industrial development. There was a question asked of me sometime ago as to why we were encouraging economic investment in the far south, in Mindanao. The answer is simple. It is because of the fact that Mindanao is below the typhoon belt, and we have suffered severely from typhoons in the last year-and-a-half. The record of your response to this industrial reformation is, heartening. For you have already registered with the Board of Investments some 171 enterprises with a total capitalization of P1.4 billion in peso counterpart. It is particularly noteworthy that 48 of these registered firms have accepted their socio-economic responsibility of pioneering in such risky areas as pulp and paper, nickel smelting, communications equipment, machinery and other industrial requirements. In terms of employment generation these registered firms created a total of 29,694 direct and new employment opportunities, of

which 12,853 are in Mindanao, 1,586 in the Visayas, and 15,625 in Luzon outside of the Greater Manila area. I am told that the direct labor generation of these enterprises could very well add another 30,000.

These are the major reforms in our industrial development, which I propose to continue in joint collaboration with you. For I believe that the narrow, inward-looking and superficial economic strategy of our early days in import-substitution is no longer adequate to provide sufficient employment opportunities for our people, raise the nation's standards of living, and bring about greater economic stability. I propose to continue and accelerate our national drive to awaken a sharp and intense export-consciousness among our businessmen. And to this end I propose to tear down the greenhouse atmosphere of excessive tariff protection within which many of our domestic enterprises have long continued to be infant industries; and make them competitive in the world market. However, don't be shocked by this statement; this is a long range plan. The Export Incentives Act of 1970 shall be reexamined in order to better reflect the types of benefits our exporters need. And in order to insure the equitable distribution of the benefits of our economic development, I shall continue my fight against oligarchies, and insist that the ownership of our enterprises be open to equity participation by as wide a segment as possible of our people. And small business shall not be forgotten. The entire machinery of my administration shall be harnessed to promote the socially desirable and profitable interaction between industrial complexes and small-scale suppliers.

In agriculture, we shall persevere in our campaign to promote the green revolution. We shall not rest until a land reform program truly and justly restoring the farmer to his rightful dignity as a co-producer of, and a co-sharer in the nation's prosperity will have been operational. However, there is a new strategy with respect to land reform. Land reform is not just conversion of the sharecropper into a leasehold farmer, or the distribution of land acquired by government, each farm lot chopped into small family units of 5 hectares. This is self-defeating because in the next or second generation the landholding will be so small that they would not be economical. And, therefore, we now attack the problem of land reform and tenancy reform through cooperatives. We are now busy in Magalang, Pampanga and in Llanera, Nueva Ecija, setting up this project. It is our hope that before any land is distributed, every farmer or tenant who intends to acquire his own property shall be obliged to participate in cooperatives, producers cooperatives, consumers cooperatives, irrigation cooperatives; for cooperatives have been the secret of many countries in the world. In Magalang and Llanera, we have adopted the *Moshav* style system of cooperatives from Israel. And I notice that the ambassador of Israel is here, and I would like to thank him on behalf of our government for the help that he has extended to us.

At the same time, we shall encourage further expenditures not only of the government but of the financial institutions of government on two premier areas. These areas are massive housing and electrification. On housing, we intend to spend or have available for expenditure in this year alone a total of P400 million. It is my hope that the private sector will come and participate by presenting proposals for private land developers in the construction of low cost housing. It is my policy to see to it that the P400 million, which shall come principally from bonds and from the GSIS and the SSS, will be utilized principally by the private sector and not by the government.

The second area of expenditures is electrification. We have a program of spending which entails P600 million in the next several years for a nationwide electrification program. This program shall include sources of funds like reparations, USAID, loans and the general fund of the government. The program is properly funded and it is proceeding very well.

Much as we desire to institute reforms, unless our citizenry and the private organizations participate in their crystallization, their formulation, their implementation, this monumental task facing our nation today will be as hollow as reeds by the riverside. This is why I find meaning and dignity in your role, as expressed in your resolution, in seeking reforms not only in your ranks but in government and in every segment of our society, reforms to be won peacefully. This is why I find meaning and dignity in the role our students and workers play as they peacefully demonstrate through the streets of our cities. For as long as they carry their placards peacefully and they cry out, their grievances within the limits set by the law, they truly form part of the vital, dynamic nation's conscience. They awaken our people to their rights and their dignity as a human person; they remind the leaders of government and the private sector of their responsibilities transcending the private confines of self-interest; they set the pace and project the time constraint in this historic movement to satisfy pent-up urgencies and socio-economic expectations born of centuries of oppression. Understandably, the impatience of youth and the bitterness of long-

suffering test, to its very limits, the law as an instrument of social change. But I continue to have faith that in the law is the only dignified instrument of social change, in the law is the true dynamism of national reformation.

In meeting the challenge of reforms facing the nation, today, lies the rebirth of our purposes and our dignity as a godly people. History is witness that our resilience and Oriental discipline have been more than a resourceful match against similar challenge in the past. But let us begin with reforms in our own hearts. Let us not cry out for political reform while intent upon concerning political favors at the expense of others. Let us not cry for social and economic reforms while not paying our workers even the old minimum wage. If we reform as individual citizens, this spirit of personal rebirth will be the momentum of a positive, national reformation. For have said repeatedly in the past that the secret of success in nation-building is that each and every citizen—child, man or woman — contributes, even a most modest share, to nation-building. I repeat, no matter how modest that share of each citizen may be, if it is given freely and from the heart, it shall participate in the great victories that we shall achieve.

And the challenge to begin is now!

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 33rd Foundation Day of the Presidential Guard Battalion, May 28, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 33rd Foundation Day of the Presidential Guard Battalion

[Delivered at the P. G. B. Parade Ground, May 28, 1971]

Restraint with Firmness

I FEEL THAT I join you here today, on this the 33rd anniversary of the Malacañang Presidential Guard, not as one more guest in your celebration but as one who comes to pay tribute to all that those years represented for our Republic and for those of us who have known your steadfast loyalty and affection in their years of service to the Presidency of our country.

In short, I come here today not only as President but as a citizen chosen to represent other Presidents in the past, and to come to offer full appreciation, indeed an accolade, for all the services not only of the men presently constituting the Presidential Guard Battalion but of all the officers and men who have served in this unit.

With every passing year, this occasion increasingly becomes for me a deep personal encounter with friends and supporters, where words often fail to express one's gratitude and admiration. Though sometimes failing to express such words of appreciation and gratitude, I console myself with the fact that between soldiers, and I consider myself still a soldier, there need not much be said. In our relationship, let it be known that whether I am here or not to express gratitude for myself and for my family and for the country, that gratitude is implicit and accords to each and everyone of you. Let me say simply that in the nearly six years that I have served in the Presidency, it has to be served by this elite corps of soldiers and I am truly beholden to all of you.

When 38 years ago, the Presidential Guard was founded, we were in the midst of a transition towards being a fully sovereign and independent nation. With its founding began this long tradition of service and dedication to the national leadership in our country which is well-known to many of us. It is as much your pride as mine that the Presidency and the government we serve are sovereign in this land.

The import of this occasion would be altogether lost if we failed to recognize the sense of tradition that animates your work and relates it to the work of your predecessors and the whole of our democratic tradition. For it seems to me that you embody the nation's hopes to keep our democratic institutions intact and strong.

In an earlier time the idea of safeguarding our way of life from subversion and aggression was readily recognized by everyone, and our response to the dangers was swift and resolute.

We live now in different times, in times of great anxiety and expectation of confusion in which the dangers posed before the nation are complex and various. For the enemy now utilizes more sophisticated weapons and more devious means to wreck our democracy and to destroy our freedom. It is less easy to see today the dangers that threaten our democracy as it was two or three decades ago. There are those among our people who, hungry for advancement and progress, find it more and more difficult to understand that to find our way to the future does not require cursing and repudiating the past and destruction and killing and bloodshed. The killing of brother by brother.

The unsettled character of our times poses dangers to our democracy, in forms we never anticipated. This present crisis will require of each of us, specially of you and me, to keep events from getting ahead of us and to keep the ship of state from sinking in the eye of the typhoon.

This is a difficult task, for our response, if it is to be truly reflective of the democracy we are sworn to uphold, must never trample on the bedrock of freedom and civil liberties, which our constitution guarantees to every citizen and president of this country.

Our response must be tempered with caution even in dealing with those who are sworn to bring down the government. And you in the Presidential Guard Battalion as well as in the Presidential Security Unit have succeeded in demonstrating to everyone here and abroad that indeed the man in uniform is a statesman capable of recognizing threats against his democratic government but at the same time so free and capable of appreciating freedom that he allows the exercise of that same freedom by the very enemies he fights.

I have watched you on guard duty, I have watched you standing firm against riots and demonstrations, from January of 1970 to the present, and I have admired your statesmanship, the diplomatic manner in which you have handled angry young children who, thinking that it is in their power to wreck not only Malacañang but also the presidency, over extend themselves; and I have seen the same young men and women throw lies at your face and you just smile; insult and your families and you just stand firm, silent and forbearing, and I have admired you for all this. And so, today, I salute each and everyone of you for your statesmanship and for your professional conduct as the guardian of the President and his family.

Let us never forget that while this may be a time of confusion and a time of chaos, this too is a time of opportunity. This is a time when each and every man is offered the opportunity to demonstrate once again his capability to utilize to the utmost the time that passes by and to demonstrate the strength and character of our nation and of our race.

Let me remind each and everyone of you that as we meet the enemy and face up to the dangers inherent in such a confrontation, we must meet this challenge with strength, with courage, and with patience — and by so demonstrating this courage, this patience, this understanding and breadth of mind, we establish for all time that the Filipino people are capable of freedom, are capable of greatness.

In a way, therefore, you in the Presidential Guard Battalion have demonstrated by your behavior what we ask of every Filipino, be he in government or in the private sector, that he should be a true, a new and enlightened Filipino, a man who understands the basis of his freedom and understands the weaknesses of the enemy. A man who, realizing all of this still stands firm on his principles and on his beliefs, while at the same time granting to everyone the same rights that he values.

So, my friends, members and officers of the Presidential Guard Battalion, I, as Commander-in-Chief, again commend you, and I express to you the personal thanks of the President and his family, as well as, I am certain, the thanks of the entire Filipino people.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Fourth Seminar Workshop on Rural Electrification for Provincial Electric Cooperatives Team, May 29, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Fourth Seminar Workshop on Rural Electrification for Provincial Electric Cooperatives Team

[Delivered in Malacañang, May 29, 1971]

To Light Up the Rural Areas

I COME TO congratulate the graduates of which there are, I understand, 64. This is not the first time that I have spoken before a group of graduates such as you; I think this is the fourth time. However, this event, the graduation of this class, is a most important event because we are moving inexorably towards the organization of the machinery that will implement one of the most important programs of government today. There are several areas in which the government, the private sector and the citizenry are joined in common effort. One of these important areas is the cooperative effort in land reform and tenancy reform. Thus we have the Moshav type of farming in Magalang, Pampanga and in Llanera, Nueva Ecija. We are also joined in promoting community development in general, thus we have the self-help projects handled by the Presidential Arm for Community Development and its counterparts in the barrios.

The national housing effort is also a program where both the government and the private sector are teamed in partnership. We intend to spend this year P400 million for housing. From studies we have made, we found that we need to build every year 470,000 dwellings, most of which, of course, will be in the urban areas, which means about 370,000 units in the urban areas and 100,000 in the rural areas. Incidentally, this is not an overall target, it is an annual target, a yearly objective. But all of these are, in my point of view, minor compared to that of lighting up the rural areas.

Let me call to your attention some of the data on electricity. We have a total of 1,389 municipalities throughout the Philippines, but only 706 of this enjoy electrical power, which means that 683 municipalities are, from the modern and all points of view, in darkness. Out of 34 million Filipinos, and this figure is based on the survey conducted sometime ago, before we reached the total of about 37.8 million, only 7.3 million or less than 20 per cent of the population had electrical power available. This means that only 20 per cent of our people are serviced by electricity. And yet power is a fundamental requisite in the modernizing process.

The teams that have gone into ten days of intensive teaching are composed of representatives of the PACD, the representatives of the Cooperatives Office, the representatives of local governments, the representatives of the civic groups and the representatives of the teachers. A team of five. This team is properly called the Provincial Electric Cooperative Team, the PECT. These are the teams that will go to the barrios and municipalities and provinces, to attain several objectives. One of them, as has been explained by the Chairman of the Board of the NEA, is to gather data on which feasibility studies will be based. And the next, to organize cooperatives and to set the atmosphere for the reception of this more sophisticated organizational approach towards electricity. This team, therefore, will be the modern Prometheus, who shall bring light to the dark, progress where there is stagnation, knowledge where there is ignorance, and abundance where there is scarcity, health where there is disease. You can, therefore, see the importance of these teams.

So, I congratulate those who have participated in the seminar. Those who have organized it, initiated it, those who are in the teaching staff, in the administration, and those who have participated as students, and are now graduating from this seminar. I need not go into the uses of electric power. I need not cite to you the deleterious effect of lack of power in most of the areas of the Philippines. But I merely cite to you the role of government. Government must be the initiating power, but government alone will not suffice.

Let me point out to you the percentages of ownership of privately-owned electrical corporations and those which are government-owned. As of now, the present figures show that of all power plants operating today 68 per cent are privately-owned and 32 per cent are government-owned. In most instances, electricity is considered a luxury commodity. The cost of electric power is much too high even for our middle class.

There you see the problem that we all face. The problem that government and the private sector and the entire nation face. The purpose is not only to establish electric power, the sources of electric power, but distribute it at cost well within the reach of our common people. It is necessary, therefore, for government to set the tone and provide the momentum. We must now, at this early stage, start. In fact, my feeling is that we should have initiated this a long, long time, ago, say, several decades ago, because this is a 20-year program, and this should have been initiated immediately after the war. But be that as it may, the purpose here is to create an organization and set the atmosphere so that our people will not only welcome cooperatives for electricity, but demand it.

And I think we shall succeed.

At the same tune, the organization of this program must be moved and so oriented that it will acquire such a direction and momentum that no matter who may be President, or no matter who may be running the country, nothing short of a complete upheaval of the country and the nation would be able to block its attainment.

The program is well funded. We have envisioned an expenditure of P600 million over, a period of several years, coming from the general funds of government, the reparations, USAID, from loans abroad, and donations. This program has been well studied. It is one of the most thoroughly studied programs of the government. It is headed by dynamic organizers and executives, and now we have the basic structure in the provinces, the foundation as it were. The foundational structure is composed of the PECT, or the Provincial Electric Cooperatives Team.

That is why I have taken time out to come and meet with you, and to extend my congratulations to you. I know that I have congratulated you in the past for many achievements, but this is something new, this is something noble. Just as we are initiating cooperatives in farming, in tenancy, cooperatives in the consuming areas, cooperatives in the small industries area, we are now proceeding into cooperatives in electricity. This is going to be a key, opening various areas of activity. It is my feeling that if the electrification program fails, many of the programs of the government and of the private sector will fail as well. Even the small industries program, which must depend on the capability of the participants to absorb all the talents and all the money that we are now making available. All these will not be absorbed by the common people nor by the small producers unless we electrify the areas in which they live and in which they trade. I point out to you merely a few of the instances which indicate the importance this particular area of activity.

And so, may friends allow me therefore as President, along with Mrs. Marcos, to congratulate all of you. I would like to thank all those who have helped in this particular endeavor, and in this particular instance I would like to point to one special benefactor, and that is the United States government. We have included in the program the contribution of the USAID, and we have with us the local Executive Director, no other than Mr. Tom Niblock, whom I would like to thank personally.

I remember that when the First Lady went to Washington she was invited by President Nixon to visit one of their cooperatives in one of the farming areas, in Virginia. And she used the personal helicopter of the President, accompanied by no other than the First lady of the United States, to visit Virginia and to see the cooperatives at work in that area.

I recall this incident to indicate to you the deep interest of the United States government in the success of this particular program. And I reciprocate the generosity of the US government, and I assure them that all the resources of our government and the capability, the strength of our people, shall be utilized to bring about the success of this program.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Opening of the Constitutional Convention, June 1, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Opening of the Constitutional Convention

[Delivered at the Manila Hotel, June 1, 1971]

Drafting the New Constitution

I HAVE COME at your behest to express in person the fervent hope that I share with our people—that you may succeed in your noble task to meet the great expectations of our people in the framing of a new Philippine Constitution.

The great streams of our national history starting with the development of the ancient villages to the landing of the barangays in Panay, to the great migrations to the North, the revolution of 1896, Bataan and Corregidor, all these streams of the national history of our country have inexorably led to this high point of our history — this watershed. This was the great desire of our forbears, their vision, their one dream, this dream of freedom.

And today, at last, we come to its true fulfillment. For there is no greater act of freedom than the writing of a Constitution. As against this ultimate act in our history—all others are inert or at best a leisurely movement.

But the writing of a Constitution is the coming all at once together of the past, the present and the future in one great single movement, in one upheaval and in one cry.

For as our forbears in the past sought to establish the first republic in Asia, today you start to test a democratic principle, to test whether democracy is self-regenerating, self-recuperating, self-healing. Even if an unjust social and economic order imposes itself upon a democratic community and corrupts it, the people can, if they so will, rectify such an error. Society can be revolutionized by constitutional means, not by destroying democratic institutions but by strengthening them.

Today, you start to perform this task for the previous Constitution, the old Constitution, was cast in a mold largely initiated and conceived by an alien power which ultimately approved it. But this Constitution you write beginning today must be, and I hope will be, a Philippine Constitution. The dreams that it must fulfill must be Philippine dreams. The Constitution that you write is envisioned by our people as an embodiment of their own ideals, of the Filipino hope for a Philippine democratic society, for Philippine progress built upon Filipino energies, opportunities and resources.

And as you the distinguished delegates begin to perform this noble mission I feel that I too am called to an equal task. This task is the creation of an atmosphere, the moral climate of support and coordination, of cooperation, without which this great opportunity for human growth in this part of the world must certainly lapse unfulfilled. I have come today to offer this needed support and cooperation to the Constitutional Convention.

For the price of a successful Constitution, new or old, is national unity. The Constitution alone or the blueprint of ideals and principles by themselves cannot assure us that we will attain the abundant, the peaceful, the meaningful life which is the object of all our ardent desires. Freedom is an act of the will.

And so, today, my friends, as you begin your monumental task, go into this historic mission with the confidence of the entire Filipino people in your ability and willingness to discard narrow interests so that neither political ends, personal benefit, nor fatalism or fanaticism, shall stand in the way of a Charter, a Constitution, that shall accurately

express the true and lofty aspirations not of any one exclusive segment of our people but of the entire Filipino people.

We shall pray, we shall hope, that a peaceful spirit shall descend upon the proceedings, and upon the delegates, so that harmony shall illumine the course of this convention, so that conflicting points of view may yield to common and harmonious comprehension, and so that ill-will or hostility shall not undermine the work of this convention.

The new tribalism which is engendered by organized anarchy must be discarded in favor of national unity. It is necessary once again that we demonstrate not only to our people, but to ourselves and to the world that the Filipino people indeed desire a democratic community which shall seek the lofty aspirations not only of the present generation but of all generations to come of Filipinos.

It is true indeed that no Constitution whether old or revised can by itself solve the intricate problems of any nation nor can it offer any magic or easy cures; but a Constitution is a testament to reason and, therefore, it can constitute rational basis for confronting national problems. Everyone in our nation knows that we embark upon a crucial national endeavor which is entitled to the fullest recognition, respect, and attention by everyone. For you write a Constitution which shall be the fountainhead of wisdom and if in the days to come our country should ever meet any new dangers, there shall be this Constitution that you write, guiding our people in acting with courage. And if in the long and tortuous years of this young, this small, this aspiring Republic, our people should ever be tempted into erratic and unwise acts, there shall be this Constitution that you write to lead our people back to sanity, back to wisdom, back to sobriety and to patience.

For the Constitution that you write shall be the bedrock of our Republic, and you start to write it today.

And so may God grant you the wisdom, the courage, and the nobility to make of this new enterprise a noble task.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the presentation of awards by the Cultural Heritage Awards Committee, June 12, 1971

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the presentation of awards by the Cultural Heritage Awards Committee

[Delivered at the National Library Building, June 12, 1971]

A Revolution of the Essence

IKINAGAGALAK KONG LUMAHOK sa seremonyang paggawad ng gantimpala sa mga katangi-tanging ambag ng iba't-ibang larangan at ang mga minana nating Kalinangan.

I greet each and every one of the awardees. I am indeed very happy to be here with you.

My mission here, as I see it, today is primarily the pleasurable one of handling out the awards to those among our creative people who have by their work distinguished themselves and, I would like to think, enriched much more the contemporary cultural scene. Whatever message I have to impart, by virtue of this speech I have been called upon to deliver, is secondary. But only because I have taken it for granted that my audience tonight is composed in the main by artists, the creative people from whom we expect to get the message rather than the other way around.

Being a person who has long ago been touched by the creative urge, and who has long presumed to have a kinship with artists and who, moreover, has always had a high respect for the creative life, I have nurtured a few ideas relative to your position in society which I want to share with you.

In recent years, the world has been witness to a growing upheaval in the human community. Old values and old shibboleths are being questioned, if not being shattered. One feels that the world today is on the verge of a total transformation, perhaps a change far more dramatic and over-reaching than the French, the American and the Russian revolutions which each in its own way changed the patterns of the social order.

If this is true, if we are on the eve of a total transformation of all that we have known and believed in, then perhaps we should now give deeper thought to what lies ahead, and what we as individuals and as national communities can do to help shape and control this transformation. In the past, from Robespierre to Jefferson to Lenin, the revolutions which took place were primarily political, with much of the force these upheavals generated focusing on the shift of power and wealth, from one sector of society to another. But the essence of the human condition remained more or less the same.

Today, there is a far more exciting sense of meaningful change, all the more compelling because unlike past revolutions, the change we feel is readily perceptible and may move very much faster. This view is plausible measured by the present day technology, which has shrunk the world, sent reverberations from one part of the globe to the other, and in the truest sense, gathered the world into one human family.

If this were not true, we in the Philippines would not feel the impact of change going on in America, in Europe, and even in the African heartland. We would still be merely engrossed with the development of only those sinews as would provide us with no more than our most immediate and essential needs like food and shelter. But we are already looking beyond food and shelter, we are looking to a change in spirit and values as well.

This change, once it gains momentum, will cause severe dislocations. Even development and growth occasion a certain measure of disorder. To those who have led complacent lives, these ripples of disorder cause anxieties, if not fear. Even worse, they cause despair. How many among us were ready to flee land when our problems mounted, and

were compounded by the emerged protest movements? How many of you in Forbes Park left your homes to refuge in hotels when the demonstrations came? But progress has ever been thus, and each watershed in history produced aberrations. The world survived because of human resiliency and because of the presence of strong leaders.

The coming change in our world would again require leadership of a high order, a leadership which will have to contend with moral choices as well.

Against the backdrop of a quarter century of rapid change, the change-over from the industrial to the technotronic age — that is, the age of technology electronics—it would seem that the years ahead, even the next decade, will even more precipitate in altering our world. There are understandable apprehensions from highly respectable quarters, including those in the cultural artistic community. We have such debates as those between the scientist and artist going on now, each questioning the other's place in the world of tomorrow, each fearful of the other's ideas and actions.

We are aware, of course, of the oft-repeated responsibility of the scientist for his inventions, some of which have created the specter of a doomed world mainly because of atomic fission, and others creating the present dilemma environmental pollution as against greater technological advance.

Even in our small country, struggling to attain industrial capability when the more developed world is already striding towards new and strange frontiers, we are already confronted by the same problems and paradoxes. We, too, we the Filipinos, must make choices and not tomorrow but now.

In all of this, therefore, the crucial element remains the human being, each and every individual in a country.

If the scientist, the politician, the plain citizen has a responsibility to fulfill, what of the artist? What is his responsibility to change and the future? How about those engaged in research? How about the historians, the writers, the painters, the sculptors, the musicians? Working mainly in the realm of imagination and sensibility, or even let us say, mere intuition, is the artist compelled to come to grips with the problems of the machine representing technology, the problems of reshaping society, of reordering the political process to conform more closely to the envisioned change in human affairs, or should he pursue as I before, in solitude and aloofness, his compulsive obsessions?

I think that the artist, like the scientist and the builder, is a key figure in deciding the wealth or poverty of his society in the world of tomorrow, and I do mean by wealth or poverty the measure of a people's material bounty, the level of their moral and spiritual standing, and the extent of their freedom and dignity as individuals.

The artist's responsibility, by virtue of his special gifts, is to act perhaps as guide or prime mover in making certain that the revolution which will transform the world or his national milieu will be more than just a surface revolution, not just another shift in the distribution of power and property, from one group of people to another group of people; rather it is his responsibility to make certain that the revolution will go deeply to the fundamentals of the human condition. More than any other productive member of a society, the artist and others to whom these awards belong can best point the way to a revolution of the essence, the essence of life as lived everyday by people.

Much as we may depend on the technical and managerial intelligentsia, these specialists can at best serve only within a limited area; we need more support to supplement their efforts and cause whatever change we choose to have, seep down through the various levels of society; and this additional power that we need could conceivably come from the force and influence of those who provide the new increments to our culture and in a real way shape the ideas and spirit which move people forward.

I believe that you, the awardees, and those like you, the creative people of our society, are in a strong position to enter wholeheartedly the development process as well as play leading roles in the movement forward, toward fruitful change

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 3). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos, One Mind in One House, January 22, 1972

One Mind in One House

AT THIS SECOND holding of the Presidential Prayer-Breakfast, I am reminded of that line in one of our many books of worship which reads: "God maketh men to be one of mind in one house."

To see men of different faiths and persuasions gathered thus under the same house, and to know that they are brought together by hopes and concerns they share in common, is to realize the extent to which we truly are of one mind in one house, regardless of the diversity and differences of our individual creeds.

It has often seemed to me that no matter what our religion, we are all of us men at the bottom of a valley seeking to climb the same mountain. All our eyes are fixed on the same summit, but we differ in the roads we take. Some go by one route; others by another, and still others another way — each group believing that theirs is the best road to the summit. Yet, in the end, we wind up on the same mountain-top, and once up there, it really does not matter very much which road one has taken.

It was no less than a distinguished Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. William Temple, who dared to write: "It is a mistake to suppose that God is only, or even chiefly, concerned with religion."

There is a common ground of belief among mankind's great religions that makes their differences a matter of form rather than substance. They all accept the reality of an invisible order of being that accounts for order in the universe; they all recognize the presence of what Christians call "the soul" in the human individual; and they all teach a code of conduct for the living of a happy life, and this code includes the need for good will toward one's fellow men and for detachment from the pressures of desire and greed.

The greatest preachers of each of these religions have always taught that the important thing is for man to develop what is within him, to better himself, and to measure himself by an ideal of the good life. At root, every one of our religion is animated by an active pursuit of the good of man.

It requires no special wisdom to realize that this common ground of the faiths, rather than the doctrinal differences, will have a greater influence in the making of a peaceful and a better world.

In the degree that the different faiths have become more conscious of the aims and the truths they share in common, to that degree also have we seen them seeking and working together for the end of human suffering and alienation.

Such has been the paramount reality in our time of doubt and trial — as evidenced in the vigor and zeal with which ecumenism and social progress are pursued by the various faiths; such is the grace that illuminates this occasion and our prayers today.

Today, we live in a world wracked by doubt and conflict; and increasingly we are confronted with the terrible realization that serenity and happiness seem to recede farther away as our science and technology bring us closer to our material wants. Peoples and nations agree less and less as there is more for them to share with one another.

And in our own country, the aching for change and advancement has unleashed anxieties and antagonisms that threaten to dissolve our human community. And it pains the best of us because we recognize that the needs are just, and our efforts must meet with adversity and difficulty.

Perhaps, it is at times like this, when we have most need of prayer. Dostoevsky once wrote: "Every time you pray, if your prayer is sincere, there will be new feeling and new meaning in it, which will give you fresh courage and you will understand that prayer is an education."

Prayer is an education in fortitude as well as in hope, for it is in faith that we derive much of our energy and inspiration in the successful pursuit of our highest and greatest endeavors.

I shall end by asking you to share in this prayer from the Book of Common Prayer:

“Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations.”

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, Training for Counter Insurgency, January 17, 1972

Training for Counter Insurgency

FIRST OF ALL, I wish to congratulate the graduates of the present course j conducted for Constabulary and Metrocom personnel, a course in counter-insurgency and anti-guerrilla tactics. I am assured that the men who have taken j this course are all picked troops, and well they may be for they are pioneers in a comparatively new field of service, occasioned by a new enemy of our country and people.

Developments in the past decade, not only in our country, but in almost all regions of the world, have shaped a new foe which all freedom-loving peoples should beware of, and which those who cherish an orderly and democratic society must contend with, surely with the aim of eliminating that foe completely from the life of their countries.

I am certain that in the course of your training you have been amply tutored on the stakes at issue when you go into action. Insurgency in our world, in a free country, even in a well-established and adjudged stable nation, such as the United States, is not at all improbable. This is because new forces are at work in the world, partly generated by ideological movements, partly by a changing consciousness among the people, especially the youth, partly because of the inexorable overall change sweeping human society.

We must be prepared therefore to meet any insurgency which threatens to rob us of our freedom and to undermine lawful authority, and ultimately to bring about the downfall of the duly constituted government. In this connection, insurgency, or revolution at the extreme, might be initiated through guerrilla action. Let me warn that guerrilla warfare may now be waged underground and even in urban areas. In our experience during the last world war, guerrilla fighting was confined to the hills, the mountains, the traditional battlefields. Today, guerrilla fighting takes many forms, some overt as in the case of sabotage and pitched battles, some covert, as in the case of propaganda and front organizations engaged in terrorism or disruption of orderly life. In both cases, the government must be ready to preserve order, secure life and property, and maintain normal processes and activities. This is where you of the PC and the Metrocom come in.

The stakes, let me repeat, consist of no less than our liberty and the preservation of our government.

The training you have undergone in this new era of responsibility is in the nature of the positive action indicated in the light of the threat to our country and government. I would like to emphasize that in this hidden war positive action must at all times be taken, for it is better to prevent a situation from deteriorating and finally becoming unmanageable than to procrastinate, trusting in circumstances to ease tensions or dissipate crises, in fear that action might be misconstrued by those who oppose us politically or those who are timid and irresolute. It is up to those in authority, those who are intimate with the existing dangers, to lead the way to take the necessary measures for ensuring public safety and national security.

Under that compulsion, and in response to my responsibility in this office, I proclaimed the suspension of the writ of the privilege of habeas corpus, fully aware that my critics and political enemies would find in it a facile issue for denigrating my administration and my own person. But I would be less than faithful to our democratic tradition and to our people and country if I had acted in behalf of my public image or of my peace of mind.

The timely action I took not only reduced the tensions in our land, broke the momentum of the threat of insurgency and widespread violence, but also forced the communist forces behind this threat to go deeply underground. I have since lifted the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, but let me emphasize that the state of rebellion continues for as long as the subversive elements in the communist conspiracy in our land exist, and we cannot put down our guard.

I have found it wise to restore the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus because the government has the situation well in hand. We are now in a position to respond through the normal means to any threat of public disorder and terroristic acts. Our people have been forewarned. The Supreme Court no less has underscored the threat we

identified and the existence of a state of rebellion, and I am confident that our people have heeded this warning both coming from me and from the highest court of the land.

Now, we can face the task before us with a strengthened assurance of mass support from the people. And with that support our government can be equal to the task at hand. Of this, too, I am confident, particularly because we are continually upgrading our capabilities. This course that you have taken is part of the program for enhancing your skills, for sharpening the fitness of the men who must take to the frontlines in every confrontation with the enemies of our democracy.

Let me say that I continue to rely on the PC and the Metrocom in keeping the peace. I know that you have been villified simply for doing your duty, and perhaps we can forgive somewhat the polemics, even the inimical acts against the government, and against you who are in the forefront of the battles for peace and order, because of the nature of the enemy, many of them no more than youngsters lured into the communist movement by guile and misguided idealism.

There have been cases of misjudgment and precipitate action among you in clashes with activists in the past, for which you have been validly criticized and disciplined, but all in all, in my estimate, you have performed well in the discharge of your duties. And I expect that after finishing this course you and others like you in the PC and Metrocom will be better able to carry out your missions with coolness, judgment and effectiveness. If you do, then you shall truly be equal to the task that has been given to you.

Again, my warmest congratulations. May you use well your knowledge and skills, and always with the aim of serving well your flag and your countrymen.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos at the annual induction of officers of the Naga Press and Radio Club, February 26, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the annual induction of officers of the Naga Press and Radio Club

[Delivered on February 26, 1972]

The Press and Its Tasks Today

I MUST BEGIN by denying a rumor, which threatens to develop into a popular belief, that the Manila press is superior to its provincial counterpart.

I do not seek to flatter when I say that the Manila press may enjoy some; built-in advantages, it may have more of everything, but it is by no means: superior to the provincial press in the strict sense of the word.

The Manila press does not rank higher than the provincial press in dedication to a very demanding and nationally vital calling. In a general way, both may have their own failings, but both are not without their respective achievements. On a good number of occasions, both have confronted those in government with some anxiety and concern; still, both have my personal goodwill and my fondest hopes that they will intensify the role that they now play in the common effort to improve the national life.

There are some in the media body today who accuse me of being allegedly partial to the provincial press. If this is so, it is perhaps because I know that the provincial press is pitted against terrible odds, and in many instances the provincial newspaperman does not have much of a chance.

The difficulties of provincial journalism are well known. In your countless seminars, conferences and conventions you have discussed these problems exhaustively. The provincial press cannot foster the professional growth of its personnel, nor improve its facilities and equipment until it gains the effective support of the advertising industry. On the other hand, this support can only be justified and induced through your growth as an effective advertising medium.

That you have not solved your problems merits our understanding, but that you are functioning as you are today and reaching out to your audiences as best as you can, merits admiration.

It is no easy thing to say what the press should do at this time, and how it should go about it, for this always invites grumbling and criticism, if not resentment. But there are few ideas which we may share along this line.

The press, let us understand, is indeed a major catalyst for meaningful change. As such, the press should be the most erudite of the radical sectors who advocate revolutionary change. In spite of passing appearances, however, it is not yet that.

We do not mean to deprecate the role that the press plays today in the social education of our people. There is no denying that it has sought to check the abusive, that it has championed noble causes; and that, to a certain degree, it has managed to broaden our people's awareness of the changing circumstances and orientations of our national life.

And yet that is not enough. The broadening of the people's awareness to national events, for instance, may be dimmed by the failure of the instruments of media to render that awareness more profound.

For the day is past when all that is required of the would-be journalist is the capability to write in the inverted pyramid. The profession has acquired more than a sense of craftsmanship, more than a community of interest. It has acquired a revered place in the integral self of the nation. Great then are the expectations of our people from the men and women who compose the journalistic corps. To betray these expectations is to betray the profession, perhaps, even the essential humanity of the practitioner.

Judge Charles Wyzanski, Jr. once said that “no society will ever be made by a mere collection of professionals. He who is only an editor and not a citizen . . . cannot by being merely added to the heap of other men similarly narrow in their professionalism give the foundation from which will grow a cohesive and meaningful structure.”

Consider with me then, the following tasks which I think lie upon the shoulders of newspapermen as citizens of our country today:

I believe that journalism in the Philippines could assume the initiative of taking a steadfast position on such fundamental issues as the manner in which the right to private property is to be recognized in the good society we are trying to evolve. This, for instance, would be one way by which the press can strike at the roots of the present social system.

I also believe that the Philippine press can and should lead a concerted attack against conservatism. Here, I would like to refer to two kinds of conservatism that have, in my view, obstructed the progress of a truly democratic revolution in this country. The first is the conservatism of the destitute who are so awed by the centuries-old grip of feudalism that they feel resigned to the helplessness of their circumstances. The other is the conservatism of the oligarchy who feel that they have little future in a reformed Philippine society.

This means that the press should both arouse and censure — arouse the conservative destitute by showing them the just possibilities of the times and censure the conservative rich in every instance that they stand in the way of democratization of our national life.

This, of course, is easier said than done. We can understand that the press has very little audience with the conservative destitute. We also know that much of the press is under the control of the conservative rich, that a good portion of the press is formed in the first place as a primary line of defense against any possible onslaught on the privileges that they currently enjoy and jealously guard.

I believe, too, that insofar as the press wields a real influence on public opinion in this country, it can substantially assist in the proper and efficient functioning of the machinery of government.

For it is commonly perceived that public opinion today feeds much upon rumors which, in turn, are fostered by either our desires, our fears, or — on occasion — by an unbridled sense of mischief. We can only lament that often times the press has, wittingly or unwittingly, abetted such rumors in the name of the right to print what it wishes to print.

As to public interest, the press bears the grave responsibility of interpreting to, and distinguishing for its readers, a special interest that has been varnished with platitudes from the genuine public interest. This is a tedious task, for the fact is that public interest is virtually amorphous. It includes the interest of infants yet in their cradles, whose view of the world when they face it, we do not know. It includes the interest of our children yet to be born, and our own interest we hold today. No opinion survey, therefore, can serve as the touchstone of the concept of public interest. In the press, there is only the newspaperman's conscience, and his God-given lights to guide him in this lonely task.

By the same token, the press can exert a regulatory influence on the pressure of public opinion upon the government. I submit that the working press can help render the pressure of public opinion on the government in the latter's task selecting policies and making decisions, more selective, more reasoned and therefore, more effective.

The paradox of democracy is that the sources of its strength are also the sources of its weaknesses. One of them is this: that since the elected authorities are accountable to the people, manipulators of public opinion use every stratagem and device to create upon government the impression that the opinion of a few is indeed the opinion of the entire populace. This is what the student of the science of politics perceives when he sees policies being dictated by the minority for their own ends—a minority who control certain editorial directions in the press.

It would be most convenient if there was a way of effectively excluding the term “people” the spokesmen of vested interests. But because they are favorably situated, they can present their demands more forcefully than the rest of us. They can even obstruct or paralyze government, particularly in areas where the political personnel are weak.

It is in such an eventuality that the press should bring to the arena of candid debate the real thinking and attitude of what represents the predominant number, and therefore, the predominant interest. Again, this is easier said than done, for it is only too facile to mistake one’s attitudes for the prevalent public opinion. It is only too convenient to mistake the directions of one’s prejudice for the public interest.

And yet the press must try and attempt the difficult. It must defy the dangers strewn in its way. For if the press fails to speak and take an audacious stand, it becomes, in effect, a reactionary force in a society that seeks revolutionary change so painfully. Failing to speak for a democratic and peaceful revolution, the press could well help deliver our people into the clutches of that monster that speaks the language of the gunpowder.

I trust that no one among you will be merely simplistic and say: “My only interest is to have the truth and once I have it, that is all.”

“Truth” is a word often abused by various elements of our society. No journalist, no public personality, and no man can rightly claim to have tucked the jewel of truth in some private pocket of his soul. The most that we can do is to catch some of its glimmer and hope that it will lead us to wisdom.

As the seventeenth-century Malebranch put it, “if God held in one hand truth, and in the other the pursuit of truth, I would say ‘Lord, the truth is for You alone, give me the pursuit.’”

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 11th inaugural ceremonies of the Federation of Provincial Press Clubs, February 28, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 11th inaugural ceremonies of the Federation of Provincial Press Clubs

[Delivered at the Manila Hotel, February 28, 1972]

The Press and Development

I AM INDEED delighted to be able to come here. There was a little conflict of appointments as your President, Mr. Roman, will tell you. I am supposed to be with the Fiscal and Financial Policy committee this evening because tomorrow is the beginning of the hearings on the budget and the Commissions of the Budget, the Secretary of Finance, as well as the other members of this committee are still waiting for me.

However, I thought that perhaps they can wait but I don't believe the provincial press clubs federation should wait and so I came here first. And this is not only because I agree with you in the reelection of your President. I believe in reelection, as you probably know.

The President of this organization, Sid Roman, has not been exactly uncritical of my administration, that is why I was taken aback when he said that he was charged with being a "tuta" of the President in the last election. I guess, they had nothing to say against Sid and so it is standard in our society now when you have nothing to say against anybody and you want to criticize him, to just call him a "tuta" of the President. That does it.

However, I note too that the Federation of Provincial Press Clubs has indeed come of age. I note the respect and admiration which you now can feel in the atmosphere. I have been looking around, watching, and in the past the provincial press clubs, as well as the federation itself, have been looked down upon. No matter what you say, this was true. This was true a few years back, so much so that I remember provincial reporters were treated as poor relatives whenever they came over to Manila. This is the reason for my concern, for this concern that I have shown for the provincial press clubs, the members thereof and for the federation.

The provincial press has direct and immediate contact with our people. I have watched the growth of our provincial press and I am deeply impressed by the straight scribes. We can now rightfully say that the provincial press has matured and it will go beyond this point with its increasing involvement in national affairs, as your President has announced, and perhaps leave behind what was once its narrowly parochial and local point of view.

And I would like to say that this is all to the good. The provincial press has been an able and concerned partner of the government in the struggle to transform our countryside. Incidentally, before I go any further, I suggest to President Isidro Roman that we change the format of this program. I am supposed to deliver some kind of a speech. Well, I'll make an opening statement but I have suggested that we then open the table to an open forum, and anybody can ask any question. I would suggest that this be monitored by the President of the federation himself and that the questions be submitted in writing, and if you have any questions now I suggest that you put them down in writing. I thought that somebody would make an announcement of this before I stood up but since nobody did I might just as well do my own presentation.

If I can engage in a dialogue with business and political leaders I don't see why I should not engage in a dialogue with the leaders of the provincial press. And so, please prepare your questions because I am not going to speak long.

Now, I know the services rendered by the provincial press. I was concerned sometime ago about the fact that some of our radio and television stations in Manila did not fully give what was required in their franchise of public service, especially to the small people in the barrios.

The rural broadcasters of whom there are many among you have been instrumental in tutoring our farmers in the new and more effective methods of producing crops, scientific approaches to farming and raising livestock, poultry, fish and the like, in their backyards. In many cases, provincial newspapers have provided similar instruction in behalf of the government as well as in behalf of the private sector and with the laudable purpose of continuing the education of farmers.

May I now extend to you the gratitude of the public sector. I am certain that I express the sentiments of all our people in expressing the congratulations and thanks of the entire Filipino people to the rural broadcasters of whom there are many among you, and the provincial press for establishing this channel for the dissemination of information in the farms through the radio and through the printed word.

The provincial press also has been a dynamic force in fostering public opinion and that is why tonight I would like to emphasize again this new program of government in relation to cooperatives, of multi-purpose cooperatives, that we are trying to establish all over the country. I gather from some comments that the opposition party seems to have taken a stand against the establishment of cooperatives, or what I have referred to as the *bayanihan sa nayon* or *bayanihang pambansa*. You know, we keep talking about cooperatives, and we have been talking about the Moshav. Actually, the Philippine has had a cooperative tradition long, long before we even heard of the Moshav or before we even heard of the present-day cooperatives. The *bayanihan* concept in the barrio among the farmers is a concept that was in force, a habit, a custom and a tradition, not only in Northern Luzon, in Central Luzon or Bicolandia, but all over the Philippines, long ago, before the Spaniards or my namesake, Fernando de Magallanes, discovered the Philippines. And thus, it has been said that we are just reverting back to what came naturally to us.

Now, what is this multi-purpose cooperative that now seems to be the subject of controversy? We have included in the appropriation act, in the budget, about a hundred and fifty million pesos for the establishment of the rural cooperatives. The model was initiated not only in Magalang. Magalang is a costly model. It is supported by the Filipinas Foundation, which is the foundation of Ayala y Compania and of the Zobels, but we have a cheaper version in General Ricarte, Llanera, Nueva Ecija. I just came from there. I was there last Thursday, and this project is going very well, is going apace.

Exactly, what is this cooperative? Everybody knows what a cooperative is. But you go to a barrio and every family is moving along on its own. It establishes its own production organization, meaning, the family members farm the land and raise hogs and chicken. Then, they market these products on their own without the help of anyone. They bring the products all the way to town and if not to the town, all the way to the city, and sell without the help either of government or of the private sector unless the middleman intervenes. If the middleman does, then he becomes the marketing aid.

Now, the problem is, first of all, the poor farmer or the man in the barrio doesn't know exactly what product is in demand, say, in Manila. What product is in demand in Cebu. What product is in demand in Baguio. And the reason for this is there is no organization. He doesn't know what the costs are, and the reason for this is nobody is helping him. We will not go into the various reasons.

Now, let me give you the concept as a whole and the cost and expenses of this program of the *Bayanihan sa Nayon*. This *Bayanihan sa Nayon* would organize the farmers within a barrio or even within a town. There are 1,400 municipalities all over the country. There are 33,000 barrios and estimate that the cost per barrio would be about P5,000 as seed capital for cooperative. What would this cooperative, this *bayanihan*, this *buklod* of farmers do? You have noted that we are now encouraging the farmers to construct their own irrigation system. We have models all over the Philippines now, and I am certain that the provincial newspapermen know, for instance, the models that we set up in Zamboanga del Norte, in Cotabato del Sur and to the north, in Cagayan and elsewhere.

Now, the average cost for an irrigation system of the gravity type where you put up the dam and you construct the canals for the water to flow down is P1,000 per hectare. If you irrigate 10,000 hectares you must spend P10 million. This is the average cost. In many instances, it will be much more and in order therefore to finance an irrigation system in a municipality with about 10,000 hectares of farm land you need P10 million. If you add to it such infrastructure as roads and perhaps a pier in the river or on the beach, then you have something fantastic, beyond the reach of our government as well as of the local government or the barrio people.

However, our experience indicates that if you organize a group within the barrio and this group agrees to utilize the materials from the PACD or from the Irrigation Administration, you can cut down the expenses a hundred-fold.

Let me give you an example. There were 6,000 hectares which we were supposed to irrigate in Zamboanga del Norte. And they told me I needed to release P6 million. We went into this area. I visited the area with the First Lady and I suggested that we start working on the irrigation system. We brought in the cement. We brought in all kinds of materials. The people of course were very doubtful about the viability of such a project. But when nobody wanted to start the project we got a few young men together and we started working on this project. I, myself, helped in going into the area and believe it or not, with P50,000 we put up an irrigation system that now irrigates 6,000 hectares. Fifty thousand pesos plus free labor. You see, 90 to 95 per cent of the cost really is labor.

Now, this is one example. Then, we have the problem of farmers in the North, farmers engaged in truck gardening. The middlemen have come in. You who are from the North, you know the problem there. The aliens came in, they advanced money to the farmers and before you knew it the middlemen were dictating the prices — the purchasing price and the selling price — of vegetables not only in Baguio but also in Manila. And so in some instances we organized cooperatives and these cooperatives sent their products to the Greater Manila Terminal Food Market. They were able to get good prices and enough information to tell the growers exactly what was in demand in the market. We can have cooperatives for irrigation, for marketing, even for electricity. We can also organize cooperatives for intensive farming.

The land reform program is a program which envisions the distribution of land to the tenants. Do we have enough land for all the tenants all over the Philippines in the next several generations? The answer is no. If we were to subdivide all the lands in Luzon, for instance, for all the farm tenants the lands would prove adequate only for this one single generation. But the next generation will face the same problem. Example: We have for instance 1,000 hectares in one hacienda. The government buys this after the farmers are transformed into leaseholders and after they have been taught how to plant. Then the government is supposed to subdivide this land. And every family, every tenant family, is supposed to receive five hectares, which is known as the family size farm. Five hectares given to this one family, and this family tills this land. This is good for this generation. How about the next generation? The average number of children would be five. Five children would then subdivide the five hectares in the next generation. How about the third generation? The fourth generation? Of course, I believe in the land reform program. But the problem here is fragmentation. What is the answer to this?

The answer is to start now with cooperatives, with the *Bayanihan sa Nayon*. The answer now is intensive farming. It's not extensive farming meaning bigger farms; it's not enlarging your farm from five hectares, but utilizing what you have in such a manner that you will produce per hectare.

Some people refer to Moshav or the Israeli-type of farming. Actually, we have adopted some aspects of Moshav but we were surprised, and pleasantly so, to find out that these practices and these traditions, these customs were already known to our farmers. In the North, for instance, when you build an irrigation system, a communal irrigation system, let's say in the town of Bacarra, Ilocos Norte, every farmer within the area is duty bound traditionally to put in several days of work every week until the irrigation system is finished. And you know what the bayanihan concept is. Whenever there is a house to be moved, everybody in the barrio comes to help the house owner. This is actually in part the concept of Moshav.

But, of course, now we need to put in seed capital for the cooperatives. For every organization, we will keep this money available but we will not put this money into the cooperative, this amount of P5,000, until the cooperative is organized and actually working. Cottage industry will also be brought into the barrios. Cottage industry, fisheries,

handicraft, manpower training. Now, you go into any barrio. You ask some of the young men, what would you like to do? Especially the out-of-school youth. We have conducted a survey, a formal survey and you know the answers are almost unanimous.

Oh, we would like to work but we don't know how, they said. We don't know what to do and we don't know exactly what to produce. And yet we cannot fill up the orders of the big houses, the big mail order houses and the big department stores in the United States for such simple things as abaca bags, abaca slippers and the like. Because, as you know, those department stores are used to ordering by the gross and they ask, can you deliver a hundred thousand slippers every week? And of course the answer is no, we cannot. Why not?

Because we don't have the production capability. Now, if we organized production under the Cottage Industry Development Authority, and under small-scale industries associations or organizations, we would be supporting the work of the cooperatives.

I spoke of manpower training. Everybody wants to go to the manpower training schools which are being financed by the national government now. And everybody, every Provincial Governor or Municipal Mayor demands that manpower training facilities be made available in his province or municipality. Why can we not have manpower training run by the barrio or the municipality itself? This is going to be one of the purposes of this cooperative movement. It must be self-sustaining. Instructors and trainers must also come from such cooperatives.

We must tie all these up. The producers will organize producers cooperatives, then have tie ups with the consumers cooperatives — the employees of government here in Manila through perhaps the Greater Manila Terminal Food Market, and thus, cut out the middlemen who always manage to bring up prices. This is one of the answers to the perennial and nagging problem of prices.

I believe that the cooperative movement can be one of your projects. I hope it is something which will interest the provincial press. The press clubs can be one of the most effective instruments in bringing to the people the need for reviving the old concept of *bayanihan sa nayon*.

Now, we are moving into this area in a low profile manner. We have not talked too much about this. We would like to actually start before we talk about it. But we are compelled to speak out now because of the criticisms. Actually, we have started in several provinces, in Mindanao, the Bicol region and in the Visayas.

But rest assured that wherever you come from the *bayanihan sa nayon* concept will reach your place, and I would like the provincial press clubs to cooperate with us in spreading the gospel of the *bayanihan sa nayon*.

Talking about cooperatives, perhaps the provincial press could adopt this system of cooperation in establishing their own printing presses. I understand that one of the dangers to the independence of the provincial press is the high cost of printing. I was just talking to some of our friends here. I understand that the cost now for printing four pages of the tabloid size of provincial paper is about P240, and if you have an eight-page newspaper that will mean about P500 every week, and I know the difficulty of raising funds. I would suggest that, first, we encourage the cooperatives system because if we generate affluence among your readership in no time at all they will be your sources of financing and advertising and you can establish the independence of the provincial press within a year or two.

At the same time, I believe that you will also be able to increase your circulation. Right now, unfortunately, in the barrios according to our surveys, priority is still given to printed materials coming from Manila. Thus, the national magazines are still widespread throughout the barrio. In the North, for instance, *Bannawag* is still bought, *Liwayway* is going up. I understand the national magazines under the *Liwayway* publications have reached a circulation of about 550,000 a week. This indicates, I repeat, the truth of the result of the survey that priority is still given to printed material coming from Manila. I think that it's about time that it should be reversed. It's about time that the provincial press print material of equal quality but of direct relevance to the problems of the people in the barrio.

Now, I would like to close by saying your government and your President are interested in an independent provincial press. The reason for this is that the provincial press is very sensitive to the opinions of those who are in the barrios. I can understand the prejudice against any attempt to control the provincial press. I have always maintained that even criticism which is not constructive has its own value. The employees of the national government who are distant from the regional office, from the national office, often fall into the inertia of provincial life; very often that fervor and that fire that you may find in the center of government is lacking in the provincial sector, or the employees on provincial assignments. The provincial press is the means by which the critics and those who have grievances against government can propel such inactive units or elements in government into more efficient service. For instance, the national government has been shocked to learn of the inefficiency if not corruption of some of those who are in such crucial offices as the Bureau of Forestry the Bureau of Lands and the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and in many instances, these cases of inefficiency and corruption have been brought to our attention by the provincial press clubs.

And, therefore, as President, I would like to publicly acknowledge the indebtedness of the national government to the crusading work of the provincial press clubs, the reporters, the publishers and editors, and it is my hope you will continue to perform this task. It is my hope that some kind of a subsidy should be given not by government directly, but from a fund for the provincial press. A form of a subsidy that would come, perhaps, from the National Press Club or from a similar organization. Don't you agree with me?

Well, I do not know exactly what the finances of the National Press Club are. Doroy Valencia here has not told me yet but I suppose there may be need for an advance for their building, but I was wondering if we could not raise funds that would go to support patriotic, sincere and dedicated provincial newspapers. And to keep this out of the hands of politicians it should be held in the hands of a national press organization, perhaps, the Manila Overseas Press Club, or the National Press Club. But it is about time, I repeat, that some kind of support comes not from the government because it would immediately be suspect, but from the private sector.

I plant this idea amongst you. I think that you could pursue it and if there is any way by which we can be of help to you in raising such funds for the provincial press I assure that you have my complete support both as President and as citizen. But please keep it out of the hands of the politicians, whether Nacionalista or Liberal.

Now, my friends, I close with congratulations to the President, the reelected President, and the members of the Board of Directors. I notice that they are a little bit older than last year. I did not make this observation alone. I gathered this from some other people. I suppose that this means that the positions have become more important. But, any way, let me repeat. I do hope that the provincial press will continue to flourish and I do hope that your organization will succeed in its objective of participating in national development through change.

And to each and everyone of you, again congratulations.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Philippine Army Day, March 22, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Philippine Army Day

[Delivered at Fort Bonifacio, March 22, 1972]

Towards Self-Reliance

I AM HAPPY to see here the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the body that initiates the approval of the appropriation act. I presume that this demonstrates the interest and the inclination of the leadership of the House of Representatives. It is my hope that the appropriation for the Armed Forces of the Philippines will come out of Congress without any cut whatsoever.

I am indeed very proud to be able to come here this morning. I come to congratulate the officers and men, and the civilian personnel, of the Philippine Army, on this occasion.

Today, I was touched as I pinned the Gold Cross medal on Mrs. Apolinar whose husband died in one of those small and often unreported incidents that the Armed Forces of the Philippines, including the Philippine Army, participate in almost every day.

It is most appropriate that we celebrate the anniversary of this organization and we recall with pride your many achievements, most of all your unswerving loyalty to our flag and our government, which is to say, to our people.

It is my hope that through all changes and vicissitudes in the nation's life, the Philippine Army will continue to pay allegiance to the ideals which have shaped our people and our society, the ideals embodied in our Constitution and in our free way of life.

Soldiering is a hazardous profession in more ways than one. Literally a soldier lays his life on the line the moment he enlists and takes his oath of duty. But the hazards that a soldier contends with extend well beyond the battlefields and well beyond those unforeseen engagements that safeguard the peace and order of our beloved land; they are manifest too in tranquil times, in periods of sustained calm and peace.

One of the most wounding experiences a soldier must undergo is the lack of recognition in a time of relative peace and the thought of a people unappreciative of a soldier's sacrifice. Paradoxically the soldier is at such times often regarded with indifference and sometimes hostility, and is looked upon as somebody to be wary of, and sometimes even to malign. I note that these inclinations are true not only in our society; it is true of other free and democratic societies of the world.

There is a tendency to treat the soldier as an alien in a free society, and in a way that is good, for our society should not be given to idolizing soldiers and soldiering. This signifies that we as a people are peaceful loving, that we shall not brook any attempt to rule society with the authoritarianism of the military.

But history also teaches us that when a people have no will and no heart to fight for their individual freedom as well as for their country's dignity, then that society is on the wane.

The short shift given to the professional soldier is a measure of the rejection of the men and women who in times of danger to the nation are the first to offer their lives in its defense. Perhaps, in a free and peace-loving society, we

have to mark out a common ground, where the civilian and soldier may meet in understanding, in mutual appreciation, and harmony.

And thus it is that I welcome the re-establishment of the concept of the citizen army, the citizen army which fought in the battles of Bataan and Corregidor, in the Visayas, in Mindanao and in the underground, the citizen army which my generation of soldiers belonged.

I understand that Speaker Villareal has been articulate in proposing the activation of army training camps all over the Philippines, and is now advocating new concept of such a citizen army. I am very happy about this.

This concept of soldiery becomes all the more significant because it is a concept arising from the imperatives of a democratic order. This concept of the citizen soldier is in direct opposition to the military tradition of earlier eras, when the soldier was trained to be an automaton, and officers were martinets one step removed from tyrants. Today's citizen soldier is, underneath the uniform an unreconstructed civilian, a soldier only because he has been taught to use weapons well and to function smoothly as part of a team in the event of active hostilities against aggressors or against internal enemies of the state.

A citizen army will not be quite as expensive as a standing army of professional soldiers. It will be an army on call, the larger part of which will mobilize and go into action only in time of peril, when the nation faces immediate danger. That is the essential idea of the so-called citizen army, and I have supported this concept because it is to me the most economical system of defense, while also embodying the principle basic to a democratic government the principle of self-government, which may be translated in the case of the military as an army consisting of the people themselves, not an elite organization separate from and above the people.

We are now in the process of producing this new soldier, the soldier of, for and by the people, but apparently we cannot go as far as we hope to at this time because of scarce resources. In the new budget proposal, we have included this funds which would start this project in the right direction, and, therefore, it is our hope that such a budget will be passed.

In consonance with the concept of the citizen army, we are also intent on transforming our present military organization, which is oriented to multiple alliances with friendly nations for the defense of our land, to one capable of giving the nation a self-reliant posture. It is admittedly an ambitious project, but one which I regard as not beyond our capabilities. Furthermore, this move is dictated by international events, notably the shifts in foreign policies which have made the traditional arrangements untenable. We cannot wait for the shifting events to settle. As in war, we must initiate strategy and tactics to anticipate the critical shape of events.

Some quarters believe that before we can approach the problem of self-reliant defense, or unilateral defense, we must first look after our economic development. This has been said as though we have not in fact strived in every way to accelerate economic development. We have. The truth is, in the years past, just short of a decade, we have given utmost priority to economic development, sometimes to the prejudice of military capability, to all the component projects of such development, including production, infrastructure, and industrialization. In fact, military strategy itself must take into consideration the economic capabilities of the nation, and this too we have not overlooked. But we are compelled to now consider a self-reliant defense posture not so much as a choice or an option, but as a dire necessity.

All this is not to say that the professional soldier will have a diminished role in society. On the contrary, men like you will have an even firmer role as the core of the nation's military defense. The citizen soldier will look to you for examples of dedication and discipline, and it is your competence in the arts of war that he will emulate in times of crisis and grave peril to the stability of the nation.

We must therefore continue to determine how our military can be strengthened, for it is the only way our country can survive in a changing world.

Whatever lies in the future, I ask the men and women of the Philippine Army to stand fast, to carry on the tradition of duty and loyalty, a tradition which has made countless heroes of the soldiers of the Philippine Army, a heroism which must again be summoned from you when and if the need arises. And for that time, we must remain alert and ready to give our best to our country.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Bataan Day Celebration, April 9, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Bataan Day Celebration

[Delivered on April 9, 1972]

From Bataan: The Lesson of Survival

THE MEMORY OF an epic struggle in the life of the Filipino people has drawn us, once again, to these hallowed grounds. Many of you who are here remember the terror and the agony of Bataan thirty years ago: Doubtless you hear once more the thunder of war across these mountains and hills, and feel, as though they were real again, the ache and weariness of many battles. But sharper than all these recollections of foreboding and pain is the sense of triumph: from a desolate night threatened by doom Bataan moved into daylight, found its pulsebeat and rose to the rhythms of life again.

In this beleaguered peninsula, 3,973 Filipino officers, 67,934 Filipino enlisted men, 8,270 Philippine Scouts' officers and men and 11,790 American officers and men fought from January to April 1942.

Out of this total of about 91,000, 24,000 were actually counted in the hospitals immobilized because of disease and injuries. Of the remaining 67,000 one-half were in the rear and one-half were along the Pilar-Bagac line which ran north of Mount Samat.

Against what Gen. MacArthur estimated to be 100,000 of the Army, about 30,000 were deployed along this 25-kilometer Pilar-Bagac line. Almost all of them were starving and sick. About 10,000 effectives were actually capable of firing a gun. In the last battle I counted only about 200 men in the line defending the top of Mount Samat.

Because of wounds and disease, many units no longer maintained reserves. On my last patrol at the start of the shelling on April 2nd, the men at the outpost line of resistance of the 21st Division could hardly move out of their foxholes, due to starvation and injuries.

The enemy was in complete control of the air. Our artillery had been silenced. Ammunition was limited to sixty (60) rounds per man.

Armor-piercing ammunition and anti-tank guns were non-existent. My patrol counted about 150 high-powered artillery pieces of the enemy which started to blast every inch of Mount Samat, turning it into an area of fire and explosions.

This prevented further resupply of food and ammunition to the men at the OPLR and main line of resistance. On the second day of bombardment, almost all communication lines were cut, thus further disorganizing the defenders on Mount Samat. When the bombardment continued and reports arrived of the two strong enemy columns spearheaded by armor moving towards the junction of the 21st Division and the 41st Division at the western slope of Mt. Samat and towards the main trail moving south at the eastern slope of Mount Samat, the younger officers and men of the 21st Division swore to die rather than surrender, on the top of this mountain. Thus it is that Mount Samat has been honored as the site of the Dambana ng Kagitingan.

But now, 30 years later, with the advantage of hindsight and the experience of our own struggle to establish our young Republic on the world scene, let us ask ourselves the question, "Why Bataan?"

Indeed, “why Bataan at all?” Did it have to happen? Have we, the present generations of Filipinos, kept faith with those who sacrificed life and blood in Bataan and Corregidor?

My friends, these are questions to which we must now seek pertinent answers.

The Philippines today is faced with problems of varying complexities. With communist-inspired insurgency in the cities and countryside, the onset of urban guerilla warfare in many centers of population, and recurrent social, economic and political problems crying out for solution, the nation’s resources and the temper of our people have been strained to the limit. Considered jointly with other factors, both internal and external, these conditions and problems constitute serious threats to national stability and security.

Now in 1972, we find ourselves again at the crossroads of decision. The situation differs noticeably from that in 1941 and 1942. Now, we no longer find ourselves under the exclusive, all-powerful protective umbrella of the United States. As a sovereign nation, the defense of the Philippines has become our sole responsibility, and ours alone. True, we have a mutual defense treaty with the United States and have entered into regional defense agreement with seven other member-nations of the SEATO, but we must not depend entirely on our allies for our own security. Bataan is our object lesson on this.

The internal situation today leaves much to be desired. In spite of the massive efforts of the present administration, there still exists an active insurgency in our midst, fomented by misguided elements of our population that are only waiting for the right moment to again attempt the seizure of power.

The national morale and economic potential are being sapped by subversion, organized anarchy, smuggling, by lawlessness and outlawry, by criminal syndicates that are eating up vast quantities of our time, effort and resources which could otherwise be directed towards constructive purposes. Too many of our officials are more concerned with their personal comfort, self-glorification and selfish ambition than the welfare of the people they have pledged to serve.

As we look at our world today, we come to some fundamental thoughts that are as old as history itself. While the age of confrontation is phasing out into an age of flexibility, we see the Middle East in turmoil as the conflict between Israel and the Arab nations remains unresolved; the Vietnam conflict has escalated into a mass invasion by the North of the South; the violent rivalry between Pakistan and India has resulted in a bloody confrontation and the division of Pakistan, and reordered the old alignments of power; Cambodia and Laos are still convulsed by fratricidal war within their borders; Burma is threatened with danger from inside and outside; Malaysia, in an effort to neutralize the threats to its security, has turned into a neutral state and proposes the neutralization of all of Southeast Asia; Thailand and South Korea, under the pressure of incipient rebellions within their borders, have established totalitarian regimes; Singapore, while actively engaged in its development as an entrepot, is preoccupied with its security; Indonesia, the biggest nation and country in Southeast Asia, has just received a donation of Sabre jet fighters from Australia, and in our joint communique during the state visit of its chief of state, it has allowed the announcement of certain joint military training and operations that can only mean an open avowal of the strengthening of its defenses against its prospective enemies from outside and inside its territory. And Japan, the most industrialized state of Asia, will probably be compelled to re-arm within the next five years.

Thus, experience and prudence dictate the validity of the conclusion that war and hostility is the normal state between nations and that in this day and age it is illusory to expect man to eradicate war within our lifetime.

Within this context, I am certain the dead of Bataan cannot understand why some loud voices are being raised against the Administration’s objective of attaining a self-reliant defense posture within the next five years. The consensus of our people to achieve a broader base for our international relations and widen our economic opportunities abroad must be accompanied by the unilateral development of our national defense system, based on the concept of citizen armed forces. To seek and attract new contacts outside of our traditional economic, cultural and diplomatic contacts without preparing ourselves to cope with concomitant security problems could be dangerous and would lead to national disaster.

Every nation in our region of Southeast Asia — and other developing nations elsewhere in the world for that matter — is investing extra time, effort and resources in the development of such a self-reliant posture. While the Philippines spends approximately \$3.40 in terms of defense for each Filipino, the comparable defense expenditure per capita for Thailand is \$7.44; South Korea, \$12.57; Japan, \$17.86, to cite a few examples. The proposed 5-year defense development plan to make our country more self-reliant would entail an added per capita expenditure of about \$1.16 (or a total of \$4.56) per Filipino — an expense that would still be well below that of some of our neighbors. This proposed formula does not, by any means, commit us to an arms race with the other countries of Southeast Asia; rather, it provides the starting position from which we can interact more freely as a sovereign nation with other sovereign nations, while at the same time maintaining a stronger capability to insure the proper domestic climate for our socio-economic programs to prosper.

As we come to report to our dead, on this altar and at this cross, we hear the lesson that is learned from Bataan, which is, never again should our country depend on others for its security. We have faith and trust in our allies and friends. We can depend on them. But we can best trust ourselves and depend on our own capabilities.

Bataan also cries out one hard lesson, and that is, that the time for preparation against danger is not when danger is perceived and threatens us but when danger is still a long, long way from our shores and from our time.

It is an unwise and imprudent leader who expects that time will eliminate the threats that he sees may be a building within or outside our boundaries. Whatever be the form of our government, the ultimate idealism is freedom, and its objective remains unchanged — the dignity of the human individual although the means to attain this noble objective may differ and change.

And thus it is that from the unyielding lines and specific fronts of Bataan, the Filipino people remember how their soldiers turned to the unconventional war of the underground which knew no static lines and no organized fronts.

In fighting a rebellion, we should never allow any foreign troops to fight on our soil. The complications arising out of their participation are more grave than the rebellion we may seek to overcome.

For some time to come the common problem of all developing nations will be exported war in the form of a communist rebellion.

In meeting any external threats, it is my decision that while there is still time we must prepare to meet it with our own strength; alone, if necessary.

There is no reason to fear any immediate threat of external aggression. We as a nation have renounced war as an instrument of national policy. We will join in the universal effort to eradicate war from our planet. But tins may not soon be attained. Considering that war and hostility seems to be the normal state between nations of our time and age, it is logical to conclude that when the nations around us acquire the capability for such aggression, our people will be called upon to meet such aggression. Now is the time to prepare for it. Slowly, if necessary. But prepare for it we must. This is the greatest deterrent to the recurrence of another Bataan.

The national interests of our allies, no matter how close and friendly they may be, may not always coincide with our own national interest.

So Bataan teaches us never again to depend completely on others for the security of our people.

It teaches us that we as a nation must depend on ourselves to fight internal subversion and external aggression no matter how small we are and how limited our resources.

Bataan is not a tale of death but an affirmation of life — not an end but a beginning. Here today, among the ghosts of the fallen, we sense not death but heroism; the image of renewal fills our minds. The sense of doom is long gone.

Today we celebrate a truth that Bataan revealed to us, that we can summon vast powers in us if we wish and use them wisely, with courage and resolution, to convert defeat to victory and win the big battles of life.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Messages of President Marcos, The IRRI: A Force for Modernization, April 21, 1972

The IRRI: A Force for Modernization

IT IS AN example of the strange paradox of our times that we are here gathered to celebrate an event which symbolizes international cooperation and the sincere efforts of man to unite to meet his common enemies — ignorance, disease, hunger — while man is equally engaged in liquidating and eliminating his species in other parts of the world. I say symbolic of this paradox of our times because while indeed war, destruction and death now monopolize the headlines, perhaps in some later day of a more enlightened generation, greater media space will be allocated to the work of men like those who are with IRRI, the men of the type of Dr. Chandler and the researchers, the experts who have brought about a new kind of war and a new kind of revolution the impact of which is felt and will be felt for many years to come throughout the world.

We are here to underscore the role of the International Rice Research Institute not only in the Asian community but throughout the world, a community which is composed of — and I refer to the Asian community — of two billion rice eaters who today join us in thankful commemoration of the founding one decade ago of this world-famous institution.

The story of the development by IRRI of the so-called IR8, now known the world over as the “miracle rice”, is too well known to bear retelling here. It is enough to say that with its discovery, the food-population equation in this part of the world was radically altered and it gave new hope to the billions of hungry and malnourished people in Asia and elsewhere. This is particularly significant in the context of the predictions made by demographers and economists sometime ago, and even up to now, that unless food production would be increased tremendously there would be a famine in the world. Some demographers even predicted 1975, others 1980 and the decades to come. The IRRI through science and technology assured the world food not only for today but also for tomorrow.

I am proud to say that no nation in the world has embraced the high yielding varieties developed by IRRI more enthusiastically than the Philippines. Fully sixty per cent of our rice paddies are now planted to high yielding varieties. When you travel back from Los Baños this afternoon to Manila, examine the fields you pass. As far as you can see, there is nothing but short, stiff-strawed, and non-lodging varieties.

Rice is the Philippines’ most important crop. We have 3 million hectares of rice. While much of this area is not irrigated and is dependent on rainfall for water, nevertheless, since 1966, when IR8 was developed, the national average, yield of rice in the Philippines increased by 30 per cent. By 1968, this country had attained self-sufficiency in rice and except for the last 2 years when our rice fields were decimated by typhoons and tungro, we have maintained a respectable level of rice production.

This increase underlines the scientific revolution that is taking place in agriculture. What we fondly call “miracle rice” is, as we all know, not so much a miracle as a promise. It is a promise that comes true when farmers begin to use modern agricultural methods and inputs — fertilizer, weed and insect control, straight row planting, and so forth. The high-yielding variety is the key element, however. It provides a rich pay-off for the farmer who is willing to try new methods.

Because the “miracle rice” requires new techniques, our farmers were forced to change their ways. They have had to use new materials and techniques. Their surplus production introduced them to the complexities of a market economy. And this is where government had to participate actively. The farmers were thus drawn into the mainstream of modern economic life; their awareness of things around them was completely altered. Having acquired surplus incomes, their eyes were suddenly opened to a new world, a new world of opportunity, a new world for personal fulfillment. On the other hand, the industrialized sectors discovered in the countryside a new market for their products.

However, the miracle seeds have by no means ended the fight against higher prices and periodic shortages. The “rice revolution”, as we have sadly discovered in our country, is a continuing struggle both of production and marketing. The Philippine experience may be instructive to all Asian countries, who face the same problems and the same

challenges. After achieving self-sufficiency in 1968, we became complacent about production problems; we focused our attention largely on problems of marketing, transport, storage and processing. We now realize that while we have to reckon with these later problems, we must devote equal attention to food production.

While bringing hope to Asia's hungry people, the rice revolution of course also poses new problems in terms of the relationship between the rich countries and the poor countries. As pointed out by Lester Brown in his book *Seed of Change*, the new high-yielding varieties of rice promise to alter eventually the global pattern of agriculture because they tend to re-direct production advantage in favor of the tropical-subtropical region. Thus, the recent production increases in the tropical region have resulted in deep cutbacks in United States agricultural production, especially of wheat. A crisis in the world grain market is imminent because the food production breakthrough is occurring just as Europe and Japan are pursuing highly protectionist agricultural policies. The stage is now set for a major confrontation between the rich and poor countries over how to rationalize world agricultural trade.

These will be very difficult issues to settle. But I think, however, that approached in the proper spirit, we can meet these challenges. The IRRI example sets the tone. It is an international undertaking, where people from many countries have gathered to meet a common problem. It is this spirit of cooperation that will in the end bring comfort as well as solutions to the grave problems of this "global village" — the world.

It is fortunate for the rice farmer and the world that the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation had the vision and the initiative to establish the International Rice Research Institute. The men of these institutions, such as Drs. George Harrar and Forrest Hill, who steered these institutions into these paths deserve special mention for their foresight. They should be honored for their vision.

It is also gratifying to hear of the widening base of financial support for IRRI. The governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Australia have made or are about to make major contributions to the Institute. The newly established Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research, of which the Philippines is a member, I understand, is about to underwrite the coming financial needs of IRRI.

The continued and increased support of IRRI by these organizations and governments is well-justified. In spite of the dramatic gains that have been made in the 10 years since IRRI began its work, hunger is not uncommon and famine is still an ever-present threat for millions of Asians.

The populations of the nations of Asia are growing rapidly. The population of the Philippines will double in the next 25 years. To feed the millions yet unborn, much work remains to be done. I look forward to the next decade of the International Rice Research Institute. I am confident that it will be as exciting, as fulfilling, as rewarding, and as successful, as IRRI's first ten years.

I would like to pay special tribute in closing to the men who guided IRRI since its founding. The reputation of the Institute and its scientists today is a tribute to the imagination, the foresight, and the unflagging energy of Dr. George Harrar, Dr. Forrest Hill and Dr. Robert Chandler. Drs. Harrar and Chandler will retire this year as President of the Rockefeller Foundation and of the IRRI, respectively. The Philippines — indeed the whole world — will miss them.

I come on this occasion on my own behalf and on behalf of the Filipino people to extend to them gratitude for their sacrifice in coming here to Asia, for their deserved success in the experiments and researches in IRRI.

I cannot express and articulate this gratitude of the Filipino people except with what we, the Filipinos, say to all friends: Mabuhay sa inyong dalawa.

For all this, allow me then to salute the IRRI for setting the example in technological and scientific excellence, humanitarianism and international cooperation.

And I close with the hope that where the politicians, statesmen and the world leaders have failed, you the scientists, researchers and friends will succeed in binding men together into one single family.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos at the opening ceremonies of Labor-Management Congress, April 21, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening ceremonies of Labor-Management Congress

[Delivered at the Ramon Magsaysay Hall, Social Security System (SSS) Building, Quezon City, April 21, 1972]

Our
Industrial Peace with Freedom

Goal:

MY FRIENDS, TODAY should be another historic confrontation between labor and management in our country but not as sworn class enemies, but as friends and partners together with the government in securing our nation's progress. I congratulate the Labor-Management Advisory Council which has initiated this conference, the first to be held since 1958 in accordance with the Industrial Peace Act of 1953 or the Magna Carta of Labor. I am one of those who honestly believe that the battle for industrial peace is already half won once we succeed in bringing labor and management to the negotiating table.

The Labor-Management Congress is not necessarily a table for negotiation, with two panels primed for attritional warfare. You are rather called upon hereto meet not in the role of economic combatants but as statesmen of labor and management impelled by common goodwill to find solutions to problems, to achieve a broad area of agreement or consensus on some baffling and stubborn issues of our times.

Under the Magna Carta of Labor, otherwise known as Republic Act 875, the President of the Philippines is authorized to recommend to the Secretary of Labor the calling of a national conference of representatives of employers and labor organizations to consider and adopt a voluntary code of principles for labor-management relations, designed to prevent or minimize industrial disputes, particularly those affecting the general welfare.

In 1968 a Labor-Management Congress was held but since then none has been held until now. Considering the present economic condition of the country, particularly as regards the development of our industry and agriculture, it is but proper and fitting that this Labor-Management Congress be held.

If you will remember, Mr. David Morse, former Director General of the International Labor Organization, in the concluding part of his report to the 43rd session of the International Labor Conference, made the following comment and I quote verbatim:

“In the first place, the worker as an individual must be fully respected, both his dignity and personality, and be allowed to develop his sense of responsibility, for a man is not truly a man who is bereft of responsibility. A satisfactory labor relations system is one which furthers respect for fundamental human rights — the freedom of labor, the freedom of assembly and association, the opportunity to work, non-discrimination, free choice of work, and fair and satisfying conditions of work.

“As far as collective relations are concerned, the aim should be not only to provide an orderly means of resolving conflicts between workers and employers but also of harmonizing their interest in the broader community of which they are members. For these purposes, labor must be given its proper place in contemporary society and workers' organizations should be associated in the solution of problems concerning all workers. The requirements of economic progress must be recognized and some method must be found for workers to cooperate with employers in improving production methods, raising productivity and distributing its benefits equitably.”

It is for this purpose that the state, in its primary responsibility to give protection to labor in industry and tenants in agriculture, encourage the holding of another conference like the one you are now holding in order to review the gains that have been made by labor and the laws, particularly in social and labor legislation, that have been passed by our Congress, and in order to update them.

Under present social and economic conditions, what is the role of the state? The role of the state in industrial relations has changed considerably in recent years. Many years ago, the rights of the master were considered sacrosanct and any effort of the employees to challenge these rights was looked upon as a revolt. Such revolts were promptly and ruthlessly crushed by the state. It was not social enlightenment only that brought about recognition of the rights of workers. The recognition was secured by the workers themselves through a long and bitter struggle spread over many decades and involving great hardships and even bloodshed. The struggle was rendered the more inequitable, difficult and bitter because till relatively recent times the right of the workers to get together for the purpose of dealing with their employers was itself denied and suppressed. Indeed, even today, this right is by no means universally recognized and even where it is recognized in principle it is sometimes denied in actual practice.

The interest of the state in industrial relations arises because, firstly, government considers it to be its duty to protect the rights of one party against another party's encroachment. The community on the other hand has a prior interest because industrial disputes affect economic activity, the production of goods and operations of services, and sometimes law and order in society. With the rise of the concept of welfare — of the welfare state — the positive obligations of the state beyond the field of law and order to assure the well being of the citizens gradually assumed prominence. It is, as part of these obligations, the objective of the state to secure the well-being of the worker, and this role has assumed significance.

However, justice has come to be understood not only in its legal aspects but also in its social aspects. It has been recognized that industrial relations involve considerations of social justice.

The importance which industrial relations have assumed in the eyes of public authority during the past half century is indicated by the fact that after the first World War, the governments of a large number of countries in the world came together and set up what is now known as the International Labor Organization. The ILO, the International Labor Organization, is an inter-governmental agency dedicated to the promotion of social justice through publication and dissemination of information on labor, social conditions, the formulation of international standards and the supervision of their national application, the undertaking of specialized studies, and the provision of technical assistance. And today, 108 countries are members of the ILO, a large part of whose activities are in the field of industrial relations.

One of the more immediate objectives of industrial relations policies is, of course, industrial peace. The wide range of issues on which the claims or expectations of employers and workers are opposed to each other are potential causes for active conflict between the two parties. The conflict may take various forms. The workers may resort to a slow-down or they may refuse to work and call a strike. The employers may refuse to negotiate with the organization formed by their workers, fire the workers, or declare a lockout. They may try, when faced with the strike, to carry on their operation by recruiting other workers the strikers would describe as blacklegs, strike breakers or scabs. To prevent blacklegs from breaking the strike, the strikers may post pickets at the factory gates. In such a situation, hostility and tension may go on mounting and violence may, and often do, occur. Industrial conflict, whether peaceful or otherwise, involves much loss, trouble and hardship all around, not excluding the party which may ultimately emerge victorious. It also affects production which the whole community needs.

Hence, it is generally considered desirable to avoid industrial conflict. This can be done and sometimes is done by simply prohibiting conflict by law. But such a prevention of conflict does not really remove the cause of it. It will leave either or both parties nursing a sense of injustice which will do serious harm to the smooth operations of the undertaking. Worse still, it may drive the conflict into less desirable channels like sabotage, personal violence or open defiance of the law.

I have referred to the fact that industrial conflict affects everyone adversely, including the society in which it may be created.

In the study of the economies of various countries we have come across the fact that industrial conflict in the present world has become so costly that in some countries it has caused a serious imbalance of international trade. In countries like Great Britain and even the United States and other countries in Europe, a serious factor that has contributed to their unfavorable problem of balance of trade is the lack of industrial peace. It has increased the cost of production, decreased the volume of production and rendered countries unable to meet international competition.

What then is the constructive approach to conflict? The constructive approach to avoiding conflict is to try and resolve the issues in dispute before they lead to actual conflict. The establishment and operation of such constructive processes for settling differences between employers and workers is an important role of the state in industrial relations. Prevention of industrial conflict is, however, a negative objective, nor is it to be assumed that it is an overriding objective. There are often situations involving great hardship or injustice to one party, more often than not the workers. All amicable ways of changing this situation and removing the hardships and injustice may prove abortive. In such a case, conflict may become unavoidable and even desirable for removing the injustice may be more important than mere maintenance of peace in the undertaking.

In the field of industrial relations, there is a point at which the employers' and workers' interests do not coincide and where actual and potential conflict has to be resolved. But there is also a point where the interests of employers and workers coincide, serving as a foundation for cooperation in a spirit of mutual respect. To build on this foundation the edifice of cooperation, to devise and set up institutions and processes for such cooperation, is a positive aspect of industrial relations. A relationship of mutual trust and cooperation is helpful in achieving such desirable objectives as the utilization of all productive resources, higher productivity, safety and health, and a sense of dignity and fulfillment for workers. Further, such relationships also have a healthy effect in matters over which the interest of the employers and workers do not coincide. For in an atmosphere of mutual cooperation it is easier to find constructive solutions to such issues as those involving divergent interests. For instance, if a demand for higher wages is to be met, economy and higher cost of production may perhaps be jointly explored.

What is the ideology of conflict? This view of the objectives of industrial relations may run into headlong opposition from certain ideological and political attitudes. There are schools of thought which hold that an industrial strike is a manifestation of inevitable clash of interests in a capitalist society. The relationship of employers and workers in itself is looked upon as a relationship of exploitation by the former of the latter. Thus, conflict is a weapon of a social revolution which expects that this exploitation will cease only through such means. This view demands that class conflict, including industrial conflict, should be sharpened and accentuated. Further, different ideological and political views and forces are themselves in conflict with one another and to the extent that the workers are affected by these forces, the general trend of development of industrial relations may be also affected.

Whatever may be the validity of these ideological considerations, we are not here to pass upon them. So far as the study of industrial relations is concerned there must be, if a new production process is to be introduced, a satisfactory procedure for spreading it over a reasonable period of time, which is needed for the retraining and deployment of displaced workers, and this should be worked out jointly so as to avoid retrenchment and consequent hardship. It is important to realize that this relationship of mutual consideration is not the automatic result of the mere elimination of industrial conflict. Even where conflict is absent, where disputes as a rule result without active conflict the relationship of mutual cooperation can be and often is totally absent. Conscious and well thought-out efforts of both sides are called for in achieving such a relationship. The employers have to be prepared to give up some of their traditional prerogatives and admit workers to areas which have been for so long the closed preserve of management. The workers on their part have to be prepared to undertake new responsibilities which heretofore were not considered to be theirs. The concept of control by authority has to yield increasingly to that of control by integration.

The vital factor in all questions concerning industrial relations is the status and role of the trade union. Workers or individuals must in most industry situations function collectively. They need for this purpose an agency which can represent them, speak and act for them. To be genuinely representative, the agency must be their own, of their own choice, fully mindful of and sensitive to their interests and aspirations. It must enjoy their full confidence and be fully subject to their control. The right to organize, the right to form their trade union has been earned by workers through long and bitter struggle, great hardship and suffering. And even today, they have to remain vigilant and

sometimes must fight to maintain and retain that right. This is why the ILO adopted convention recognizing the right of workers to organize unions and to bargain collectively through organizations of their own choice.

In many countries there are special laws granting special facilities and privileges to trade unions. We have a good number of labor and social legislations today but we may have to introduce new ones to cope with the rapid growth of our social and economic order. This is one subject of your Congress today. The grant of the legal right to organize does not always mean that the right will be enjoyed in practice. All of us are aware of this. The employer may resort to various practices in order to thwart the efforts of the workers to organize themselves. Active union organizers may be victimized or even physically threatened or attacked. In some cases, they may be bought or won over through some allurements. The employer may sponsor a company union which will remain under his thumb. He may offer better wages and other conditions better than those prevailing elsewhere in order to keep a union out of his plant. The history of the labor movement all over the world shows that as a rule employers do their best to prevent the organization of unions, and agree to negotiate with unions only when compelled to do so by the strength of the union. In some countries, legislation has speeded up the progress of unionism but has not by itself brought about the growth of trade unions.

We are all aware now that a strong trade union is essential for sound industrial relations. The union gives coherent and practical expression to the expectations and aspirations of the workers and makes discussion and negotiation between the two parties possible. The existence of a strong union is itself a source of confidence to the workers, assuring them that their legitimate interest will not be encroached upon. And this confidence is helpful in building satisfactory industrial relations.

However, I repeat. A strong union also means greater responsibility on the part of the workers, a responsibility which means also to protect that same management which sometimes may be an antagonist, in order that the two elements of production may join hands in enhancing the progress of all.

The success of an enterprise and the benefits that might accrue to the workers depend on many factors. For instance, joint consultation, joint participation of workers and management, and lastly, tripartite consultations. In the first place, it is the employer's function primarily to manage his business. But workers are interested in how it is managed. If they are consulted on at least some aspects of management, they feel a greater sense of satisfaction. Joint consultation, however, is quite distinct from collective bargaining. It is important that the two are kept separate, otherwise confusion may result.

Joint consultation between management and labor does not concern itself with such questions as revision of wages or of other conditions of service. That is the field of collective bargaining. The participation of workers in management gives the laborers a sense of security and responsibility, and this is very important. Thus, the need for joint consultation. However, the final decision on policy and other management concerns should be made by the management alone, which may accept or reject the workers' views. This, again, is another sensitive point which may lead to disagreement.

A tripartite consultation takes place when representatives of the employers and workers and the government get together. The government's participation however should only be confined to formulating growth policies for a whole industry or for the whole country. And consultation must involve wholly the three parties, on a tripartite system. For instance, there may be a proposal for social or workers' legislation, for wages and employment, policies and their implementation, social security, housing and welfare problems and such other subjects, and this proposal becomes an appropriate subject for tripartite consultation.

You will note that under my administration I have tried to encourage tripartite consultations on a broad range of policies that affect labor and management. And these are important subjects to be taken up in this convention.

May I wish you all the best of luck so that after this convention there may be better relations between labor and management. I repeat. The task you face is to work out realistic proposals and guidelines for industrial peace. I have faith and confidence that through its appropriate organs, the government may act, on them in the furtherance of industrial peace based on justice.

We have a Constitutional Convention going on. Congress is in session. If you will remember, in two months' time we shall once more mark the anniversary of the Industrial Peace Act, which, incidentally, I also had the privilege of participating in while it was being written, when I was a member of Congress in 1953. But it is not too soon, really, for the leaders of labor and management, not to mention the government, in this Congress to address themselves to this fundamental question: How has the era of collective bargaining and free trade unionism worked in the Philippines during nearly two decades of its operation? There must be a reassessment. What should be done to realize the fullest potential of this system for industrial peace based on social justice? What defects have been revealed by experience and what corrective steps should be taken to update the law?

And with the Constitutional Convention going on, should not this Congress also face up to the property question and in general the social and economic relationship that should prevail in a reconstructed society?

The truth is that I believe your Congress could be more useful and effective if you took more time to consider concrete questions of industrial peace.

For instance, while I have said that employers tend to discourage the organization of unions, the unions are not entirely blameless in some instances and we must now be strong enough to face the reality that inter-union dispute caused more than 47 per cent of all strikes at least in 1910 — and the implicitly of unions in a given enterprise is definitely not conducive to industrial peace. A third factor which impedes the task of promoting industrial peace is the inadequacy of government's own facilities not only for conciliation, but perhaps more important, for preventive mediation.

The first and second of these issues are sensitive enough to cause instant sparks in a meeting of labor and management. I know.

I am certain that in discussing or in re-assessing the situation of free trade unionism in the Philippines in the past two decades, and in determining how to realize the true potential of this system for industrial peace based on social justice, as well as the defects that experience may have revealed, there will be instant conflict between labor and management. I have been rather closely exposed to some of your problems during the past six years, when the President, at the request of the Secretary of Labor, had to perform the role of conciliator himself. I know that management is not above busting free unions, in spite of pious utterances and I know that labor may sometimes invoke high ideals in the not-so-noble pursuit of liquidating a rival union — sometimes wantonly disregarding the public interest for the sake of a vendetta.

We all know of this. All of us do, but sometimes we do not face up to this reality. And I know that you will allow me this opportunity of being candid and frank about the problems of both labor and management. Sometimes, labor and capital, in the case of provincial disputes, have to finance a Labor Department conciliator's transportation to the site of the dispute, for this is a Department tragically short of funds with which to carry out its valuable work.

And that is not a commercial for the Department of Labor's budget pending in Congress. Talagang nangangailangan naman ng pera ang Department of Labor, at kung nakikinig ang ating mga mambabatas ay kung maaari lang sana ay dagdagan ang appropriation ng Department of Labor.

I have cited three factors besides the paucity of government funds and the inadequacy of government facilities to meet the demands of industrial conflict. I believe that here we have three large but concrete problems on which to focus tripartite attention and action in this Congress.

I am happy to note that labor leaders have called attention to the fact that whereas countries other than the Philippines and countries around us, have shown a tendency to repress labor unions, in the Philippines government tends to encourage labor unionism.

For although we strongly desire and unremittingly pursue the goal of economic growth, I know that even management itself or the capitalist, is not willing to relegate to a secondary priority the freedom of association for

workers as well as for employers. The thrust of our social effort is not merely towards bread but towards bread with justice and freedom.

I ask that labor and management in this Congress join forces with us in the government to defend and preserve freedom of association as a major postulate of our commitment to industrial democracy.

Great challenges face all of us in the '70's and these are trying times for all of us. There is always the grave risk that labor might consider itself alienated from government; foreign ideologies fan class enmity for their own ends. That is why government and management must take extra care that their decisions, whenever workers are affected, are enlightened, defensible, and reasonable, lest the myth of exploitation become a reality in our democratic system.

We do not know exactly what form our political and economic community may take when the delegates to the Constitutional Convention shall have done their work. But I leave it to the joint Labor-Management Congress to come to terms with the social and economic realities of our times, so that together labor and management may voice their hopes and demands for the kind of society that is more responsive to their interests and welfare.

I have no doubt that the sense of this new society, if indeed it is now in the making, as I think it is, is fundamentally, nay uncompromisingly democratic. But it is my hope, as it must be yours, that this democratic society shall mean the extension and not the curtailment or limitation, of freedom, that it shall guarantee individual self-fulfillment, not only politically but also, and more importantly, economically and socially as well. I have complete faith and trust that you shall lead the way towards a better and more progressive society.

God guide you in your undertaking in this Congress.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the opening ceremonies of the Annual Convention of the Philippine Medical Association, April 26, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening ceremonies of the Annual Convention of the Philippine Medical Association

[Delivered at the De La Salle College, Bacolod City, April 26, 1972]

Medical Care for All

THERE IS NO profession more socially involved and more exalted in popular esteem, or a force more vital to national progress and welfare, than that of medicine. This is the reason a good part of the nation must focus its attention today on this gathering in Bacolod City—the 65th annual convention of the Philippine Medical Association. This is an occasion not only for the warmest congratulations but also for a direct, courageous confrontation of the role that the medical profession must accept in the life of our nation, now being convulsed by change.

In the past few years, the PMA under new and aggressive youthful leadership has been engaged in this kind of confrontation with itself. This speaks well of the new leaders who have emerged from the ranks of the profession in response to the challenging times. Certainly, the outgoing set of officers this year, headed by President Caparas, deserves our warmest commendations for having shared the initiative and the leadership of the movement for a medicare program. And the incoming leadership will be chosen, I feel sure, with a full awareness of the need for first-rate leadership in the association at a time when the profession as a whole must respond to the challenge of implementing Medicare, the success of which must now fully depend upon your initiative and support.

For the first time in our history, every worker involved in this program, through the SSS or the GSIS, has ready access to the life-saving power of modern medicine. This is the real principle of Medicare. It is a radical step to bring the benefits of modern medicine to the masses. And it does provide the long-missing linkage by means of which the medical profession can effectively reach the bulk of the working people.

I used to say that in some parts of Mindanao, as many as 60 per cent of the people died without seeing a doctor. This is hardly an exaggeration. As a result, in the minds of many of our people, modern medicine is thought of as a luxury that only the rich and the influential can afford, a boon that is beyond the reach of the ordinary wage-earner and his family. It is not seldom that thoughts of social discrimination in medicine, with its power to save lives, rumble in the breasts of the poor and even the not-so-poor.

With Medicare, specially at its beginning stage, we cannot hope to reach every one yet, but at least the workers in the wage-systems, who are already covered by the SSS and the GSIS, can immediately take advantage of it. But the extent to which this already can be done—the proof that the medical profession can be made available to the masses of workers and their families—must await the complete response and support of all doctors everywhere in our country.

As you will recall, it was on our joint initiative that Medicare came into existence. I supported the passage and eventual enactment of a law, R. A. 1611, that established the Philippine Medical Care Plan and created the Medical Care Commission prescribing its duties, powers, and functions and recommending the appropriation of funds therefor. This has now become the Philippine Medical Care Act that embodies the government's policy to gradually provide total medical service for our people by adopting and implementing a comprehensive and coordinated medical care program based on accepted concepts of health care. This law was enacted in 1969. I have been criticized by some sectors for my hesitancy in the immediate implementation of this law. If I hesitated, it was not because I doubted its benefits and value. We needed time to prepare the machinery of government to insure the

effective implementation of the plan. Even then I was not alone in my caution that a precipitate and hasty action would endanger the successful implementation of the plan.

A few offered the opinion that it should first be tried on selected pilot areas to test the methods of operation and learn the mechanics of reaching the people. This view unquestionably had its merits. On the other hand, there was the urgent demand that every one needed to avail of the benefits of this plan. The critics of the administration have always harped on the alleged deprivation of the poor of the benefits of modern medical care — that the progress in science and medicine is only for the rich who can afford to pay for medical care service. Other detractors even pronounced the whole plan as a failure even before it was tried or implemented.

In my desire to insure successful implementation of this plan, I asked the cooperation of the Philippine Medical Association to work out with the Department of Health an interim program to gradually introduce the medicare system into operation. For this purpose, I promulgated Executive Order 337 on May 12, 1971, which authorized the organization of the Medical Assistance Program (MAP) Task Force consisting of nine members (four from the PMA, three from the Department of Health, one from the Philippine Hospital Association, and one from the Presidential Economic Staff). The Task Force is to conceptualize, materialize, and implement the medical assistance program. This joint undertaking of your association with the government health service is conceived for the purpose of improving and increasing the health care of the people by:

1. Coordinating the efforts and resources of the Department of Health, private practitioners, and the community;
2. Assessing and improving existing medical facilities;
3. Providing station field hospitals in remote and isolated towns to take care of serious and emergency cases before transport to regular hospitals; and
4. Developing an insurance scheme whereby medical expenses of the community will be borne through community mutual health funds.

You will note that the objectives of the MAP coincide with those of the Medicare Program. It could be therefore the analogue of the suggestion that the total program of medical care be first tried on a pilot setting. The MAP has, however, the feature that from this transitory status, it will eventually develop and fit into the total mechanism of the medicare program.

On August 10, 1971, I officially constituted the Philippine Medical Care Commission. Despite the official organization of the Commission, the MAP continues to operate to lay the general ground work for the full implementation of the Medicare Plan. The Medicare started to collect premiums as of January, 1971. Three months later, this April, the members are already availing of their benefits from the plan.

There is a multitude of problems to be faced before we can ensure the smooth operation of the program. There are still many unclear aspects in the scheme. Both the government and the private sector have yet to consolidate the participation of each. The Department of Health must review its policy to enable it to integrate its functions and activities into the program.

The Philippine Medical Association, being one of the pioneers and aggressive sponsors of this plan, has an inherent responsibility to espouse it to a successful implementation. This is our own medical care program designed and organized in accordance with our needs as a people. No one will argue that the medical care of the common man is of inestimable value not only to himself as an individual, but also to his family, to the community where he lives and to the nation as a whole.

It is not for nothing that the national hero of the Filipinos is not a warrior, but a healer, of whose profession it was once said by Jeremy Taylor: "To preserve a man alive in the midst of so many chances and hostilities, is as great a miracle as to create him."

Truly, Philippine medicine today faces its greatest opportunity yet to serve the people and therefore, humanity. The medium by which this unparalleled, noble service will be rendered by you is Medicare, and in this annual convention you will, I am sure, bring to bear the highest the statesmanship of which you are capable to make sure that program will be a complete success.

Then this convention would be a milestone, indeed, not only for Philippine medicine, but also for the Filipino nation.

May I end on the same note with which I began: my warmest congratulations and best wishes for your success.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the necrological services for Don Fernando Amorsolo, April 28, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the necrological services for Don Fernando Amorsolo

[Delivered on April 28, 1972]

Amorsolo: First National Artist

THE WHOLE NATION mourns Fernando Amorsolo. As President of the Republic of the Philippines, as admirer, friend, and as ordinary citizen of this Republic, I have come to express the sorrow of the entire race.

When we honor a man, we honor not him alone but some ideal he represents in us, some piece of him that is cognate with ourselves, with mankind, and with the universal spirit. Therefore, to honor a great artist is to exalt the artist in every man. There is a moral correlative of the artist in the humblest soul. Collectively, this is the spirit of the nation that strives towards excellence, beauty, goodness.

Today, we honor Fernando Amorsolo, it is true, but in honoring him we also honor the artist as a Filipino. In him we honor every Filipino artist living or dead or yet unborn. For art is also the potential for beauty and excellence that waits to be found, to be encouraged, and to be developed in the whole race. And this is so, not only because Fernando Amorsolo is unquestionably the foremost Filipino painter since Juan Luna. Luna and Hidalgo who preceded him were without doubt great painters. But they bore a special imprint of the Filipino identity on their canvasses of classical beauty. Going a step further than the classicists of the European school, Amorsolo looked for that one indigenous quality which he presented in a painting, stamping it with an indubitable Filipino presence. That element was the sunlight of the Philippine countryside.

I doubt if in the entire history of art anyone captured the gentle quality of sunlight as well as Amorsolo did. In his art, the Filipinos emerged as veritable children of the sun. But at the same time, it is said, this was a sun of social and political innocence, as though the Amorsolo landscape had known no evil. No matter, Amorsolo did not pretend to be profound. Social criticism, in an age of revolution and upheaval, will have enough adherents, practitioners and perverters, anyway. He looked for what was true, what was beautiful, what was good.

In a society that idolizes iconoclasts, and, perhaps, muckrakers, such a quest would seem exotic and even futile. But the true Amorsolo age was not yet the clamorous, rebellious milieu that we take for granted today. The simple joys of the poor were still legitimate and respectable. His quest was fulfilled when he earned the secret of capturing light so that he could make this the very symbol of his art and his own kind of message to his people.

Amorsolo was an honest man and the integrity of his art consists of its very simplicity, lucidity and lack of cant. It will be said, when everything is written of Amorsolo, that he gave nobility to the prosaic and to the common, that was Filipino.

My friends, because Amorsolo was a great artist and a great man, we must utilize the occasion of his death to inaugurate the new practice of the Republic of the Philippines in honoring great artists.

We, therefore, raise to his memory not a monument of stone or bronze but the creation of a new category of awards and decorations for honorees of the state. This category is that of the National Artist.

Today, I have signed by proclamation an order which establishes this category and I have indicated there that Amorsolo becomes the first Filipino to be declared National Artist of the Republic of the Philippines, entitled to all

the honors and privileges befitting a hero of our country and people. By this precedent, we hope in the future to honor similarly other eminent men who have elevated us all by the quality of their art, whether in the fields of fine arts, literature, history, the dance, culture and architecture, and others. A great artist not only elevates but also unites a people. National art becomes part of the heritage that solders a nation and makes it one and indivisible. For the present, the initiative for recommending the designation of such an honoree known as National Artist of the Republic of the Philippines rests on the Board of Trustees of the Cultural Center of the Philippines.

But it is my hope, it is the hope of everyone, that in the near future a Philippine Academy of the Arts can be established to exercise among others this function of recommending to the President of the Philippines the recognition of outstanding individuals as National Artists.

The Constitution mandates the State to promote the arts. It is in that spirit that the government supported initiatives to establish this Cultural Center. But promoting the arts is merely another term for honoring our own artists.

Today, in conducting this funeral for our first National Artist so declared by our government, we are asserting this responsibility to our artists and by implication, to the best and the finest in our natures.

My friends and countrymen, I repeat, on behalf of our people, I bid farewell to this great man who in death has become immortal, as immortal as the sunlight that is the true signature of his art and the hallmark of his vision.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the annual conference of the Philippine Association of School Superintendents, May 8, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the annual conference of the Philippine Association of School Superintendents

[Delivered at Teacher's Camp, Baguio City, May 8, 1972]

New Directions in Philippine Education

ALLOW ME TO extend to you my greetings on the occasion of this year's conference of school superintendents and to express die sincere wish that the conference will come out with innovative solutions to many of die nation's educational problems.

I am very happy to note that you have adopted as the theme of this conference, "Newer Directions in Philippine Education." This is the thrust of the recommendations of the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education which I created under Executive Order No. 202. We have now the report of the Survey Commission and I have asked the Secretary of Education to implement the recommendations beginning this coming June.

I am naturally elated by the report that our educational system has achieved almost universal education in the elementary level. This is a very important achievement inasmuch as the strength of a democracy depends to a large extent upon the general level of education of its citizens. However, I am aware of the fact that the school system still suffers from a high drop out rate. Out of every hundred pupils who enroll in Grade I only 55 are able to reach Grade VI. I appeal to the superintendents here assembled to look for solutions to this problem of school drop-outs. During this decade our goals should be to make it possible for our citizens to attain at least second year of high school.

The secondary level of our school system has often been described as the weakest link. I have been informed that the 2-2 plan, which is the curriculum setup in me secondary level, is not being fully implemented. I enjoin the superintendents to look into this problem to the end that more of our secondary students will opt for the vocational courses that will help in preparing them for gainful employment either in agriculture or industry. In this connection, I wish to stress the fact that our country, being essentially agricultural, the vocational stream of the secondary curriculum should stress agricultural pursuits, which incidentally do not require expensive equipment.

My attention has been brought to the Barrio Development School located in Masaya Bay, Laguna. This Barrio Development School is a joint project of the Board of National Education and the U.P. College of Agriculture in Los Baños. I am very happy to learn that the students in this development school are engaged in such supervised farming activities as raising poultry, swine and rabbits. I wish to urge school superintendents to study seriously the innovations being introduced in the Masaya Barrio Development School to the end that this setup be adopted wherever it is possible in existing barrio high schools all over the country.

We have a serious unemployment problem in the country today and any program be it in the elementary, secondary or tertiary levels that will increase opportunities for employment or self-employment deserves our utmost encouragement.

The Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education has made some vital recommendations to remedy certain imbalances in higher education and to raise the quality of the educational product. Mention has been made of the fact that close to 80 per cent of the enrollment in higher education are concentrated in three courses, namely: teacher training, commerce and business administration, and liberal arts. I understand that many of the graduates of these courses find difficulty in securing employment after graduation. In other words, they join the ranks of the so-called educated unemployed. This is a waste of very valuable human resources and I therefore urge that this be

corrected as soon as possible. On the other hand, courses that are needed in national development like engineering, science and technology and agriculture, have very limited enrolments. I enjoin the Department of Education to take the necessary steps to correct these imbalances in education in the tertiary level. I urge that steps be taken to screen students enrolling in higher education to the end that only those capable of carrying the work be admitted.

I have certified to Congress the urgency of a bill entitled "The Educational Act of 1972." This bill has been introduced by the Committee on Education in the house headed by Congress-woman Tabiana and in the Senate by the Chairman of the Committee on Education, Senator Helena Z. Benitez. The Bill seeks to raise a total of P500 million within a period of ten years which will be used in undertaking projects in line with the recommendations of the Presidential Survey Commission. This amount will be supplemented by a loan that we seek to get from the World Bank and in the amount of a hundred million dollars. Negotiations have been going on between the Philippine Government on the one hand and the World Bank on the other towards the approval of this loan. With Congress approving the Educational Development Act of 1972 and the World Bank approving our loan there will be provided the needed logistics for educational projects designed to accelerate national development.

I close by wishing you a very successful and fruitful conference.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos on Memorial Day, May 29, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Memorial Day

[Delivered at the Manila American Cemetery and Memorial, Fort Bonifacio, May 29, 1972]

Memorial Day 1972

IT IS INDEED a pleasure and an honor for me to be able once again to attend these ceremonies on Memorial Day at the American Cemetery in the Philippines.

Memorial Day is, uniquely and proudly, an American holiday. But in designating this day to honor their heroic dead, the American people also affirm the sanctity of all those who gave up their lives for their country regardless of race and creed.

This seems to me an irrefutable conclusion when we consider the genesis of Memorial Day, for it was first observed in the Northern States in honor of those who died in the US Civil War. It subsequently became a day consecrated to all those who died in the service of their country.

The remains of American War dead are collected in cemeteries like those in Europe, America and Asia. But this cemetery in Fort Bonifacio, containing the graves of 17,000 dead, and the inscriptions of 39,000 missing, is appropriately the largest in area of such cemeteries built by the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The battles and campaigns in which these dead fought are set forth in the 25 maps that are inscribed on the facade of the East Hemicycle of this cemetery. Some of these battles and the dates given are as follows: Defense of Luzon—8 December 1941-6 May 1942; Defense of Southeast Asia—December 1941—May 1942; Battle for Leyte Gulf—23-26 October 1944; Return to the Philippines—October 1944; Luzon Campaign—15 December 1944-15 August 1945; Reoccupation of Manila; Liberation of the Philippines—20 October 1944-15 August 1945; Battle of the Coral Sea—4-8 May 1942; China-Burma-India Theater—1942-1945; American Air Ferry Routes—Supply to the USSR—1941-1945; United States Submarine Operations in the Pacific; The Marianas—15 June—10 August 1944; Battle of Midway—3-7 June 1942; Battle of the Philippine Sea—15-20 June 1944; Guadalcanal—7 August 1942—9 February 1943; Fast Carrier Strikes in the Pacific—1942-1945; Air Assault on Japan—1942-1945; Okinawa—26 March—22 June 1945; Iwo Jima—16 February—16 March 1945; The War Against Germany—1941-1945; Supply Routes Across the Pacific Ocean—1941-1945; New Guinea—21 July 1942-11 May 1945; Northern Solomons—6 March 1943—3-7 March 1944; Invasion of the Palau Islands.

This cemetery at Fort Bonifacio is appropriately the largest of its kind in the world, as I have said, because it is symbolic of the American—and the world's—pre-occupation with Asia since the Second World War. Asia holds more than half the population of mankind, the bulk of whom are poor and rebellious against poverty. Korea and Vietnam merely focused the agitations and convulsions caused by the emergence of Asia from the ruins of the Second World War.

But in another sense, this is appropriate because this cemetery will always recall the great partnership between the Philippines and the United States in the Second World War.

You will recall that after the defeat of Bataan and Corregidor, and the surrender of the regular armies of the United States and the Philippines, the Filipino people transformed themselves into a great army of resistance. Nowhere in

Asia, and perhaps in other parts of the world, did a nation rise up so spontaneously and so bravely — sustained not only by love of country but also by its faith in a friend and ally, the United States of America.

This might have seemed strange to Americans as well as to Filipinos of an earlier generation, say, those who fought during the Filipino-American War of 1898, otherwise known in American textbooks as the “The Philippine Insurrection.” For in 1898, General Aguinaldo’s ragtag guerrilla army under General Luna, in which army many of the present Filipino generation’s grand fathers belonged, fought the first national guerrilla war in Asia — against the United States, in what today seems to many historians and observers a prevision of Vietnam half a century earlier.

From the ferocious turn-of-the-century enemy, the Filipinos became; America’s most loyal and steadfast allies in the Second World War. I belong to that generation which unquestioningly obeyed the generous impulse that those who fought in the Second World War under the American flag shared toward one another.

But in another sense, this generation seems to offer a cut-off point, if only because our own deepest feelings have found insufficient reciprocation on the part of a similar generation in the United States. Increasingly we find that we cannot be possessive with regard to other nations and that the priorities nations must follow their own evaluation of their vital and lasting nation’s interest.

In the Philippines, this rising feeling of maturity is taking the form of a reexamination of our relations with the whole world, which pivot on our relations with the United States.

We know that we must find the way to rely on ourselves, just as all developing countries must learn to rely on themselves. For it is in such self-reliance that we shall guarantee not only our own preparedness, but also our usefulness to those who make common cause with us in the service of human freedom. Then we can be better friends with those who want to be friends with us.

The battles fought together, and the memory of those who died, will help keep ever green the friendship between Filipinos and Americans.

The Filipino people join their American friends today therefore, in paying tribute to the American dead of the Second World War, particularly those who fell in the defense and liberation of the Philippines.

May I conclude by quoting an inscription from the Chapel: “Comrades in arms whose earthly resting place is known only to God, let us here highly resolve that the cause for which they died shall live.”

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Fourth Regular Course of the AFP Command and General Staff College, June 1, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Fourth Regular Course of the AFP Command and General Staff College

[Delivered at Fort Bonifacio, June 1, 1972]

A Core of Leadership

IT IS, OF course, a great pleasure for me to be able to attend this graduation. As you are well aware, I have given special importance to this course of the AFP Command and General Staff College, at one time requiring it as a prerequisite to promotions to higher rank.

I am happy to be here with the officers who have proven themselves many times over before and today as we now add to their impressive credentials this graduation from this exclusive college.

I congratulate the administration and the academic staff of this college under the Commandant, Col. Gidaya.

In the immediate future, I look forward to the augmentation of the leadership in our Armed Forces, not to mention other areas of government and activity, through such advanced training courses as this which you have successfully hurdled, because in the tumultuous years of this decade and the next, our country will have great need of competent, inspired and imaginative leadership.

I am also happy to note the presence in these graduation ceremonies of three foreign students: one from the Republic of Korea, another from the Republic of China, and another from Thailand. To them, I extend special congratulations. They are here in accordance with the program of cooperation between their countries and our country in preparing not only for the defense of our respective countries but for the development of this region to which we belong.

The world is taking definite new directions today, directions away from old, the usual and the certain, away from the conventional and the tested, and onward to still undiscovered areas of living, of social and economic experimentation, and perhaps of fundamental political and ideological reforms. A tremendous change in our world is already indicated by events. And this change will raise a new and increasing challenge to nations and their leaders.

Already, we can appreciate the vast changes which have occurred in our lives. On the political front, fresh policies are evolving toward more restraint on the use of power, as for example in the desire of the United States to withdraw from wide involvement in power bloc alliances; in the emergence of the People's Republic of China from its long isolation to mend its international relationships; and in the problem of the existence of the small nations, including that of the Republic of China; the efforts of Soviet Russia to project a new image even as a peace seeker. On the economic front, nations are already exploring new ways to carry on international trade on a novel basis, that is, no longer the basis of the dollar but by means of a more flexible system, which would obviate the wrenching fluctuations of foreign exchange rates when speculation in gold gets out of hand. On the social scene, we are witness to new cultures and subcultures; we are concerned with problems of ecology and the environment, things we had not even given a thought to only ten years ago.

Thus, if we must cope with the emerging world of tomorrow, in many ways a strange and alien world, we must evolve a new breed of leaders.

Today, even as we sit here in comparative equanimity, our country is faced with an inescapable problem—the problem of self-reliance. Events and the promise of greater change summon us to face up to this problem. No longer must we depend on the old certainty of powerful friends coming to our aid in a time of peril. It is not that we do not trust these friends, it is just that the world is changing in a way that they may not be able to come to our aid. No longer can we trust our destiny to the magnanimity of allies, nor to the concerted action of a family of nations aligned on one side. There may never be a gathering of allies anymore for that matter, as when the free world rallied to save an occupied France, or an embattled England; nor would the United Nations rise up in arms again, as when South Korea was invaded. Anyone who has studied the indications of current history will come to the same conclusion. With the war in Vietnam indelibly inscribed on the conscience of the world, there may never again be a spontaneous response to a country in distress by its friends. In every crisis in the future, a country must stand or fall alone. This seems to be the stark reality of our day and age.

That is why self-reliance is central and current to our problems today, and in confronting this problem, again we come to the imperative of leadership.

It is not enough that we find the material means to build a shield of indigenous forces. It is not enough that we somehow must amass an arsenal for defense. Contemporary experience shows other requirements, and for that matter history itself dictates the need for such requirements. Chief among these requirements is that we must have the leadership to use our resources well, whether these are economic goods, or formidable weaponry, or a strong army of citizens, or a viable industrial community. We must have men to show the way to the attainment of these goals. Whether it is in the military, or in the civilian sector, whether it is in politics or in business, the cry is for a new kind of leadership, a leadership not only adept, but dedicated, a leadership well trained. I repeat, even in politics there is a crying need for a new breed of leaders. The old class of political leaders that my generation still knows will no longer be able to bring about the kind of world that we want.

Today, those among us who wield leadership, or who have the makings of a leader, have a particular and special task to perform. This is the task of rallying our people, so that they will come together in essential unity to grapple with the most urgent of our problems.

I am convinced that our gravest problems would be easier to solve if we could generate enough unity among our people to consider together the directions and the means we should choose in overcoming the various problems that beset us. I am convinced that we have not achieved this unity, not since we all went underground together in the years of the Occupation, out of a deep and moving realization that the only way to survive, to defeat a superior enemy, was to fight together. Since then, we have reverted as a people to the old ways, or rather we have gone our separate ways, each, it would seem, looking out only for himself. The secret of strength in a nation, that of oneness of a brotherhood, has been lost somewhere along the way.

We therefore need leaders to awaken our people to the new aggressors that assail us; we need leaders to enlighten our people on the danger from the enemy within our country and within ourselves. We need leaders to forge a unity arising from a sense of common destiny. We need leaders to bring about the kind of living conditions which would inspire our people to stand together in defense of that way of life.

This is the special task reserved for the leaders that we must train and field all over the nation, whether in the military or in the civil sector.

I like to think that you, and others like you who have gone through this, course, are the leaders who shall form the hard core of this national leadership that I speak of. I like to think that in the difficult days to come, when we shall be charting new ways to meet old and new problems, when we shall be actively and deeply engaged by predictable and unpredictable crises, there will be this hard core of leaders to stand fast, to work quietly and coolly, to remain unruffled and steadfast above the storm, to make the right and binding decisions.

If indeed we succeed in creating this body of leadership, then we can be certain that we shall attain our most urgent goal, that of self-reliance in a nation, whether it is in putting up a defense against external aggressors, or it is in perfecting a stance of economic independence, or it is in elevating the social and cultural standards of our people.

I regard all of you who are graduating today as early components, the core, of the leadership we need. May you prove true to your trust, and may you continually post achievements in service to your country, now and in the years to come.

God be with you.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos on the 74th anniversary of the proclamation of Philippine independence, June 12, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 74th anniversary of the proclamation of Philippine independence

[Delivered at the Rizal Park, June 12, 1972]

A Constant Creed

FOR A PEOPLE, the best of times is that which recalls a shining sense of glory.

This is the one such moment, the celebration of Philippine Independence Day.

I know that not all Filipinos share this feeling. There are those who have publicly called this milestone in our history a sham.

In their dogmatic way, having embraced a dogmatic ideology, they have labelled our freedom and our nationhood a sham as well.

You and I know better. We know that the democratic impulse has always run strong in our people, that it is the force which has driven our people through history in search of freedom and dignity.

We know that 74 years ago today, that search had seemed ended. At that time, we became at last a people together, a nation born. And no one can dispute the shining sense of glory which then united and exalted our people, that other day long ago, on the 12th of June.

That day was real. And the independence we won was real, as real as the blood that Filipino soldiers shed to arrive at that instance in our history, as real as the vision of our heroes of a people coming into its own as one race and as one national community, the vision that animated Rizal and Bonifacio and Mabini, and the man who led the battles against the tyrants, the first President of the First Republic, General Emilio Aguinaldo.

But it was a fleeting moment of self-realization. Nearly half a century would pass before we could call ourselves a nation again, a nation reborn.

It is proper, however, that we should celebrate that first birth of a nation as our true Independence Day. Culminated on that day were the centuries of longing, subjugation, sacrifice and struggle. It was the day that ended a precipitate clash of arms, the day that proclaimed Filipino freedom and sovereignty by dint of blood and courage. Although in later years we had again to fight another war before our nation could be reborn, it was that first struggle for independence which was purest in content and substance, a struggle which embodied the passionate outcry of a people long held in bondage, a cry for selfhood and dignity as human beings.

We never again lost that sense of purpose although the intervening years were peaceful and benign. The freedom that we had for a brief, bright moment informed our passage through the burgeoning new century, and within the democratic means that we learned to use and value, we carried on the struggle for self-government. In a way they were good years. At the same time, it was a period of self-discovery, unformed, inchoate, prayerful. It was also a time of testing. A time of trial carried on from the first days of the struggle against the Spanish dispensation.

From that time on our people have undergone a constant testing. Under a new master, we were tested anew as to purpose and community of spirit, tested for maturity, tested for capacity to hold together as a people, tested for endurance, tested for consanguinity in a changing world—can we survive in it as a free people? A sovereign nation?

The ultimate test at that time was the second great war. Our country was engulfed like much of the rest of the world, our people taken prisoners by the enemy, like much of the rest of the world, but unlike many other such captive peoples we fought back, thus passing that ultimate test.

With the rebirth of the Republic, the testing of our powers, purpose and profundity as a people took a new turn, a new measure. This time we were adrift in a world changing once again. As old empires broke up and new nations emerged, a profound change began to shape up in the world. We had an inkling of it, but little understanding of its depth and scope. Not until the last decade when the great underground torrent of change burst to the surface did we know that our democracy and nationhood must again undergo a test.

We are still in the throes of this new probing of our strength and our spirit amid a radical transformation of the old safe world we knew, where relationships long held valid and secure are being transformed into new shapes and tensions.

The time has come however to be realistic and hard-headed about our independence and to see everything not in the lambent light of historical idealism but in the white glare of contemporary realism.

The most visible symbols of American presence in the country are the U.S. bases. The effect of the treaty on our sovereignty was one of the main topics of the technical panel discussions between representatives of the United States and the Philippines, the first phase of the negotiations which must now be elevated to the policy level.

Increasingly, however, it is beginning to be felt that the discussion of the bases issue has passed the point in which correcting the inequality of the bases agreement is the main issue. The issue is whether the retention of the United States bases on Philippine territory serves the purposes of alliance which gave birth to the agreement.

The original purposes for which these bases were established may not exist anymore. In the contemporary context, the questions that arise are: do these bases exist solely for the mutual defense of our two countries or do they perpetuate American participation in Philippine affairs and support American experiments in Asia? These are the questions that the extremists as well as the communist thinkers and believers in freedom are asking.

I have therefore called for a deep and speedy review of the bases and other military agreements as well as the Laurel-Langley Agreement between the United States and the Philippines.

This is the necessary first step to give real meaning to our independence. From this will follow the other steps that will enrich our economic and cultural life.

We believe that our independence will be meaningless unless we have successfully declared ourselves fully liberated from foreign influence and control.

This has been the main thrust of my thinking and policies since the beginning of my Administration. The more impatient among us did not like the subtle shifts in thinking and policies that we have had to make over the years in order to prepare the ground for this new direction. But the caution and the care were necessary in the light of both the domestic and the international situations.

But now we can take the initiatives. The situation both here and abroad permits this bold, forward step.

I am convinced that only a positive response from all of our people can see us through this most rigid of all the tests we have had to undergo. Our time in history in this challenging era is the most crucial, for we have more at stake today than at any time in the past. We have our nationhood itself at stake. We live or die as a free people, depending

on how we respond to the mandate of change and to the mortal dangers that necessarily accompany the upheaval that comes with so fundamental a transformation as the world now experiences.

And my first feeling in the face of this tumult is that in order to summon strength we must be a united nation, a people fused together as one great force.

This unity is all the more essential in the face of the gathering forces of ideological dissent, an organized dissent directed from without by experienced masters in conspiracy, a powerful wedge whose thrust was precisely toward the fragmentation not only of our government but of our people. Unity therefore is no more than an elementary response to this strategy.

But I see unity as more than just a solid front against ideological dissension. We need to marshal our forces anyhow against the problems that face us in the socio-economic field and the problems of government which have long plagued our leaders and administrators, problems arising from bureaucratic lethargy and indifference, not to mention the unwieldy organization which has become a monster.

Unity can overcome these problems to a certain important extent, and I consider this of the utmost urgency for we must put out of the way as soon as possible these comparatively easier matters before we can tackle and overcome the more sensitive problems of discontent, poverty, underdevelopment, and national security. If we can reorganize the government now to make it a more effective instrument for dealing with day to day routine as well as with high priority programs of development to make it into a sophisticated machinery which can quickly adjust to new and complex requirements, then we shall be better equipped for the emergencies, the crises of change and external relations for the perceivable shifts in worldwide alignments even now taking shape, even now presaging the passing of an age.

More and more, in the face of these challenges to our country, we must become one family. It is indeed toward this condition that I hope to lead our people, for more and more we are going to be a family embattled. We can no longer afford the luxury of eccentricity, however interesting it might be, for we are involved with survival. If we must prevail, we must prevail as a family for it is the only way to endure. Even more powerful nations than ours are pulling back from extended positions outward, to consolidate, to shape up for the needed transformation of their own lands and societies. We can do no less perhaps because of the very nature of our present stage of development we need to do more.

For instance, we need to stand alone now. For the time may come when we may no longer depend upon mutual or bilateral defense. In the future, when the chips are down, our country can depend on no one but itself. Thus, before it is too late we must consider a new security posture based realistically on our own resources and capabilities. Events in this century are moving swiftly, often too swiftly for proper analysis and projection, thus entailing quick reflexes. We cannot abide procrastination if we must remain prepared for any exigency. We must be self-reliant in the defense of our interests now, not in some indeterminate future. Those who scoff at our efforts to build a self-reliant citizen army who question our ability to do so, and bleed at the cost of such a program, are not conversant with present realities. It may be said that they are bent on marching forward to the past.

But if we are to attain our goals, we must march forward, not to the past but to the future. And we must do this as one family, a nation united. The gaps between our ranks are perhaps wide, but not too wide that we cannot close ranks. Even the generation gap can be closed, the gap between the old still in search of lost innocence and the young in search of a never-never land. There must be some realistic, acceptable middle ground for the two generations to meet and fuse, and then get on with the task at hand—that of preserving our freedom, of enlarging our field of progress, that of strengthening our options for a good life.

These goals are not beyond us. And that is what we celebrate today—the opportunity given to us by those who fought for our freedom to make of our land and of ourselves whatever we want them to be. To preserve that opportunity should be our constant creed.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines, June 21, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines

[Delivered at Clark Air Base, Angeles City, June 21, 1972]

New Vistas in Filipino-American
Relations

I TAKE SPECIAL pleasure in extending to all of you my warmest congratulations on the completion of your university education. You belong to one of the most unusual groups of college graduates anywhere in the world: Americans for the most part, working and studying in a United States air base, under Filipino professors, in a special branch of the University of the Philippines. This arrangement would be difficult to duplicate anywhere and, indeed, the academic program of U.P. at Clark Air Base may well be without parallel elsewhere in the world.

As an alumnus of the University of the Philippines, I view this academic operation of my Alma Mater in this United States air base with a great deal of satisfaction. It demonstrates, first of all, the wide-ranging capabilities and resources of the State University, an academic institution supported by the taxes of our people and serving as the apex of our system of education. Beyond their knowledge and skill as teachers, however, Dean Favilla and his colleagues from Diliman deserve your special thanks for their loyal dedication to their success of this program.

Even more noteworthy is the fact that this academic program illustrates the best and most generous type of collaboration between Filipinos and Americans. America's most precious gift to the Philippines has been the gift of public education. Following the end of the Philippine-American war at the turn of the century, hundreds of American soldiers took off their uniforms to become the first teachers in our newly organized public school system. They were joined by thousands of American teachers who sailed across the Pacific and volunteered for service in every province of the archipelago. The posts of Secretary Public Instruction and Director of Education were held by Americans until the thirties. The University of the Philippines, founded in 1908, had Americans as its first and third presidents.

There is a kind of poetic justice in the fact that the children and grandchildren of the Filipinos who had studied under American teachers should now, in turn, be teaching the latter's children and grandchildren, and in their own tongue. One other fact worth noting, of course, is that most of the professors who come to teach at Clark took their advanced degrees in the United States, many of them with the help of American foundations.

This, then, is one of the most extraordinary and heart-warming examples of collaboration between two peoples differing in race, language and culture, and separated from each other by ten thousand miles of ocean. It is all the more extraordinary because it involves an activity that is totally distinct from, if not alien, to the primary purpose of a military installation like this. It is as if Filipinos and Americans, standing firmly together in this time of confusion and violence, are telling the world: "We assert the primacy of the human spirit, we shall keep the lamp of knowledge burning, we insist on the basic human right to education." What a great thing it is that Filipinos and Americans should be making this affirmation under conditions that have completely obliterated all accidents of race, and in particular, any and all false notions of racial inferiority or superiority. For here, at Clark, there are now two races of men trying to discover what makes them different; mere is only one, single group of human beings engaged in one and the same task of pursuing knowledge and acquiring an education—the only activity that separates man from beast.

I am informed that U. P. at Clark Air Base was to have been phased out and closed two or three years ago, mainly because of serious difficulties that had developed in the course of its operation. Those difficulties were, of course,

inevitable: education, by its nature, is open and free, while a military base, by its nature, is anything but open and free. It was not easy for the University of the Philippines to adjust to the conditions and requirements of a military base, and neither was it easy for a military base to adjust to the spirit of the university. Only by a mutual recognition of the inherent difficulty of the relationship could this educational collaboration be continued. I am gratified by the information that the University has agreed to maintain this unit at Clark on the strength of assurances given by the authorities of the base that the professors of the University will enjoy at all times the right to enter the base in order to perform their legitimate functions, without demeaning requirements of any kind, and to be treated at all times in a manner compatible with their rank and dignity as professors. Whenever the authorities of the base should determine that this kind of treatment cannot, for security or other reasons, be accorded the professors of the University, then the only recourse would be to terminate the operation of U.P. at Clark Air Base. This would be a clear-cut decision based on the recognition of incompatible necessities. We should not tolerate one more source of irritation in an area that is plagued all too frequently by needless misunderstanding between Americans and Filipinos.

We are gathered here on an extremely sensitive enclave on Philippine territory. This base, one of the most important bases of the world's first super power, as well as others like it, will soon be the subject of negotiations between the Philippines and the United States. The problem, in effect, is to determine what role the United States bases in the Philippines is to play in the coming years, having regard to the re-alignment of forces and the new configuration of power relationships that are taking shape in our part of the world.

These bases were established twenty-five years ago at the inception of the "cold war", at a time when the division of the world into two bitterly opposed ideological camps seemed total. It was relatively easy for nations, acting in their national interest, to choose sides, lending their support to that which they thought would better ensure their security and happiness. In the black-and-white political world of the '40's and '50's, most nations did take sides; they joined ideological blocs, economic unions, or military alliances and some agreed to the establishment of foreign military bases on their soil such as Clark Air base.

The world of the '70's is an entirely different world. With the Nixon doctrine and as a result of President Nixon's historic visits to Peking and Moscow this year, the polarized world of the '40's is no more. The black-and-white chess board of power politics is being replaced by a new board of indistinct gray. Or perhaps, it is the game that is being changed; it is no longer a chess game but a game of poker with five or six players participating.

Chess is a two-handed game, a confrontation of champions representing two camps; but poker is basically a game of four or more players each committed only to winning for himself. The world appears to be moving in the direction of a colossal political poker game in which the traditional concepts of blocks and alliances are doomed to become obsolete.

It is in the context of this changing pattern of world politics that the future relations between the Philippines and the United States, and therefore the future of American bases in the Philippines, must be re-examined.

This is not the occasion to indicate what the nature of those relations and what the future of these bases will be. Only one thing is certain: these will have to be modified in line with our respective conceptions of national interest.

Our hope is that, after careful reflection, we shall discover a sufficient degree of common interest to justify the establishment of relations between our countries on a basis of a reciprocal benefit and mutual respect. Further, the Americans and Filipinos will bring to these negotiations a spirit of much regard and accommodation, which perforce animates conferences between equals like Washington and Moscow, but which is extraordinarily difficult to generate in discussions between equals, like Washington and Manila.

For our part, we shall bring to the conference table the profound faith we have in the libertarian principles and democratic institutions which we share with the American people. We shall have full regard for the responsibilities of the United States in today's world, and the uses to which American power may be put in the context of those responsibilities. But we shall also be animated by our awareness of our proper place and destiny in the world of

Asia, and by our responsibility to make a contribution commensurate with our capabilities to the peace, freedom and happiness of the Asian peoples.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Radio-TV Address of President Marcos, September 23, 1972

Radio-TV Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines

[Delivered in Malacañang, September 23, 1972]

First Address to the Nation
under Martial Law

MY COUNTRYMEN, AS of the 21st of this month, I signed Proclamation No. 1081 placing the entire Philippines under martial law. This proclamation was to be implemented upon my clearance and clearance was granted 9 o'clock in the evening of the 22nd, last night.

I have proclaimed martial law in accordance with the powers vested in the President by the Constitution of the Philippines. The proclamation of martial law is not a military takeover. I, as your duly elected President of the Republic use this power which may be implemented by the military authorities but still is a power embodied in the Constitution to protect the Republic of the Philippines and our democracy. A republican, a democratic form of government is not helpless government. When it is imperilled by the danger of violent overthrow, an insurrection or a rebellion, it has inherent and built-in powers wisely provided for under the Constitution.

Such a danger confronts the Republic of the Philippines. Article 7, Section 10, paragraph 2 of the Constitution provides and I quote:

“The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of all Armed Forces of Philippines and whenever it becomes necessary he may call out such armed forces to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection or rebellion. In case of invasion, insurrection or rebellion or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, he may suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus or place the Philippines or any part thereof under law.”

I repeat: This is not a military takeover of civilian government functions. The government of the Republic of the Philippines, which was established by our people in 1946, continues. The officials and employees of our national and local governments continue in office and must discharge their duties as before within the limits of the situation. This will be clarified by the subsequent orders which shall be given wide publicity.

Thus, I also issued General Order No. 3 wherein I directed that in view of the proclamation of martial law, which proclamation and other orders incidentally will be read after this broadcast by the Press Secretary, in view of such a proclamation and in order to make more effective the implementation of such a proclamation without unduly affecting the operations of the government and in order to end the present national emergency within the shortest possible time, I have ordered that all executive departments, bureaus, offices, agencies and instrumentalities of the national government, government-owned or controlled corporations, as well as all governments of all the provinces, the cities, the municipalities and barrios throughout the land shall continue to function under the present officers and employees and in accordance with existing laws until otherwise ordered by me or by my duly designated representative.

I further read and I quote:

“I do hereby further order that the judiciary shall continue to function in accordance with its present organization and personnel and shall try and decide in accordance with existing laws all criminal and civil cases except the following cases:

“1. Those involving the validity, legality or constitutionality of any decree, order or act issued, promulgated or performed by my duly designated representative pursuant to Proclamation No. 1081, dated September 21, 1972.

“2. Those involving the validity, legality or constitutionality of any rule, order or act issued, promulgated or performed by public servants pursuant to decrees, orders, rules and regulations issued and promulgated by me or by my duly designated representative pursuant to Proclamation No. 1081, dated September 21, 1972.

“3. Those involving crimes against national security and the law of nations.

“4. Those involving crimes against the fundamental laws of the state.

“5. Those involving crimes against public order.

“6. Those crimes involving usurpation of authority, rank, title and improper use of names, uniforms and insignias.

“7. Those involving crimes committed by public officers.”

In addition to these, I would like to announce that all schools will, in the meantime, be closed. They will be closed for one week beginning this coming Monday. This means all schools at all levels.

I have also issued General Orders for the government in the meantime to control media and other means of dissemination of information as well as all public utilities. And I asked the international and domestic communications, corporations and carriers to desist from transmitting any messages without the permission of my Office through the Office of the Press Secretary.

The carrying of firearms outside residences even if such firearms are covered by licenses but without the permission of the Armed Forces of the Philippines is punishable by death.

Curfew is established from 12 o'clock midnight to 4 o'clock in the morning.

The departure of Filipinos abroad is temporarily suspended. Exceptions, of course, are official missions that may be necessary. Clearances will be given by the Secretary of National Defense.

In the meantime, rallies and demonstrations are prohibited. So, too, are strikes especially in critical public utilities.

I have ordered the arrest of those directly involved in the conspiracy to overthrow our duly constituted government by violence and subversion.

It is my intention beginning tomorrow to issue all the orders which would attain reforms in our society. This would include the proclamation of land reform all over the Philippines, the reorganization of the government, new rules for the conduct of civil servants and those in the civil service, the removal of corrupt and inefficient public officials and their replacements including those in the judiciary and the breaking up of criminal syndicates.

The persons who will be adversely affected are those who are active participants in the conspiracy and operations to overthrow the duly constituted government of the Republic of the Philippines by violence or by subversion.

All public officials and employees, whether of the national or local government, must now conduct themselves in the manner of a new and reformed society. We will explain the requirements and standards or details as soon as possible.

But any form of corruption, culpable negligence or arrogance will be dealt with immediately.

The armed forces are already cleaning up their own ranks. I am directing the organization of a military commission to investigate, try and punish all military offenders immediately. For more than any other man the soldier must set a standard of nobility. We must be courageous, yes, but we must be humble and above all, we must be fair. As this is true of the soldier, it must be true of the civilian public officer. Let no man who claims to be a friend, relative or at presume to seek license because of this relationship.

If you offend the New Society, you shall be punished like the rest of the offenders.

Persons who have nothing whatsoever to do with such conspiracy and operations to overthrow the Republic of the Philippines by violence or sub-version have nothing to fear. They can move about and perform their daily activities without any apprehension from action or counteraction by the government especially after the period of counteraction which I have directed to be taken against the conspirators.

I repeat: This government is the same government that you, the people established in 1946 under the Constitution of the Philippines. There is no doubt in everybody's mind that a state of rebellion exists in the Philippines. The ordinary man in the streets of our cities, the peasants, the laborers know it. Industrialists know it. So does the government functionary. They have all been affected by it.

This danger to the Republic of the Philippines and the existence of a rebellion has been recognized even by our Supreme Court in its decision in the case of *Lansang vs. Garcia et al* dated December 11, 1971.

But, since the Supreme Court promulgated this decision, the danger has become graver and rebellion has worsened and escalated. It has paralyzed functions of the national and local governments. The productive sectors of the economy have been grounded to a halt. Many schools have closed down. The judiciary is unable to administer justice. Many of our businessmen, traders, industrialists, producers, manufacturers have stopped their operations. In the Greater Manila alone, tension and anxiety have reached the point where the citizens are compelled to stay home. Lawlessness and criminality like kidnapping, smuggling, extortion, blackmailing, armed robbery, illegal traffic in drugs, gun-running, hoarding, manipulation of prices, corruption in government, tax evasion, perpetrated by syndicated criminals have increasingly escalated beyond the capability of the local police and civilian authorities. The usually busy centers of Greater Manila such as cinema houses, supermarkets, restaurants, transportation terminals and even public markets are practically deserted.

Battles are going on between the elements of our government forces and the subversives in Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. In Luzon, particularly in Isabela, Zambales, Tarlac, Camarines Sur, Quezon and in Mindanao, especially in Lanao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, Zamboanga del Sur and Cotabato. If this continues even at the present rate, the economy of the country will collapse, the country will collapse in a short time. In one province alone, Isabela, which we shall adopt as an example, where the Communist Party and the New People's Army have sought to establish a rural sanctuary, they are now in control of 33 municipalities out of 37. Other towns are infiltrated severely by these armed elements of the communists. In this province alone, the supposed invisible government of the Communist Party has been organized through the Barrio Organizing Committees known as the BOC's totalling 207 in 25 towns. In early 1971 there were only 161 BOC's in 12 towns.

In addition to the Barrio Organizing Committees, they have also organized the Barrio Revolutionary Committees or BRC's. And in Angadanan and Cauayan of that same province of Isabela, the New People's Army has established communal farms and production bases.

The New People's Army has started to expand its operations to Cagayan, Nueva Vizcaya, and Quirino as well as the Mt. Provinces like Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao, Bontoc and Benguet and even the two Ilocos provinces of Ilocos Sur and La Union have been infiltrated.

The New People's Army and the Communist Party have also sought to establish in a similar pattern a rural sanctuary in the province of Camarines Sur and they are attempting to expand into Albay, Sorsogon and Camarines Norte as well as Quezon province.

The armed elements of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Maois faction, have increased to about 10,000 which include regulars as well as farmers in the daytime and soldiers at night. This is an increase of 100 percent in a short period of six months. These parties increased their mass base to 100,000 and their front organization's operations have increased tremendously also. An example of such a front organization is the Kabataang Makabayan, the most militant organization of the Communist Party which has increased its chapters from 200 in 1970 to 317 at the end of the month of July this year and its membership from 10,000 in 1970 to about 15,000 at the end of July of this year.

The Samahang Demokratikong Kabataan or SDK, an outspoken front organization of the Communist Party increased its chapters from almost none in 1970 to 159 at the end of July of this year, and now, has 1,495 highly indoctrinated and fanatical members.

The crucial point which indicates an increase in the capability, the area of operations as well as the manpower and firepower of the New People's Army is the M/V Karagatan or Palanan incident in Palanan, Isabela, last July 4th and 5th of this year. This was a landing by an ocean-going ship of a reported 3,500 M-14 rifles of which only about 900 were recovered by the Armed Forces of the Philippines. About 30 rocket launchers of the M-40 variety of which only 6, were recovered from the area. This rocket can pierce steel 18 inches thick at and reinforced concrete of 36 inches thickness as well as 4 sandbags put together. Also captured by our government troops in this Palanan landing were two. Browning automatic rifles which were originally looted by defector Victor Corpus, from the arsenal of the Philippine Military Academy, five garand M-1 rifles, 1 telephone switchboard, 7 telephone sets, some magazines for rifles and many revealing subversive documents.

This landing of military armaments and equipment in Palanan, Isabela indicated:

1. That the claim of the New People's Army that they are well funded and have plenty of money has basis in fact.
2. That they now have sources of funds and equipment not only from inside the Philippines but also from outside our country.
3. That the Communist Party and the New People's Army are capable of landing armaments, military equipment and even personnel in the many unguarded points of the long sea coast of the Philippines, which sea coast is twice that of the United States. The defense establishment has submitted that there have been attempts to infiltrate the military organizations as well as the Office of the Secretary of National Defense. There have been various incidents and attempts to sabotage not only the operations of the Armed Forces of the Philippines but the operations of the national government. It has been reported that the communications system of the Philippine Constabulary is being utilized by the subversives. The subversives have organized urban partisans in the Greater Manila Area and they have been and still are very active. They have succeeded in some of their objectives.

The violent disorder in Mindanao and Sulu has to date resulted in the killing of over 1,000 civilians and about 2,000 armed Muslims and Christians, not to mention the more than 500,000 of injured, displaced and homeless persons as well as the great number of casualties among our government troops.

At the same time, the economy of Mindanao and Sulu is almost completely paralyzed.

I assure you that I am utilizing this power for the proclamation of martial law vested in me by the Constitution for one purpose alone, and that is, to save the Republic and reform our society. I wish to emphasize these two objectives. We will eliminate the threat of a violent overthrow of our Republic, but at the same time, we must now reform the social, economic and political institutions in our country. The plans, the order for reforms and removal of the inequities of our society, the clean-up of government of its corrupt and sterile elements, the liquidation of the criminal syndicates, the systematic development of our economy, the general program for a new and better Philippines will be explained to you. But we must start out with the elimination of anarchy and the maintenance of peace and order.

I have had to use this constitutional power in order that we may not completely lose the civil rights and freedom we cherish.

I assure you that this is not a precipitate decision, and that I have weighed all the factors. If there were any other solution at our disposal and within our capability which could solve this problem, we would have utilized such a solution and I would have chosen it. But there was none. I have used the other two alternatives of, first calling out the troops to quell the rebellion and I have suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. But the rebellion has not been stopped.

I repeat, it has worsened. Thus, it was discovered that when the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus was lifted on January 11, 1972, the organizations of the Communist Party had expanded their area of operations as well as increased their membership.

So, these two remedies, calling out of the troops and the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, are unavailing. You are all witnesses to this. You have witnessed the events of the last year. We have fallen and we are falling back on our last line of defense. You are also witnesses to the patience that we have shown in the face of the provocation. In the face of abuse and license, we have used or attempted to use persuasion. Now, the limit has been reached, for we are against the wall. We must now defend the Republic of the Philippines with this stronger power granted by the Constitution. To those guilty of treason, insurrection, rebellion, it may pose a grave danger. But to the ordinary citizens, to almost all of you whose primary concern is merely to be left alone to pursue your lawful activities, this is the guarantee of that freedom that you seek. All that I do is for the Republic and for you.

Rest assured that I will continue to do so and I have prayed to God for guidance. Let us all continue to pray to Him. I am confident that with God's help, we will attain our dream of a reformed society, a new and brighter world.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Radio-TV Address of President Marcos, October 21, 1972

Radio-TV Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines

[Delivered in Malacañang, October 21, 1972]

Second Address to the Nation Under Martial Law

MGA KABABAYAN NGAYON po ay ika-tatlumpung araw na ang nakalipas pagkatapos ng proklamasyon ng batas hukbo. Sa bisa ng pasiyang iyan ay nagbago ang kasaysayan marahil hindi lamang sa ating bansang Pilipinas kung hindi sa buong Silangang Asya.

Unang-una napigil natin ang isang tahasang panganib sa ating Republika nguni't bukod diyan at lalong mahalaga ay naitindig natin ang watawat ng isang bagong lipunan na sa bawa't araw ay siyang bumubuo ng isang matibay na saligan para sa kinabukasan ng demokrasya sa ating bansa.

Kaya't ngayon, mga kasama, sa buong daigdig ay marahil namamalas nila ang isang pagbabagong buhay dito sa Pilipinas. Nakikita nila ang lahing Pilipino ay nagkakaisa ngayon sa pagbubuo ng isang bagong lipunan, isang lipunang marangya, matiwasay at makatarungan

Marahil sa wari ng mga taga ibang bansa ay nagkakaroon ng himala ang Pilipinas. Sa wakas ay natuklasan ng mga Pilipino ang disiplinang sosyal at pambansa na malaon nang hinanap nguni't hindi masumpungan. Sa biglang turing ito ay dulot lamang ng martial law subali't ang katotohanan ay may ugat ang ugaling iyan sa puso at budhi ng bawa't isang Pilipino. Ang tinungkol ng martial law at ng inyong abang lingkod ay ang buhayin ang ugat na iyan at tulungang lumaya ang mga katangian ng lahing Pilipino.

Mga kababayan, sa tingin ko ay lubhang angkop na sa araw na ito, ika tatlumpung araw ng martial law ay nagtipun-tipun tayo rito upang lagdaan sa aking ipakita ang pagsusulat ng isang mahalagang kasulatan. Sa pagkakataon ito ay ating papahayag ang katubusan ng magsasakang Pilipino.

Lalagdaan natin ang dokumentong naglilipat sa mga lupang sinasaka mula sa kamay ng mga may-ari ng lupa o propetaryo sa kamay ng mga magsasakang nagbubungkal niyan. Ang ibig sabihin nito ay ating itinalaga and buong kapangyarihan ng martial law sa katubusan at kalayaan ng mga magsasaka na siyang nakararami sa ating bayan. Masasabing iisa lamang ang simulain ng Bagong Lipunan, unahin muna ang kapakanan ng bayan, ang kapakanan ng mga maliliit at daang mga mamamayan.

At ito ang simulaing itinatagubilin sa buong pamahalaan.

I have written in my own handwriting this document, Presidential Decree No. 27, decreeing the emancipation of tenants from the bondage to the land they till. And I read: "Inasmuch as the old concept of land ownership by a few has spawned valid and legitimate grievances that gave rise to violent conflict and social tension, the redress of such legitimate grievances being one of the fundamental objectives of the New Society; since reformation must start, as a foundation, with the land and with the emancipation of the tiller of that land from his bondage, now, therefore, I, FERDINAND E. MARCOS, President of the Republic of the Philippines, by virtue of the powers in me vested by the Constitution as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and pursuant to Proclamation No. 1081 dated September 21st, 1972 and General Order No. 1 dated September 22, 1972 as amended, do hereby decree and order, henceforth, from this day on October 21st, 1972, the emancipation of tenant-farmers of the Philippines."

This shall apply to farmer-tenants of private agricultural lands, the principal product of which is rice and corn under sharecrop or lease tenancy all over the 'Philippines. They shall be deemed the owners of their land and each shall be entitled to a family-size farm of five hectares.

This particular document further establishes the mechanism and the instrument by which such ownership is transferred to the tenant-owner. The tenant-farmer in a landed estate, as well as the tenant farmer in a piece of land which may not be considered a landed estate, are covered by this proclamation. Landowners may retain seven hectares only of their land and on condition that they themselves till or cultivate it.

What will be the consideration for the transfer of ownership? The consideration for the transfer of ownership or the cause of such transfer will be the rent of which the land-owner is entitled under leasehold for 15 years, nothing more. In short, the government will be kept out of this transaction, and this will be a transaction between the tenant and the landowner, a transaction to transfer Ownership. Payment shall be guaranteed by a cooperative, and at the same time, be further guaranteed by the government but only with stocks in government-owned or controlled corporations. In order, however, that the landowner may not in turn become displaced in his own country, he shall be extended all forms of relief and assistance. This shall take the form of credit. In order that he may move into industry, taking advantage of his capability and talent in management, we shall furnish him all available opportunities for purchasing public land, undeveloped but alienable and disposable. We shall indicate to landowners the nature of the productive activities which the government and the state will encourage for them. The tenant in turn must organize cooperatives, for it is indeed clear that no matter how much land we may transfer to the tenants, if they do not band together and organize themselves into cooperatives such transfer will merely be temporary and the land may ultimately end in the hands of acquisitive individuals.

Therefore, it is also prohibited that this land be transferred except by hereditary succession. It is also made a condition that government shall now participate actively in the organization of cooperatives. By virtue of this, hereby activate the machinery for the organization of cooperatives and the training of our farmers for cooperative farming. There are now about 1,900 trainers and organizers for immediate activation. We have been training there for the past several months.

Mga kasama, hindi lamang ang tagumpay ng mga maliliit na mga magsasaka ang pinakamahalaga sa araw na ito sapagka't isang buwan na ang nakalipas buhat noong aking ipiniroklama ang batas ng hukbo. Kailangan ngayon nating usisain kung ano ang nangyari buhat noong ika-dalawampu at isa ng Setyembre sa pagsisimula ng martial law.

There were many among us naturally who imagined that martial law would inaugurate a vicious dictatorship in our country. This is perhaps understandable because of the very term "martial law." Martial Law connotes something arbitrary; it connotes the apparent replacement of constitutional law with personal law or law by the Commander-in-Chief. In many states, this perhaps its common meaning and the common experience of the people.

It is one of the basic and significant developments in our country during the emergency, that we have instituted a rule by martial law that is humane and constitutional. It is martial law which, while revolutionary, is also legal, which radical in the pursuit of change, is non-violent.

I am proud to commend the Department of National Defense and the officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines for the orderly and peaceful implementation of the proclamation.

No man is prouder of our Armed Forces than your Commander-in-Chief and your President; no man is prouder of this demonstration of competent discipline, dedication and patriotism that you have shown in the exercises these emergency powers of government.

But the peaceful transition to martial law is not the achievement of the military alone. It is due also to the cooperation of the entire Filipino people from the lowest to the highest man. Everywhere in our country, from city countryside, our people have shown the will and faith to see that this fateful turn in their individual and national life

will usher in reforms in our country. They have placed themselves at the service of a sweeping constitutional program of reforms.

What do we seek to achieve by this constitutional revolution? Our purpose is two-fold. First, we seek to eradicate the armed force of the rebellion and anarchy that has long threatened the stability of our Republic. At the same time, we have to remove and eradicate completely the social roots of this rebellion by instituting fundamental reforms in our society, and displace the old iniquitous order with a just and progressive one. It is the second objective that has become of paramount significance to our people today. For they see now that what could not be done before, what only existed in dream and aspiration yesterday, is today taking place in our country. In this, they see clearly, in whose name this constitutional revolution is being waged.

And I say today that we shall not forfeit this chance to secure peace, justice, dignify and prosperity, for every Filipino and for our national community.

These are the basic purposes of our revolution and they underline every action of our government since September 21.

Let me now review, the activities of the government geared to the achievement of these goals.

First, in our objective of restoring peace and order throughout the country and of meeting the brunt of the insurgency, we have pursued a three-pronged thrust against this cancer in our society. Measures have been taken in the field against the insurgents and rebels in all areas where dissident activities have seen flourishing during the past months. These have been combined with measures to dismantle the apparatus of propaganda and recruitment of the insurgency movement that has infiltrated our schools and universities, and the factories and industries. At the same time, we have extended this campaign to eliminate once and for all the forces of crime and violence in our country. The private armies of politicians have been disarmed and many have been taken into custody. Criminal elements all over the country, who are suspects in various crimes ranging from murder to theft, have been apprehended. The firearms ban has been enforced to the letter, and as of this date, we have collected 30,428 firearms and 1,159,676 rounds of ammunition. In one province alone, we have collected 10,700 firearms.

This campaign continues, and I am certain that many more arms will be collected, many more criminals and rebels will be apprehended before there is tranquility in our cities and countryside. I ask for the cooperation and assistance of our people in this drive.

Second, in keeping with Presidential Decree No. 1, reorganizing the Executive Branch of the government, we have combined a drive to rid the government service of "the notoriously undesirable" with a determined effort to streamline the bureaucracy and make government a more effective instrument for the achievement of national objectives. The provisions of the reorganization plan is being followed to the letter: agencies with similar functions are being organized into one unit; the regional agencies of government are being rendered more functional; new offices to displace old and ineffective ones are being organized. Thus, we have abolished the Public Service Commission. Thus, have created the National Grains Authority to replace the Rice and Corn Administration, which has lost 1,300 officials and rank and file personnel in the purge of corrupt government personnel. To go through the statistics of dismissed employees: 237 employees from the Bureau of Posts have been dismissed; 263 from the Department of General Services; 200 from the Bureau of Customs; 192 from the Bureau of Internal Revenue; and so it goes on in all the offices of the national government today.

Third, we have taken drastic measures to make the machinery of justice in our country an effective safeguard of rights and the rule of law. For what may achieve in raising the lot of every man will have no meaning for the Filipino individual if he does not have justice, if he does not receive equal treating from the judiciary as any other citizen, no matter how rich. I have accepted the resignation of judges who are known to be a liability to government and our machinery of justice. I have accepted the resignation of all the judges in the Court of Industrial Relations except two. We have started an overhaul of the Court of Agrarian Relations.

But there is a fear raised by various sectors, that having removed too many judges, the resulting vacancies in the judiciary have to be filled up quickly if the cases are not to pile up to unmanageable proportions. In this regard, I have appealed to the bar association and the association of judges to submit to me recommendations to meet this problem.

Fourth, we have instituted measures to infuse new life into the economy have signed a decree that will govern and promote oil exploration development in our country. This will encourage foreign capital and company to engage in oil ventures in our country. At the same time we are clearing climate for foreign investments, in such a way that these will come in such volume as to truly aid us in funding our economic development.

The other day I just received an offer for a loan of \$100 million at very concessional terms in the rate of interest and at a long-term amortization period of 20 years. There has been an exchange of notes between the Philippines and Japan for an additional loan of \$75 million. We just received, a few days ago part of the \$65 million project and commodity loan. Now, we are getting another \$75 million at very concessional terms. In the next 50 years we pay on 3 percent interest. Never have we received offers like this. Never, never in the entire history of the Philippines.

What does this indicate? This indicates, my countrymen, that the investment now find an atmosphere in the Philippines that is conducive to investment. This shows that there is now a sense of trust, an increase in trust and confidence in our country. I have also received offers of loans to our private corporations totalling many millions of dollars. The only condition that I have imposed is that the guidelines must be followed. They must invest first in labor intensive industries because we have, for instance, 4,800 workers removed from the government. Many have been displaced from media because of the closure of several media operations. Many are without jobs because of the closure of the nightclubs and gambling dens.

There was reason for the dislocation of these people, but the fact is that they are now unemployed. We would like to absorb this manpower in industry.

Finally, we have instituted long-sought social reforms in our country. Nothing testifies more to the determination of the government to remove the iniquities in our social and economic life than this document that I have signed here today. For this decree is the bedrock of our constitutional revolution.

All these measures herald the New Society that we have pledged to build. And these are but the start of our enterprise. In the coming days, many more reforms will be instituted to give this vessel of our hopes vitality and life.

And I ask you again today, to give to this, the support, the cooperation and the faith deserved by an earnest call for social change. It will take some pain, some sacrifice, for we are engaged in major surgery. But bear with me, bear with the dreams of our people, bear with me the hopes and aspirations of generations past. For together, we will succeed in this endeavor.

Tayo'y magtatagumpay sa pagtatatag ng bagong lipunan.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the conference of the Asia Pacific Council of American Chambers, October 23, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the conference of the Asia Pacific Council of American Chambers

[Delivered at the Intercontinental Hotel, October 23, 1972]

Developing A New Society

I HAVE BEEN limiting my speaking engagements lately, if only because as the events have shown, this country could use fewer words and much more action. Words, like currency, are devalued by repetition without action. Today we can probably say that in the Philippines, the level of action is fast approaching the level of verbalized intent.

To that extent, honest communication as distinguished from false rhetoric has become possible again, among men of good will.

I accepted your kind invitation because I feel that we have something important to say to you, the businessmen from the richest capital-exporting country which also happens to be our close partner in security, trade and development—the United States of America.

I still believe that history did not create the special bond between our two peoples for nothing. Filipinos still deeply feel this mystical relationship although it is understandable that Americans in general, burdened as they are by world-wide cares as leaders or, as some put it less heroically, as policemen of world, cannot fully reciprocate this emotion. But I consider this providential. We, Filipinos, have a special obligation to become mature, to become self-reliant, to cease to depend even on friends, to begin to depend only on ourselves.

The events that have been taking place in the Philippines, since September twenty-first, may be construed as an expression of this new-born initiative the Filipino people.

In acting as we did, taking inspiration from the genius of our Constitution we have perhaps changed the course of history not only in this country by throughout Southeast Asia. We have struck a blow of great strategic impact. This is a shattering, exact blow from which Philippine Communism as well as Asian Communism may not be able to recover in a long time. But having gained a military objective, we should have the wisdom to realize that what we gained was just a brief respite—a little more time to strengthen our society, our social and economic institutions, through overdue radical reforms.

This is why the other day, I issued a proclamation which transferred more than a million hectares of farm land to the tenants who cultivate them. Before this, land reform was merely a palliative, “a mere padding on the chain of the slave” as our national hero, Jose Rizal, once called such superficial reforms. But today land reform means genuine emancipation. The cultivator will own his land. He is enabled to rejoin his fellow citizens in the mainstream of the national community. In the end, it is through such measures that a nation ensures and increases its solidarity.

Land reform therefore has been aptly called the cornerstone of the new society that is emerging. It is certainly the major strategy by means of which we hope to bring to the masses of our people the benefits of economic and social modernization.

The other day, a respected American, Robert McNamara, who is President of the World Bank, expressed dismay over the fact that all progress in developing countries has bypassed the lowest forty per cent of the population. The

distribution of income in the developing world during the last decade has not improved with rising gross national products. Poverty is worse than before. Economic growth has merely entrapped more people in worse poverty and inequality.

I think that contemporary history has one clear lesson that has to be learned and applied by any country wishing to escape from such entrapments. That lesson is — all attempts at economic and social modernization without land reform will fail, because only land reform can activate the large masses of the people and make them truly productive, truly a participating alert citizenry.

Economic growth can also be a trap if it does not promote the full utilization of labor. In many countries, rising levels of economic growth have been characterized by worsening unemployment and underemployment. The creation of employment must be in the forefront, rather than at the rear, of the economic plan. Again, massive unemployment represents a waste of resources beyond imagination and a major cause of social and economic inequality which, like a vicious circle, brings about more serious unemployment.

In the task of building a new society, these two objectives — land reform and employment generations — should define the orientation of the entire development strategy. If pursued with great vigor and dedication, such a strategy will ultimately bring about not only permanent prosperity but also a vital and vibrant democracy.

But at the same time, in building that new society, we hope to create a much better environment for investments in our country, both domestic and foreign. We hope to activate a much wider national market capable of absorbing more manufactured goods. We hope to create a productive capacity in both industry and agriculture and in trade and commerce that will assure the steady, significant progress not of a few but of the whole Filipino nation.

In this way we can make our own humble contribution to the building of a better world — a world of peace based on social justice.

We ask the foreign businessmen who are here to become our partners in this great undertaking. A significant proportion of the needed investments for realizing our aggregate and sectoral targets will have to come from foreign sources. We make this appeal not only because we need your help but also because we can assure better results for our common efforts on a reciprocal basis.

The record of economic development in our country has been encouraging. In spite of the various ordeals of foreign exchange crises and natural calamities our economy still sustained an annual growth rate of six percent in real terms an entirely respectable achievement for any developing country.

Also during those years, we laid the groundwork for progress through heavy government investments in transportation and communications network power and water resources development, to enable our domestic industries directly and rapidly to expand the domestic market for their goods.

Of course, most notable of the new changes under martial law is the peace and order situation, which has improved by more than 70 per cent.

There is, too, the revamp of the entire government machinery along guidelines prepared by the Reorganization Commission. This reorganization has made possible a government machinery which is more development oriented in structure, outlook and operations.

In the area of foreign investment, I would like to say this. While it is necessary to uphold the Constitutional ruling on parity rights, I want to reassure those concerned that this matter shall be pursued in the spirit of justice and fairness to all. If expropriation is to be undertaken, just compensation will be forthcoming. In this connection, I want to say again we encourage and we welcome foreign investors to do business here in our country. We have provided liberty incentives and we are seeking still other favorable measures to attract foreign capital. I want to assure all those concerned that we will be fair and just in these matters.

In the industrial sector, we have already provided liberal tax incentives our industries within the context of the Investment Priorities Plan and the Investment Incentives Act. Let me reiterate that we will further look into other means of giving incentives as well as protection to our developing industries particularly export-oriented industries and import-substituting intermediate and capital goods industries.

We have recently put into effect the Progressive Car Manufacturing Program. This will rationalize the development and expansion of our automotive industry in order to achieve efficiency in production and economies of scale which should ultimately lead to lower prices for our consumers. There will be more of such programs to rationalize and integrate strategic industries. We are studying similar programs for our steel and shipping industries and also for the power industry.

It should be emphasized that these steps are necessary if we are to achieve efficiency in production, make effective use of our scarce capital resources, expand our domestic market and effect lower prices for our consuming public.

In our export promotions program, we have already taken the first steps with the currency reform of 1970 and with the passage of the Investment and Export Incentives Act. This act provides among other things additional and special incentives to registered export industries and exporters engaged in the exportation of finished products. Again let me say that we are exploring still other avenues of providing more incentives to our export sector.

For example, the Central Bank has underscored its policy to liberalize credit, through the commercial banks, for export activities. This is to encourage commercial banks to redirect their lending activities as well as to increase the amount of credit available to the export sector. The rediscounting facilities for exports will be strengthened. The law creating the Philippine Export Credit Insurance and Guarantee Corporation will also be implemented soon to enable our exporters to improve their credit terms with foreign buyers and at the same time be provided with insurance coverage against all types of risks. Likewise, the possibilities for establishing an Export-Import Bank are also being explored in order to beef up and facilitate the credit availabilities for our exporters.

To boost further the exports of our manufactured products, a medium-term program designed to train and advise local exporters on how to expand their exportable goods has been drawn up by the BOI-DCI and the UNDP. With technical and financial assistance from the UNDP, this program is ready for implementation.

These are just some of the domestic measures we are studying and hope to adopt and implement in order to improve our export trade.

At the international level, we will continue to explore all possible avenues to expand our exports. All efforts will be made to secure better terms in the markets of developed countries. In this connection, we will continue to actively participate in various international trade forums such as the UNCTAD and the multilateral rate negotiations going on in Geneva where our trade problems can be threshed out and access to the markets of developed countries can be negotiated.

All these economic investment policies will be implemented in the broad context of a social transformation that is our ultimate objective in the Philippines: the building of a New Society.

We place our hopes on investments, both domestic and foreign, to play the role of catalysts of growth. But at the same time, me main reliance is placed on our people themselves — on the capacity of a reawakened Filipino nation to overcome its own historic shortcomings.

I said earlier that by not hesitating to do the right thing, on September 21st, we have set back communism in Asia and dealt it a serious military and political defeat. But this is different from saying that we have won a lasting victory: that will be the victory of having brought forth a New Society. This is a historic enterprise which you, as long-time friends of the Filipino people, can assist by your trust, your sympathy and your cooperation. We shall be grateful for your trust as you should be confident that our mutual benefit and the good of mankind will be the true ultimate result.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the launching of the Mabuhay ang Pilipino Movement, November 30, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the launching of the Mabuhay ang Pilipino Movement

[Delivered in Malacañang, November 30, 1972]

The Continuing Revolution

ITO AY TANGI sa lalong tanging araw na pagpupugay at pagdiriwang ng ating bayan.

Mangyari nga, sa araw na ito pinagpupugayan natin ang isang bayanang pinagkakautangan natin nang malaki sa pagbibigay-sigla at puri sa ating lahi. Sa araw na ito sinasariwa natin sa ala-ala ang isang lumipas na ipinagmamalaki at ikinararangal natin sa buong daigdig.

Kaya naman angkop lamang sa tanging araw na ito, isabay naman natin ang paglulunsad ng isang kilusan dapat sangkapan ng lahat ng tinitimping lakas ng ating kababayan, upang siyang maging tulay ng pagkakaisang landas sa katuparan ng ating bagong lipunan.

Ang pagtitipon nating ito ngayon ay paglalangkop ng kahapon, ngayon at kinabukasan.

In Bonifacio's time, the cries of pain and protest brought together into fruitful union all the aspirations of Filipinos for nationhood and liberation. They brought together brothers, and for the first time in the history of our race. Filipinos recognized themselves as one people. That fateful union, led by the man we honor today, severed the ties of a subject people to their colonial master, and at the sacrifice of life and fortune planted the flag of a new nation before the eyes of the world.

In a later time their sons and grandsons were to fight similar battles and raised the flag of intransigents to rally a broken people back to health and back to aspiration. In the days of the second World War, another generation of Filipino were to give up their lives in order that the nation may continue free and independent.

Today, in our time, a new cry summons into convocation all the strength of our resources — for the building of a new society. Today, several scores removed from the historic revolution launched by Bonifacio, and several decades from the days of Bataan, Corregidor and the underground, we are asked to make a new covenant with one another, not a covenant of sweat and honest toil. It was such a summons that brought us to that fateful decision two months ago that began the transformation of the face and soul of the nation. It is the same summons that bids us to gather here now and begin this important movement to do what we can together to contribute to that transformation.

This is our unique opportunity today, of you, as members of many communities and sectors in society, of myself, as the leader of our government, and of each and every citizen of this nation. For it is axiomatic that no matter how strong and dedicated a leader may be, he must find root and strength amongst the people. He alone cannot save a nation. He may guide, he may set the tone, he may dedicate himself and risk his life, but only the people may save themselves.

Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic task laid before generations and generations of Filipinos since the birth of this nation: to make a people live in fruitful union, to know our capacities for self-advancement, to distribute what is ours to share, to make this a living place for every citizen no matter how low. This mission underlies all that we are doing today and all that we are committed to do tomorrow.

As with all undertakings, the matter of whether it is to succeed or fail depends on the will and the unity of those who undertake it, and it demands of us not only the utmost in sacrifices and idealism. In the enterprise of nations, success cannot be the gift of a leader alone, however dedicated and gifted he may be. It derives from the unity and the will of a people, just as the collective efforts of the generations that came before us — of the generations of Bonifacio, Rizal and Mabini — unified into one national consciousness the aspiration of a fragmented race. From the darkness of centuries new light illumined an entire race and made them conscious of being one people.

If the revolution of 1896 achieved anything at all, this was its signal victory and it was just a matter of time when the Filipino people would find independence and sovereignty in their own land. For the orientation and the movement to liberation had been set and no accident after that could alter the will of our people. But independence is simply the basis for a people's advancement. It is not itself the path of progress. That, we have discovered.

Leaders now say: It is easier to win a revolution and harder to run a government of a free and independent nation. Twenty-six years of independence have not fully brought us the fulfillment of the dreams of our heroes and the restitution the blood, the sweat, the tears that went into the making of this nation. Three quarters of a century have passed since the sacrifice was made in a revolution, and the promise of that revolution remains to be redeemed.

The time of redemption has now come.

This is the unique opportunity given this generation of Filipinos living day. This is the privilege given to all of us. For what I see when I look at our nation today is a people awakened to their capacities as much as their needs. I see a people responding to their conscience and their responsibilities. I see society that knows the true meaning of community and even in the brief that has passed since September we all see around us the progress we have made and the kind of society that is within the talents of our people to create.

This is the vision that gives birth to this movement, the Mabuhay ang Pilipino Movement. Here are gathered the nation's civic organizations into one common effort, to serve people and country. Even now as we launch crusade, there are thousands all over the country similarly launching this movement to realize the greatest good for the greatest number of Filipinos. In every provincial capital and in every city, rallies of this nature calling upon the people to unite behind this movement are taking place. And it may be that this movement that began with a handful and now commands the allegiance of thousand will tomorrow enlist the dedication of millions.

At the heart of this movement are ideals so basic, so important that the ability to organize it in the past speaks of the paralysis that was our condition for decades.

What are these ideals?

There is, first of all, the ideal of social conscience that animates this movement. Social conscience has always been a basic principle for social reconstruction and social justice in a free society; where there are men conscious only of their self-interest, there is also a society that will always be perilously imbalanced. Benjamin Disraeli wrote once of the two nations that exist in society the rich and the poor nations living together in every country, in every nation. So long, he said, as the materially wealthy, the fortunate and the gifted exercise their powers merely for their own benefit, so long will the other nations of the poor sink in discontent until such a time when revolution will swallow up both nations.

It is the task of government to redress this balance between the two nations. It is the moral obligation of the fortunate man to help his less fortunate brothers to share of his talents and his resources, to bring up the lesser in life to his own level.

There is, secondly, the idea of unity that animates this crusade. In the past civic organizations moved along their specialized areas of interest and though indeed, it may be said that each of your organizations met with success, that was more competition than cooperation among organizations. And in the final analysis there was less good achieved than might have been realized had you been one integrated organization.

I do not say this is disparagement of your work in the past. Your work has, indeed, been noble. It will always be an object of admiration by all. But what I would emphasize here are the tremendous possibilities that are opened by your will to organize yourselves now into one organization, into one movement. It comes, I believe, from the sense that has come upon us of being one people with one common burden and one common hope. As one great thinker has said, we are bound by the double ties of common origin and common destiny. What happens to one will happen to all and let no man forget this. For without unity we can only dissolve, as in the past, in a fruitless quibble over credit and self-importance. Today, it is possible for us to want community, to experience it and to make it viable.

For a nation is more than just the sum of citizens put together. In the final analysis, the life of a nation, its vitality, its reality, resides not in the boundaries of geography or race, but in the consciousness of every citizen in sharing a common identity and a common destiny with others. It is union that strengthens the most basic of social units in our society, the family. It is union that makes organizations effective. So also it is union that not only makes a nation strong, it is union that makes a nation.

The more we are able as individuals and as members of organizations or groups to conceive of our work in the larger scheme, the more shall we be able to fulfill our goals. It is precisely this sense of unity that I perceive in this movement we launch today and which I hope will continue to dominate it in the coming days.

Let us take care that this crusade will not be a mere *niñgas kugon* or that it will not remain as a mere repository of hopes and desires but a vehicle for the realization of such hopes.

Let it tell every Filipino that he belongs to this society whatever may be his origin, his race, his creed or his station in life.

Let it tell him that he shall share in the wealth of this nation and justly ask for the help of his neighbor, and more than this, let him be told by this organization and this movement that when he does desire and seek help, his neighbor will extend him help.

Let it tell him that he can contribute towards the building of the kind of society and community that he wants, not what other nations and races may want.

Above all, let us announce to him that in this great enterprise he has the opportunity to create rather than destroy.

There have been times in the past when the collective energies of all our people have been summoned together in one undertaking. There have been times of crises, times when we had to fight for our rights. Today, there is no war to fight. There is no foreign foe to evict from our shores. There are no Bagumbayans. There are no Bataans and there will be no Corregidores. There will be no medals to be pinned on the breasts of heroes. But in a certain sense, the calling today for fraternity is even louder and the cry of the native land is more poignant, more urgent. It is a call not for the valor of arms but the valor of honest, patient, dedicated toil.

We have begun this labor and I tell you that there is no force that can hold us back. There is no obstacle so large or so immovable that can deter us from finishing what we have begun.

It is no doubt a demand for long and arduous labor. But if we must live the perpetual sense of being faced by a Promethean task, then, so be it. Let it be the measure of our virtue that we seek no solace, no escape from this undertaking.

Dr. Rizal, reflecting on the difficulties to which his work had taken him wrote: "I seek no shade but light." And so might we say in response to the challenge flung at us: We seek no solace, we will give no excuses. We seek no shade but light.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the presentation of the draft of the New Constitution
December 1, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the presentation of the draft of the New Constitution

[Delivered in Malacañang, December 1, 1972]

A Testament to the Future

I AM INDEED glad and proud to participate in this historic ceremony. President Macapagal has referred to this document as “the formulation of the aspirations of the Filipino people.” I see written on every face of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention the mark of accomplishment and the authority of success, for truly the Convention has just performed an epic task of which it can be justly proud — the drafting and the writing of a new Constitution, a testament to the future of the Republic of the Philippines.

Today we mark such a success, for you have worked against great odds. You have worked against the very tide of history itself, the tide that has brought us through one of the most turbulent periods our country has ever known. We are much too close to our times and, perhaps, we shall not appreciate fully the weight, the nature and the magnitude of this achievement. But in time, as the days and the years recede and a historical perspective emerges, we shall know the full scope of your efforts, the extent of your labors, and the achievement of the Constitutional Convention of 1971.

It is not my intention here to discuss the merits of the Constitution, for indeed we must still submit this proposed Constitution to the people, the final repository of power and authority in this democratic polity. It is the people who must speak.

The Constitutional Convention has been given this commission to write a Constitution, which actually is a draft and a proposal. But as the great thinkers of the world have said — the leaders may lead, they may guide, they may set the principles and blaze new trails, but no one shall save the people except the people themselves. We may propose but the people must decide. This we will do on the day set for the plebiscite. I am certain that when we do, we shall act in unity and thus, it is my hope that our people shall debate this proposed Constitution, and that such a debate will indeed be done with complete liberty.

I hereby direct the military to see to it that no man shall be harassed, molested or questioned on anything said for or against the Constitution and that this order shall stand during and after such debate.

I call upon every Filipino to participate in this historic discourse. Democracy is marked by dialogue, but dialogue cannot exist if it is one-sided. And notwithstanding the unusual circumstances under which we labor in view of the proclamation of martial law, it is my directive and my wish that for all purposes and for this particular occasion, the strictness of martial law, be set aside in order that the full discourse and dialogue under our democratic ideals may be attained.

We hope, of course, in accordance with the new standards, that there shall be less of the corrosive spirit of faction and partisanship; but even this, my friends, we must tolerate during this period.

The President of the Constitutional Convention has quoted me when on June 1st I appeared before you. Let me quote another paragraph from that statement and observation. I said then:

“For as our forebears in the past sought to establish the first Republic in Asia, so now, you, their children, must test a democratic principle, for you must test whether democracy is self-rejuvenating, self-recuperating, and set healing. Even if an unjust social and economic order shall impose itself upon democratic community and corrupt it, the people if they so will can rectify this error. But the people must act through their duly chosen representatives and this is the Congress and you. Now we can say you have acted and now we must ask the people to act, for if democracy is indeed self-rejuvenating we can initiate an action. No leader, no matter how vast his authority may be, can succeed unless the people support that action or his action.”

No matter what the Constitutional Convention may do, no matter what Congress may do, no matter what the President may do, if the people do not support our actions, then we fail in the effort of reformation and the establishment of a new society.

I am indeed happy to note that as this new Constitution is founded on the age-old and time-tested principles of democracy and freedom, it, too, has imbibed the idealism and the vision of the New Society, for these reforms that we have initiated are embodied in the letter of this proposed Constitution.

I am indeed happy that this new Constitution notwithstanding has been finalized standing the fact that for a time the Constitutional Convention and, for matter, our entire government and society, mirrored the virulence and confusion of our times. It may be said that we have passed the crisis. The Convention itself faced the prospect of being overtaken and overwhelmed by cataclysm, while the Republic was challenged as to its stability and even its existence. That both the Republic and the Constitutional Convention have survived such a test is indeed proof of the capacity of a democratic organization like ours for self-rejuvenation and self-healing.

By the guidance of the Almighty we shall succeed and we shall prevail.

The drastic reforms that have been set off pertaining to the rights of every man, no matter how long it took to be recognized, are now enshrined in this Constitution. This Constitution shall be the anchor of every Filipino and shall be his hope. The Constitution shall be the basis for the ultimate redemption of every man and slave whether by the soil or by his past, and this proven resiliency of our democracy just proves that society can be revolutionized by constitutional means.

You have reaffirmed the guiding faith of our people. I am glad you have completed this task and I extend you my personal congratulations and the appreciation of all our people.

In behalf of all the officials who are present here today, and in behalf of the millions who wait with expectation, I accept this proposed Constitution for submission to our people in a national plebiscite.

I, therefore, announce that in accordance with this process of ratification, I hereby sign in your presence a decree calling a plebiscite on January 15 for the final ratification of this proposed Constitution.

Along with this decree, I shall sign the order directing all persons in authority, especially the Secretary of National Defense and the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, to see to it that the people shall be accorded the fullest opportunity to freely and publicly discuss and debate its various provisions.

I also hereby direct that the cases of all members of the Constitutional Convention who are under detention be now processed, to pave the way for the release of those who have not actually been connected with subversion.

I also hereby direct that the members of the Constitutional Convention who are under detention be forthwith released, unless they are facing criminal charges.

Again, my thanks and congratulations to all of you. With the guidance of Divine Providence, I know that we shall succeed in our efforts to establish a new Philippines.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos during the First National Conference on Children and Youth, December 4, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the First National Conference on Children and Youth

[Delivered on December 4, 1972]

The Care and Development
of the Young

I WELCOME EACH and everyone of you to Maharlika Hall, the hall for freemen, the hall for noble men. I consider addressing this conference quite important because the program for the development of the young and of the children is one of the most important programs of, government.

Under Executive Order No. 310 which I signed on April 16, 1971, I created this Inter-Departmental Committee. It is composed, as you know, of representatives from the government as well as from the private sector and a representative from the Office of the President.

Perhaps, more than any other developing country, the Philippines must attend to its youth. Sixty two percent of our population are below 25 years of age. We probably have one of the highest percentages of youth and children in relation to the population in the entire world. Thirty one percent of our population range from age 12 to age 25. This is indeed a very young country. Of course, the increase in birth rate for the past 25 years has something to do with this. You will remember that when the war started in 1941, we were estimated to be only about 18 million people and now we are anywhere from 38 to million people.

I stated that when I proclaimed martial law I was thinking of the young. Why the young? Those who belong to my generation should know the reason. We have known too many battles and too much suffering whether in time of war or in time of peace. We fought against the status quo. We fought against the leftist, the rightist, the bigoted; we fought so many battles that it was my feeling that the young, our children, my children and the children of those who knew the last war and the fighting against the communists in the 1950's should never fight those battles all over again. Anyone who has fought in a war become a most passionate oppositionist to war, no matter how many medals he may have won. I am not unacquainted with those medals that they gave you after you ' have gone out, fought and got almost killed. They pin a piece of medal and a nice looking ribbon on your chest and send you back to kill some more.

Now, the medals are all right because they are symbolic of the appreciation of your people, of your government, of your Republic and your comrades. For in many instances you have to fight for your country and for your people. But the wise leader certainly will not invite war, will not invite bloodshed; and if he can prevent violence through peaceful reform and change, then, he must do everything in his power to do so. This is the meaning of all the efforts that we are engaged in.

This conference is something that I have looked forward to. This is the first national conference on children and youth and I wish to extend a hearty welcome to each and everyone of you. It is almost axiomatic to say the young are the foundation of our national, economic, and social well-being. It is also commonplace to say that from your generation will come the future leaders of our country. Actually, it is literally so. It is literally so because the statistics will bear me out. If 62 per cent of the population are below the age of 25, then, of necessity the leaders must come from that group of young men and women of our country.

I attach a great importance to the role of human beings as decisive elements in nation building. It has been well said that the most valuable resources of a country are its people not the mines, the forests and the other natural resources but the people, the human beings.

However, they are not just resources serving the needs of nation building, but they actually are the very ends of nation building. For this is the purpose of a Republic — that a society and a government be established to uphold the dignity of man in contradiction to that ideology we are fighting against which seeks to uphold the dignity of the state over and above that of the individual.

Economic development must be grounded firmly on the development of human resources. Social justice and the national interest demand that every Filipino youth be given the opportunity for the full development of his personality, his talents, his abilities so that he can participate actively in the challenge of development. Because if 62 per cent of our people do not participate, then the great majority will be a drag on the entire society.

And thus it is that from the statistics alone the role of the youth is well marked out. But more than this, the young constitute the extension of all the dreams and the aspirations of the old. We who are a little bit older — but not too old—are just getting to that stage when we start feeling the pains of age. No one among us — whether he is 55 years old like me or a little bit older — likes to be identified as belonging to the older generation. But in the years to come, one simply will have to admit it.

And so, we have looked forward; ten years from now, depending upon the will of the Almighty, many of us will not be here but the young will be here and therefore, the young must continue our labor otherwise this nation will be lost. But for them to participate they must understand. No one is motivated unless he knows the objectives, believes in them and in the program to attain them.

The young are therefore a continuation of our present. When I think of the young, I think in terms of what they would like to have, let's say, ten years from now. And actually, this should be the driving force for the older generation. For as our great hero, Jose Rizal said, one does not plant a tree expecting to sit in its shade. No, you do not, but you know that your children will someday sit in that shade. And so, it has got to be a good tree. It has got to be a well developed and luxuriant growing tree, because the frailties of humanity are such that one can't plan and work only for a limited time. One finds strength and inspiration from the fact that the young will carry the same banner and bring it forward. The young will be there to nurture the same tree that we have brought to life. Being great in number in our country, they constitute a very potent force that can be mobilized for national development or be misused for destruction.

It is my feeling that our young today are much better trained and better informed, better oriented than the older generation when they were young.

When I created the Inter-Departmental Committee on Children and Youth my aim was, of course, to provide an integrated approach to the important problems and opportunities concerning the youth. Towards this end, the Committee must assist other agencies concerned with the youth.

I have always said that the father takes care and looks after the youngest. Look into any family. When you see a family moving about, whom does the father take care of first? The young, the young baby who can't walk. He carried him.

The same thing is true with the nation. I happen to have been elected as your President and, therefore, I am some kind of a father to everybody. I am not that old but that is the role of a President. More than anything else the President has to be some kind of a father. Now then, as a father what do you think of? What is your purpose? The purpose is to protect the nation. But in protecting the nation you must think of the young—those who cannot take care of themselves, those whom you are depending on to take over when you stand aside and let others take over your place. So we take care of the young.

But in government the various agencies that are engaged in taking care of the young may, in many instances, not be coordinated. Thus, the need for the Inter-Departmental Committee. When the Department of Education, let us attend to its functions, it does so as a basic national policy. Its programs do consider whether the student is young or old. But there must be a program that aimed directly at the young because the young have problems which are not necessarily the problems of the old. And so the young must be given special attention. The redirection of the energies and the idealism of the young is an age-old problem and many countries have special organizations, governmental and private, in order to attend to this. In the Philippines there are many in the private sector, there are many in the public sector who are supposed to attend to this. But I repeat. In many instances they may work at cross purposes and the reason therefore for this committee and your convention is to work out an approach to a program which will brush aside the contradiction and the conflicts that may arise out of enthusiasm and from the petty jealousies and envy that may arise from the frictions of joint action. The needs of the young are varied. They are complex and embrace several sectors such as education, health and nutrition, social welfare, housing, labor and employment.

The role of education in preparing the youth as responsible and productive citizens needs no further emphasis. The youth's basic training at home must be supplemented by a strong educational system, so as to instill in them discipline, self-confidence and the desire to achieve, as well as to impart to them the basic skills demanded of a productive citizenry. Complementary to this is the provision of vocational training programs, preferable at the community level, for the youth who are out-of-school.

The educational program of the Philippines, as you know, is being reformed because it has no relation whatsoever to our economic and social development program.

Health and nutrition are likewise important. There is no need to explain that ill-health saps the vitality and energies of the young and reduces their effectiveness. Moreover, social welfare and housing provide the youth with the environment that is conducive to the youth's physical, mental and moral development.

The area of labor and employment is very critical to our total development drive in general and to youth development in particular. Among the unemployed, a large portion belongs to the 10 years to 19 years age group. It is unfortunate but it is true that in the accounting of the labor force children at the age of 10 are included.

But in statistical studies anybody who is ten years old is a part of the labor force. I am sure this is a surprise to you, but it is true. It is true everywhere else. It's not only true here, it is true in every country of the world. The ten-year-old child is part of the statistical base for the determination of the labor force. And in our country, in 1971, this age group that is from 10 years to 19 years constituted close to 31 per cent of total unemployment. Within the next four years, roughly 2 million "entrants" to the labor force are anticipated, posing a major challenge that demands immediate and vigorous action.

In any case, the child is the ultimate beneficiary of greater employment and higher incomes. The welfare of children can be uplifted most effectively by providing gainful employment to the heads of families. The provision of greater employment opportunities for the labor force will ensure that the benefits of development will reach the children of low-income families. The social welfare and health programs of government sometimes partake of the nature of dole outs or outright philanthropy—the giving of specific amounts of food, clothing, shelter. But, in order to develop a dignified, self-reliant race, we should do away with all these doles, all encouragement to beggarly pursuit and instead develop people who can by themselves assert their own dignity. We don't want to create dignity for others. Every man must create his own kind of dignity and he does so by being self-reliant, by being self-sufficient, which means he must earn his own livelihood. No man is dignified who does nothing but receive from the government his food, clothing and shelter, and I don't know of any Filipino who would like to do this. Everyone whether Filipino or not, I believe, would like to be able to earn his own food, earn his own clothing and earn his own housing. And this is the reason for the reorientation of government policy towards creating job opportunities and employment more than just giving out doles to people no matter how hard-up they may be. Yes, there are periods of calamity during which people have to be helped. Of course, when a person is injured you have to pick him up from the street and bring him to the hospital. That's one of the times when he can't help himself. When there are floods and there is dislocation, you must give out doles. But this should be temporary and we must not encourage the prolongation of

such a program. This is the reason for the effort to build up in everyone, especially the young, the habit of self-reliance and of discipline.

Realizing the potentials of the youth and the need of developing the young so that these potentials can be harnessed and put to effective use, we have started to formulate the plans for the development of the young. I say started because the task of improving the young's health and his education, of shaping his attitudes and ambitions, of redirecting his energies and his idealism to constructive causes cannot be achieved within one day or by government alone. This requires a national effort. This requires the effort of everyone whether in government or outside government. There will be a great need for the resources and services of agencies and organizations outside the government. There will be a need to mobilize free and voluntary services dedicated to the welfare and development of the youth. Unfortunately, many of the parents must answer for some, if not many, of the ills of our society. Many of our parents think that after they have sent the children to school their responsibility is finished. This is not true and many regrettable mistakes in our society are due to the fact that the parents have failed in many instances in performing their role in society. And yet we blame the young. We keep on blaming the young. When we speak of drug addiction and we speak of the waywardness of the young, we have an inclination and a tendency to point to them and say, they belong to this drug-addicted generation. Perhaps, we should look inward and into our ourselves and ask ourselves how far have we as parents fallen on our job. I speak as a parent. As President I am a busy man. I sometimes work up to 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning and yet, I have a feeling that notwithstanding the fact that we may be very busy there are certain obligations you and I cannot shy away from and they have to do with the care of our children. When my children were here, even if I was very tired or very occupied, I always tried to see them before they went to bed. When they were working on their lessons or when they were whiling away their time I tried to talk to them even for just a few minutes. I am certain that many of those who are drug addicts among our children will say, will tell us, that it was because we the older generation didn't care enough that they turned out that way.

I will not sermonize, but I think that you and I know that this is one of the important areas wherein there must be collective action if we are going to move forward.

We have, therefore, encouraged and invited private agencies and organizations to participate in the government's drive for youth development. These agencies in fact form an integral part of our plans and programs for the youth.

An example of such a collaborative effort is the Youth Organizations to Undertake Reforms (YOUR) under the Presidential Youth Development Program. This is a program intended to coordinate the activities of both private and government agencies involved with the youth.

The main objectives of the Program are: (1) the identification of the development areas of priorities for the involvement of the youth; (2) the redirection and supervision of existing programs and services towards the defined objectives of the New Society; (3) the participation of the youth in the planning and implementation of specific socio-economic development projects; and (4) is the development and implementation of redefined training programs for YOUR 'leaders and youth organizers.

Now, what are the agencies involved in this? Let me mention them as a form of acknowledgement of their participation. We have the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Boy Scouts of the Philippines, the Girl Scouts of the Philippines, the Philippine Youth Welfare Coordinating Council, the Red Cross Youth, the 4-H Club under the APC and the CAREFOR, the Philippine Business for Social Progress, Rizal Youth Development Foundation, the Department of Social Welfare and, of course, the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The following priority areas for action have been identified; reforestation, and reform, food crop production, livestock production, vocational training and infrastructure development. I would like to call attention to the fact that land reform involves all kinds of scientific farming and it also involves cooperatives. At present, YOUR is initially launching the following pilot projects: irrigation repair in Bacolor, Pampanga, reforestation in the Arayat Reforestation Area—and later other reforestation areas in Bataan and perhaps, in Benguet Mt. Province—and the pasture improvement for livestock in Sto. Tomas Baguio. Larger projects are planned for the Christmas vacation and will be undertaken on a nationwide basis come summer of 1973.

What I dream of is the young participating in a summer program wherein they would undertake projects which may directly affect the less privileged our country.

I have previously stated that Philippine education is an exercise in solipsism, is misaligned and needs the saving grace of relevance. In short, educational policy-making must dovetail with national development.

In line with this, the Department of Education has evolved a Youth Civil Action Program involving both in-school-youth and out-of-school youth. The in-school youth program encompasses all levels of education involving some 11 million youth and is designed to provide practical work as part of the school curriculum in order to heighten the civic and social consciousness of students and to encourage them to participate more actively in the task of national development. This program will provide rich and varied opportunities for students to apply and test classroom principles in real life situations and to be involved to community development, thus affording them opportunities for self-realization and infusing their lives with direction, with value, with purpose greater and meaning.

Several activities have been lined up for this program, some of which are participation in the green revolution, participation in the beautification and cleanliness drives, participation in reforestation activities, supervised farming programs, cooperative training programs, community health and sanitation courses relevant to national development such as agrarian reform, cooperatives, taxation and family planning.

For the youth who are out of school, programs are likewise being undertaken to enable them to respond to the needs of development despite their lack of schooling. Under the Bureau of Private Schools we have special vocational schools, colleges and institutes. Furthermore, we have what I have referred to as the manpower training program. Many of us don't know it, but the Philippine Manpower Training Program has been adopted as a model by Asian governments. In the Bureau of Vocational Education and Bureau of Public School we see such manpower training programs in cooperation with the Nations, Manpower and Youth Council of the Department of Labor. I have given orders to the agencies concerned to make the training programs community-based, so as to make such training more effective.

Meanwhile, the NMYC is reshaping its over-all training and development programs for the out-of-school youth on the basis of important information obtained from a survey of out-of-school youth all over the country. This survey has just been updated and surprisingly, we were met with enthusiasm by these youth who have missed formal schooling. It is necessary that we recover these wasting human resources. They constitute not only a burden but a danger to our society and therefore, we must do something to recover them. Most societies throw them into the wastebasket of disregard and disaffection. But a modern society must learn to take them back into the main stream of economic, social and political activity, otherwise, that society, especially if it is a young society like ours, is bound to meet with this problem under more violent terms.

Sports development and nutrition are closely related to the youth education program. Our youth must be immersed in a program of competitive sports not only to develop a sound mind in a sound body but also to imbue them with a self-reliant and competitive spirit. I want to see greater emphasis on sports for the development of the youth. I have directed the Department of Education and other organizations to formulate a program of this nature.

But a physical fitness program must be supported by an appropriate nutrition program in order to be successful. Expending energy requires the right amount, of inputs of energy in terms of food nutrients. Thus, both in and out of school, we are encouraging and stressing the importance of proper nutrition.

In school, courses in basic nutrition are offered, and direct efforts involving the public schools' feeding program are supported. In and out of school, we are encouraging food production projects, because, as you know, there is one basic answer to many of our problems. I was asked once during an interview what was the answer, in one single word, to all our problems. That was a difficult question but I immediately shot back—production. If every single man, woman and child in this country produced something, no matter how modest, then, many of our problems would be solved.

The major agencies of the government engaged in this kind of activities like the Department of Social Welfare, the Department of Health, the Food and Nutrition Research Council, the Department of Local Governments and Community Development—this is a new Department headed by Secretary Roño former Governor of Samar—and of course, the Department of Agrarian Reform—another new Department under Secretary Estrella—by the nature of their functions have built-in programs for the youth.

The Department of Social Welfare, aside from providing essential social services also conducts training programs, particularly for out-of-school youth. The Department of Health and the Food and Nutrition Research Council have youth programs in nutrition and health.

The Department of Agrarian Reform has prepared the Home Management and Rural Youth Development Program to train the youth in the rural areas to become responsible, productive, disciplined law-abiding citizens, capable of assuming leadership in the future.

The Department of Social Welfare has reoriented its policies away from mere dole-out programs and towards efforts at helping the needy secure means of living. As the saying goes, if you give a man a fish, you give him dinner for the evening; but if you teach him how to fish, you give him food for the rest of his life. Now, this saying is as old as the hills but there are occasions when we forget that this is a fundamental tenet of government and private welfare activities. We must continue with this.

The Department of Health has volunteer services inviting the participation of the young. Many of our young doctors or the young would-be doctors go to the provinces in summer or even during the holidays and participate in the health programs of the government quietly and without fanfare. This is the kind of quiet, dedicated service which we would like to encourage the students to nurture. We will try and get the students in engineering to participate in the titling program. We need many people to survey the boundaries of the agricultural lands because how can we redistribute lands to the tenants if we don't even know the boundaries of the land owned by the landlords.

I have, by decree, directed that the landowners swear under oath the area and the boundaries of their land. But at the same time, we are also taking at photogrammetry by air of all the lands in the Philippines and we will try and divide these lands on the basis of such aerial photogrammetry. The surveyors on land need to confirm such divisions and we will need the young for this photogrammetry. The surveyors on land need to confirm such divisions and we will need the young for this.

I refer to some of the programs as examples where the young may be of assistance with their volunteer services. The 4-H Club has some of the most active young men and women in the Philippines. I am always heartened when go out to the barrios and I meet these young men and women teaching the old farmers the new farming methods and showing them the benefits to be reaped from irrigation, the use of fertilizers, the use of spacing, the use of pesticides and the like. Some of these boys and girls are 12 to 16 years old and they are teaching 60-year old farmers how to work their farms. That is something. Instead of the old teaching the young, the young teach the old. Perhaps this is as it should be. Have we not heard often enough the wistful thought that in a developing country if one could succeed in replacing the older generation completely and instantly with the young, perhaps, the problems of development would not be so difficult? And has it not also been said by the observers that one of the heaviest burdens of a President is undoing the inherited mistakes of the past. Our work is not only to build, but to rectify the errors of the past. We have committed many errors because we are human. Our own leaders for instance in the 1900's, 1910, 1920, 1930. What did they think about? Did they think of economic development? Of course not. Why not? Because they were single-mindedly concerned with political emancipation. Complete, immediate and absolute independence was the rallying cry and even "a government run like hell by the Filipinos is better than a government run like heaven by the Americans." They had a noble objective. So let us not blame them too much; but the mistakes were there.

Thus, we have an economy too dependent on the exportation of raw or primary commodities. Sugar for instance. Our sugar cannot stand competition in the international market, and if we did not have the American market it would collapse in no time at all. The reason for this is our people did not prepare for a situation which we have now. So we have to start rectifying this. We have to move into all of these problems as fast as we can and we are depending on

the young to help out in this because they are the ones who are attuned to new ideas. It's difficult to break a habit, especially the habit of a 50-year old. And this is one of our problems now. Many of our people expect us to create miracles in a period of a few months. This is going to be one of the most difficult things to accomplish: to convince our people to work at this steadfastly, continuously, dedicatedly, regularly. We should do away with our *niñgas kugon* mentality. We lack dedication. We forget our objectives too easily. We must stop this. We must now teach not only the young, but also the old. And this is where the difficulty lies; we must teach the old to cast aside the old habits. To do this, we need the help of the young.

And that is why I address this to the young. Let us do away with the *niñgas kugon* mentality. I am happy to see that among the participants in the conference are planners and educators, administrators who belong to the older generation—and whom I hope I have not offended with my references to the habits of the old. But actually they are participants in the effort to root out this habit, this old attitude. But of course I am even happier to note that there is a greater proportion of the youth among the participants.

There must always be occasions for the youth of the land to sit down with their elders to jointly ponder over the nation's problems and needs and to formulate the necessary measures for its well-being. Both the old and the young must understand each other and appreciate each other's efforts. The young should understand that while the old may have committed many mistakes, they have achieved something of value. But not by a man, no matter how powerful, nor by the leaders. The leaders may guide, they may setup the plans, they may put up the programs, but only the people can save themselves. Only the people can dictate a change of habits, a change of attitudes and a change of path. And this is why I address myself to 62 percent of our population: the children and the youth. More than at any other time in our history, even more than the time of Rizal, Bonifacio, Luna and Aguinaldo, the great propagandists and the revolutionaries, the youth will determine the fate of our people, whether they survive or they perish. May God will that you perform the role of saviors of our country.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos during the oath-taking of Regional Directors, Assistant Regional Directors and City Engineers, December 7, 1972

Remarks
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the oath-taking of Regional Directors, Assistant Regional Directors and City Engineers

[Delivered on December 7, 1972]

A New Standard of Performance

I HAVE GONE out of my way to administer the oath to you personally, because we are moving into a new era in highway construction. And one of the principal deficiencies in the infrastructure program is the middle-level supervision and control. There is a missing link between the project engineers and the Department—the contact between the political leadership, the managers up in the higher echelon of government and the implementing groups. That missing link is you, for actually you belong to the implementing group. Since you are Regional Directors, Assistant Regional Directors, and City Engineers, you are actually the “Do Tank” that I have been talking about. The government is full of proposals and plans for development, but there are very few implementors. Hence, we are calling upon you now to act for and on behalf of the planners, and while acting for the planners, you must familiarize yourself not only with highways but with the entire economic development program. This is your responsibility to yourself, the highways, to the Department, and to me. And that is why administered your oath personally because you are my personal representatives. You are responsible to me, and I will support you whenever you perform your duty correctly. By the same token, if there should be any violation of the standards that we have set, I shall be constrained to enforce those standards with the coercive power vested on me.

I give you these guidelines because I do not want anyone to come to me, directly or through somebody, begging for a second chance. There will be no second chances in this particular effort because we must succeed in the reformation of our society, of our country. In such reformation you are the men who will participate most actively, for the things that most people see are the palpable, and the most palpable are roads. During the floods, what was the first thing that we thought of? Reinstate the communication system. We could not do anything about the dikes for the time being, but we had to go to look at the roads. So it is, that roads are a symbol of either achievement or of failure. If you fail me, the whole program of reformation will fail. Any weakness in the chain any weakness among you and the men under you is going to reflect, not just on the Secretary, but on me.

So, do your job well. I would do it if I were in your place. And I will be making spot inspections of everything that you are doing. Let's not go back to the old habits—no more padded payrolls and no more of those 70 to 100 per cent losses of funds. I remember the nine hundred and ninety thousand pesos lost in Masbate in 1969. Nine hundred ninety thousand, it just disappeared. Why? Because that was the old society. Now we are creating a new one. I do not need to sermonize to you about the need for this reformation. There is unanimity of opinion among all the social and political sectors of the country and among the citizenry in general for reformation. But reformation must start from us, from the top. You are the guides, the leaders. Help out in this. As I am inflexible with myself I will be inflexible with you. But as I recognize and appreciate achievement and good work I will be appreciative of good work coming from you. Your appointment, and my personal effort to administer your path is an indication of my trust and confidence in you. Do not fail that trust and confidence.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1978). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 4). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 9th Agricultural Credit Conference, December 8, 1972

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 9th Agricultural Credit Conference

[Delivered at the Pines Hotel, Baguio City, December 8, 1972]

Credit for Agricultural Development

IT IS MY pleasure to meet today the people who in more ways than one can accelerate the upward thrust of our rural areas and particularly the farmers, all those who are involved with the basic economy of our land, agriculture, through the extension of that often elusive economic prop — credit. In this gathering, the men and women who might possibly shape the future of our rural areas are now present, and it is my hope that during their conference they will indeed begin to forge the means by which our agricultural sector can develop and prosper.

This ninth conference of our rural bankers on agricultural credit, coincides with the 20th year of operations of our rural banking system. All the more reason why we expect great and good things coming from this assembly. If the next decade can equal the rapid growth of our rural banks, in terms of support to our farmers, then we need not fear that we shall not attain our goals in food production. It took a long time for rural banks to take root, indeed more than half a century of trying was experienced by all those concerned with establishing here a system of banks which could directly induce the development of agriculture. But since the first rural bank was authorized only 20 years ago, the growth of the system has been unequalled in scope and number.

The reasons for the earlier failure were predictably lack of capital, inadequate supervision and management skills. But we persisted because we knew that agriculture was basic to development and we realized that it had to first be fully made a productive sector before we could think of total modernization, or even of partial industrialization.

I would say that the ultimate success of the rural banks can be traced to the simple formula of the partnership of the public and private sectors. Learning from the sad experience of failure, our lawmakers passed R.A. 720 which in essence launched the partnership of government and private bankers. To increase the capital base, the government matched peso for peso the investment of private interest. To make supervision able and efficient, the whole system was placed under the Central Bank. And to upgrade personnel and management, training was imposed on all who would work within the system, with the Institute of Rural Banking in the Department of Rural Banks of the Central Bank taking responsibility for this training. Since then, the growth and stability of our rural banks have been assured.

Just how well in concrete figures this partnership has proved salutary may be gleaned from these facts — there are now 580 rural banks in the country, with total resources of P848 million, total deposit liabilities of P568 million, private investments of P118 million, supplemental capital from the government of P75.2 million and a loan portfolio of P690 million. With such financial sinews the government cannot but expect more from the rural banking system in contributions to the implementation of priority programs for development.

And as long as our partnership holds, as long as it is maintained with faith and goodwill, the rural banks will continue to be a crucial element in the attainment of progress.

There was a time when banks of whatever kind and size appeared to the public, and especially to the lowly such as the farmer, as a rather formidable institution, aloof and heartless and exceedingly unresponsive. Only the rich, those with collateral, appeared to benefit from banks. All that has changed, and I would say that the rural banking system has had much to do in bringing about this salutary change.

Nothing has speeded up this change more than the supervised credit program of the rural banks, first tried out as a pilot project in Laguna in 1965. It was a rousing success. It announced to the farmers the presence of a friend in need — the rural banks — and it opened up to them broader horizons in the cultivation of land. These new horizons yielded new techniques, new tools to make farming less a drudgery and more of a challenge and a profitable enterprise. And the difference lay in the availability of capital for farm mechanization, for better seeds, for more inputs like fertilizers.

I might add that the government succeeded in providing the credit needed through the Central Bank because international financing houses were ready to give loans precisely because of the viability of our farming enterprise and the solidity of the rural banking system. Thus we had a plethora of loan and credit funds, including seven special funds which methodically funnelled out credit to our farmers.

How well our rural banking system serves the country may be appreciated by recapitulating its yeoman work during the destructive floods earlier this year. The massive rehabilitation entailed could not have been undertaken as expeditiously and systematically had there been no rural banks through which credit and loans could be funnelled to the victims.

In an important way, the rural banks became a rallying point for aid and reconstruction. Strategically located, the banks became logical centers for mobilizing the rehabilitation program. Some 159 rural banks in the disaster areas handled P52 million in rehabilitation funds, releasing a total of P65.5 million to 49,664 flood victims in three and a half months. The normalization of agricultural production in the ravaged lands could not have been as speedy as it was were it not for the active participation of the rural banks.

I foresee that the rural banks will once more play a central role in making land reform work in our country, and in every way substantiate and inform the program designed to emancipate forever the tenant-farmer from the bondage of virtual serfdom of sharecroppers. I have recognized the worth of our rural banking system through Presidential Decree 57, which calls on the active involvement of our rural banks among other financing institutions in making available an immediate source of funds for loans or credits to tenants or farmers cooperative under the supervised credit program and in accordance with the strategy for making land reform come alive and yield the desired results.

In many ways, the land reform program will decide the destiny of our country. It is not only because the fortunes of the majority of our people — those in the rural areas — may be decided by its failure or success but also because land reform effectively counters many of the social ills which have raised grievances to a tragic level. Furthermore, as I have already pointed out, we must leap from our agricultural base to modern industrialization, and land reform will be critical in this action. That is why not only the rural banks but also the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, the Department of Agrarian Reform, and the Department of Local Government and Community Development, among others, have been harnessed for this program.

Each has its assigned task, and the rural banks are relied upon to channel as fast as possible all available funds to the sectors in need of them, with, however, proper discretion and direction.

Let me add that rural banks need not fear of falling into pitfalls along the way, or of dissipating their strength. The government, particularly under R.A. 6390, has provided guarantees and incentives. Rural banks have guarantee coverage of up to 70 per cent against losses. Loans from the Central Bank Loan Guarantee Fund are covered up to 85 per cent.

Finally, let me ask you to do everything in your power to carry on the operations of our rural banks, for in the days to come, as we increasingly extend ourselves in order to meet old and new problems, we shall need more and more the resources of rural banking. The government itself has been concerned about your energies and sustenance. For example, not so long ago when the prices of palay dropped on a nationwide scale, we took immediate steps to save the situation. We felt that if the price drop were not arrested, farmers would be unable to service their loans with the rural banks and the banks in turn would be hamstrung in their lending operations, perhaps crippled in this operation.

The Central Bank, the National Grains Authority, and the Philippine National Bank joined hands to reverse the trend, and fortunately they succeeded. We must continue to prop up palay prices, and this is the reason the NGA is carrying out its palay and corn procurement program. The NGA, by the way, was created to act as a sturdy link between the land reform program and the farmers themselves. It is not enough that tenant-farmers acquire lands; they must be nourished, assisted to enhance their productiveness. And so under Decree No. 4, we created the NGA.

In the operations of the NGA, the rural banks are again in the forefront as prime sources of funds for grain procurement. You are the direct source of the farmers sustenance, for it is with the rural banks that they will cash their checks from the NGA.

We look forward to the time when our farmers will be truly liberated as persons and as productive members of our society. In that time, land reform will have been past history, a milestone passed. And our land will bloom with crops, our agriculture will be linked to a modern complex of necessary industries. When and if we are still around when that season of well-being and progress comes, we shall know that in achieving our goals we were immeasurably supported and encouraged by our rural banks.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

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Speech of President Marcos, An Ideal for All, September 10, 1973

An Ideal for All

TRUE TO OUR honored tradition and common faith, you have stood on these grounds on this day, under sun and rain, every year of my presidency, to offer your salute to your Commander-in-Chief, and your pledge, of loyalty to our Republic. This salute, and this pledge, I receive in behalf of our people and our country today.

It is a gesture required by protocol and ceremony, but it is a fact that the life you have chosen to live, the task and the burden you have chosen to take up, are by themselves the highest salute, and the highest pledge, you can offer to your Commander-in-Chief, to our people, to our country. For to bear arms for the Republic, as you have chosen to bear arms, is to accept a mandate from a people and a cause: it is to offer not only the strength of your muscles and your manhood, but also everything else that a man can be, every dream and aspiration, every joy and every sorrow that he may want to share with his loved one—be it a friend, a son, a daughter, or a family.

This is why I am honored, more than honored, to come here and pay tribute to the Filipino soldier today.

When one year ago, we decided to meet the anarchy and rebellion, the corruption and reign of special privilege in our society, I asked the Filipino soldier to stand fast — to fight, if the need came for him to fight; to show an example of discipline, dedication and sacrifice. I asked you to join with me in a cause that would transform our country and once more make our people united and proud. To that cause I pledged my honor, my fortune, my life.

A year of that struggle has passed. But no day should pass when we should not be rededicating to that cause our honor, our fortunes, and our lives. Not only do I believe in the lightness and justness of our cause. More than that, I have seen the sacrifices you have made, and are willing to make, for the chance of giving our people, particularly our children, a better life. I have been a soldier for our people, I shall remain so, all my life.

I cannot allow this day to pass without commending you for the exemplary conduct you have shown on those occasions when the capability of the Arm Forces had to be demonstrated, in some measure, during the last 12 months. But more than this, it fills me with a deep sense of personal pride that you have brought into the life of the soldier a sincere appreciation of his real duties to countrymen and brothers, especially those who faced us in misguided confrontation and combat.

The policy of restraint and compassion you have shown in Mindanao at the height of the disturbances there, shows that the Filipino soldier can bear arms for our people not to kill but rather to enforce a policy of accommodation, persuasion, of compassion and love. On behalf of our people, therefore commend and thank you for the work you have done, not only in Mindanao throughout the country, during the last 12 months. In their behalf, I thank for having shown, through your good work, that the Filipino soldier can be exemplar of nobility and sacrifice; that in his work we will see a genuine expression of some of our greatest ideals. You have shown that compassion, brotherhood and unity are not distant dreams for our people, but realities that throb in the hearts of our communities, including those that were once plague by misunderstanding and mistrust.

But the debt we owe to the soldier is not alone confined to the fact offering his life and his honor, he lent himself to the effort to fight the anarchy and rebellion, and restore the peace; or that he led others in keeping the majority of our laws. Much more than this, we owe it to the Filipino soldier for show our society the true meaning and value of discipline; that without discipline there would be no order, and without order, there would be no progress; perhaps, no Republic. He has given more than what the law and the discipline of the service ask him to give; he has given what faith and will alone could build a better world, make it possible for him to give. In a word, he has given the most of himself, in order that the New Society may be built.

The reward that awaits the soldier is not much, when measured in material terms. Often the thought of having worked for something noble and good, something that will last suffices. The soldier in everyone among us here knows this; and yet it is *for this*— for that fleeting moment when we could, this thought on the altar of our very existence — that we would give our all the soldier, therefore, who has offered his all in order to take part in our

pledge one final reward. We shall achieve an authentic society that will part of the consciousness of this age, and be a constant pride of our race you, the workers of this revolution, I pledge the fulfillment of your sacrifice.

We shall attain our dreams. We shall build a brighter and a braver world, a world where we can glory in the beauty of our country and grant every citizen equal opportunity in its true meaning and full dimension.

As we commend the soldier in his role, we must also commend the people in theirs. This has been, and remains, a period of great challenge.

Even as we restored peace and order in the streets, emancipated the farmer from his age-old bondage, increased what is due to the worker, gave every man his due; even as we fought corruption, abolished the hierarchy of special privilege, gave life to our economy in a way and magnitude unprecedented in the history of our Republic, there remained problems we could not fully resolve.

With the massive destruction of the last floods behind us, we came under and drought that dried not only our soil and rice crops and rendered the labors of our farmers meaningless, but also dried up the supplies of the richest rice-exporting countries. Through modern technological methods, we tried to produce rain by seeding the clouds. But in most of these attempts we failed. Nature itself would not give us the right clouds. We went to the richest sources grain, and with them negotiated purchases, but as the time came when we needed these purchases most, the contracts fell through, because the same ought that had hit us, also hit their crops.

In the face of such a problem, we asked our people to accept the facts. There was a shortage of rice. And this could be met, not by recrimination, or by going back to the old politics, but by asking every one to do his share. To stretch the supply, our people mixed corn with rice. They ate root crop substitutes. But this they did without damning anyone, least of all the government, because they considered themselves one with the leadership in its search for a solution to the shortage. We stood together as one people, resolved to make a common sacrifice, without looking for a scapegoat or whipping boy to dress down or renounce. We mobilized the barangays, and the barangays responded to the challenge, to the best of their abilities. Without any salary or emoluments, the barangay leaders worked long hours to ensure the efficient distribution of corn and rice. They showed a fine example of dedication, faith and sacrifice.

We are not yet through with this problem. We are beginning to harvest, it is true, the results of Masagana 99, but we have not left the woods. We are still facing this moral test. It is a test of a nation, it is a test of every Filipino.

This, to me, is one of our finest hours during the last twelve months. We not only welcomed change, we not only supported the unifying power of progress, but we stood fast amid a great problem that threatened to engulf us. The barangay leaders showed that they could administer responsibility with utmost dedication, integrity and sacrifice, and our people showed that so long as we did not have any special treatment for any special class, they too would accept sacrifice.

The problems of food, energy, environment and population will continue to haunt our society, as they will continue to haunt the whole world. But so long as we stand together, we will have the advantage of confronting problems in common, of facing problems that affect one, with the dedication and resolve of all. The Masagana 99 program, which we expect to give us its first harvest soon, is a model of cooperation between the government and our farmers. The "Palayan ng Bayan" is another. Through this project, we expect to cultivated total of 140,000 hectares of virgin lands for our food production. At this time, our economy is still dedicated to the filling of shortages, but we have to higher and think of the day when we should help meet the shortages of other countries.

In energy, we must continue our efforts to produce our own supply, even as the richest countries of the world are threatened with a drying up of their own supplies. This is one of the reasons why I have actively encouraged and gone out of my way to support the oil exploration projects in our country at this time. The world has reached an irreversible period in which the consumption of energy continues to go up, and it becomes the duty of everyone to participate in the effort to generate enough supply. More than this, we have other reasons. We believe that, among other things, oil is a key factor to our own progress and development. The development of Mindanao, Sulu and

Palawan is a high priority in our program, and the industrial effort to discover oil there can only complement our official efforts in that part of our country. But beyond Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan, there is our entire country to develop and put in the orbit of real economic prosperity and power.

As we devote ourselves to these efforts, we cannot be diverted from the problems of population and environment. The control of human population must not only be a problem that should concern government; it should now enter the consciousness of every family man, whatever his religious creed. The methods will be left to the individual, rather than prescribed by government; but it should be more than a casual matter to the individual. A great urgency attaches to the problem, and this is once more because of the long-established Malthusian principle that the increase of food supply cannot be expected to cope with the increase in population. Man's planet must not end up as his tomb but overpopulation ensures nothing but our burial.

Not only must we control the rate of human growth, we must also make sure that we remain in control of the biosphere. From the air that we breathe to the water that we drink and the food that we eat, there must be a conscious effort to the part of everyone to ensure maximum safety and health. The Pasig river development project is an effort at pollution control, the cleanliness and beautification drive is another. In every home and every family, there must be an involvement in this problem. Planners and developers of modern dwellings, particularly the subdivisions, must develop new housing and town dwelling concepts that take into consideration the increased hazards of pollution and death, and the corresponding needs of integrated communities.

Mankind should not be distracted from the solution of these problems: that is why it becomes necessary for societies like ours to prosecute vigorous reforms. For it is in renewing the vigor, dynamism and commitment of our societies that we are able to contribute to the solution of grave universal problems. And this is exactly what we are trying to do.

In the last 12 months, we have set a record in all the areas in which we tried to bring some change. The international reserve which was registered at \$137 million when the floating rate was adopted on February 20, 1970, reached \$731 million as of August 31, this year, its highest level since 1947. Central Bank reserves rose from \$121 million to \$890 million; and the Central Bank working fund, from \$1 million to \$690 million. From October 1972 to August 31, this year, our balance of payments registered a surplus of \$612 million. Our foreign currency deposits, began in September 1970, amounted to \$383.44 million as of August 17 this year, indicative of a steady build-up of the foreign currency deposit system. We have been able to continuously restructure our external debt, and there has been an increased shift from short to long term of our external loans for development, from 43 per cent in 1970 to 66 per cent by June this year. We have also repaid some \$296 million of our external debts. We cannot yet quantify the foreign investments that have come in, for most of the investors have an open mind as to the kind of money they would spend in our development. But the traffic has been sustained, and the areas are identifiable. Our invitation to international financiers and businessmen to set up their multi-national headquarters in the Philippines has been met with enthusiasm, and there are a good number of such companies that should be moving to Manila in a short time. Tourism has also picked up, and the Philippines is now a tourist destination in the tourist literature of most travel agencies and airlines in the world. The movement of the economy cannot be arrested. It can only accelerate.

But the progress of the economy, the influx of foreign businessmen and tourists are only some details of the society we are trying to build. After emancipating the farmer from his age-old bondage to the soil, we must make sure that will benefit from his new possession, that he will endow it with technology. After lifting the worker from old conditions of exploitation, we must make sure will transform himself into a creative force in society. We must make sure, indeed, that the gains we have made since September continue, and are institutionalized in our society. We must make sure that social discipline is internalized in every member of society, and that finally, civility and progress, communal and national values, as well as the humanist and creative spirit acquire a life of their own. We are talking not only of an effort, but rather, of result that will last.

With great sadness, I have watched some slight reversion to the old habits and practices of some elements in our society, in the private sector as well as its government, including some, who claim the power of high office, or even invoke some closeness to the Presidency. Before the wrath of the law comes we must apply the discipline of the New Society, and we must apply it with resolve, without fear or favor, without distinctions of friendship, kinship of affinity. "*Walang mahina, walang malakas, ang lahat ay pantay-pantay.*" We, who have been called upon to lead,

must lead by example, and we must deal with our relatives, our friends, our subordinates in the same way that would deal with everyone else. The peddling of influence and special privilege must stop. The moral and intellectual corruption of public office and official responsibility must stop. I notice that even in Malacañang, favor-seekers flatterers still seek an audience with the President, hoping to obtain license concessions and special privileges. It is said that sometimes those who are close to the President are party to this conspiracy all over again. I also notice that to some parts of the public sector there is a tendency on the part of some to take the place of politicians who had been repudiated by the society. There are still those who would like to be power-brokers, who would like to exercise unexplained and therefore, illegitimate power.

If necessary, I shall utilize the powers of the law and the military to break these malpractices. But without resorting to the might of the law, I appeal to all to accept and contribute to the growth of the new social discipline.

This is not the time to outwit the law or its enforcers. This is not the time to litter the streets when no one is looking. This is rather the time to help formulate and enforce necessary and wise laws, to pick up the litter in one's backyard, to the street, in the park, or even in somebody else's backyard, even when nobody is looking.

It does not take much to do this. It does not require one to be one who blindly and fanatically follows. It merely requires one to be part of the consciousness of the society; to be part of the objective we are trying to attain and the effort. It only requires one to know that we are doing this not for one man alone, but for all of us, for the entire society, now and in the future; that we do this not only for ourselves, but for our children also. It only requires one to be an involved Filipino.

That is why on this important day, I ask all our people to rededicate themselves to the labor we have begun when we decided to make a new society. Give your oath, and your pledge to our country, and to our posterity. And together, let us build, not a dream but a reality.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, New Paths to Growth and Stability, January 4, 1974

NEW PATHS TO GROWTH AND STABILITY

BY PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

(Proposed speech on the Silver Anniversary Program of the Central Bank of the Philippines, January 4, 1974.)

As I stand before you today, on the occasion of the inauguration and blessing of the Central Bank Building complex and the twenty-fifth anniversary of this venerable institution, my mind goes back about seven years to a similar occasion involving another of the pillars of our financial establishment.

Towards the end of 1966 I was also present at the inauguration of the main offices of the Philippine National Bank and the golden anniversary of that institution. That year was my first year in the Presidency of the Republic. As I look back on that event, I cannot help but note the sharp contrast that exists, on one hand, between the position of our economy and the general thrust of economic policy in 1966 and, on the other, the position of the Philippine economy today and the implications deriving from it for our economic policymakers. Before I spell these out, allow me to recall to you the salient features of our economy during the first year of my Presidency.

Economists have described the year 1966 as an expansionary year for the Philippine economy. The expansionary trend then of our monetary and fiscal policies had my blessings, mindful as I was of the regime of tight credit and conservative budgets that had gone before, and concerned as I was about the sluggishness of the economy, which had not been growing at the rate conducive to making fuller use of our country's abundant human and natural resources,

You will recall that monetary policy became more liberal, credit restrictions were eased, while the government embarked on an ambitious Infrastructure building program. Businessmen were given new opportunity to secure financing for expansion programs, and the countryside began to hum with the activity of earth movers, graders and cranes. All this marked the revival of our economy which began the drive toward the highest rate of real growth in many years.

Unfortunately, the pace of expansion could not be maintained. The balance of payments pressure that developed in the early part of 1967 compelled our monetary and fiscal authorities to shift to a policy of contraction. It became necessary to tighten foreign exchange and credit policies and make cutbacks in government spending programs. Another of our short economic cycles had just been completed, and we had the task of nursing our economy back to a position that would make possible another surge of expansion.

Rash, and sometimes harsh, judgments have been heard in considering that phase of our economic striving. The policy of economic expansion that my administration pursued during its first four years has been seen in various lights, some calling it untimely and premature. But I regard those four years — 1966 to 1969 — as the years which saw through the first phase of the process of laying the work for real development. The facts and figures for schools, hospitals and puericulture centers established, for bridges, highways and feeder roads built, and irrigation canals installed, were far from political rhetoric. They were the tangible outcome of the blueprint for laying the foundation needed to propel the economy into the future.

Any structure envisioned to have a proper degree of permanence must have a strong foundation, and that is never more true than in the case of a nation's economy. You may well ask what the second phase of the process of laying our economic foundation was and the answer was close attention to and the rationalization of the institutional, conceptual and policy deficiencies in the management of our economy. This second phase was programmed through four years.

Those four years — 1970 to 1973 — introduced further changes in the economic framework of our society, in one indeed at any comparable period in our history as a sovereign nation. Because martial law was the dominant element

of this period, the economic reforms that most easily come to mind were those that became part of our laws since September 21, 1972. But I would like to stress that economic reform of a somewhat different sort—structural reform—had become part of the fact of national life since February, 1970, when I approved the Monetary Board decision to allow our currency to float.

Given the composition of our import trade, the ratio of our total imports to our gross national product, the foreign exposures of the public and the private sector and the capital structures of most Philippine industries, the nature and extent of the exchange reform of 1970 was bound to bring about significant changes in the structure of the Philippine economy. Substitution, rationalization and economy have been the watchwords in the technical and financial aspects of the operations of both the private and the public sector since the market was allowed to price foreign exchange. As a result of this action, the structure of our economy has changed—for the better, indeed.

The exchange reform has been the single most important economic policy change in the last four years, but it has by no means been the only one. During that period the Board of Investments, working more closely with the monetary and fiscal authorities than it ever had before, adopted numerous policies with the common aim of bringing about a more rational use of foreign exchange and other resources. The Progressive Car Manufacturing Program is the most notable case in point.

In the field of public finance, the groundwork for improved tax and customs administration was laid with the thorough revision of the Tax and Tariff Codes and the success of the various tax amnesties. In agriculture, the administrative framework which proved to be highly effective with rice and corn in the period 1966-1969 was further improved upon in the succeeding four years, and the prospects for more rational development of the countryside have been enhanced by the adoption of the integrated approach, under which the object of developmental activity is an entire region, not, as hitherto, a particular project or a particular industry. The establishment of the Philippine International Trading Corporation, the creation of supervisory authorities for particular industries and the rationalization of the Government's foreign trade promotion service offer promise of greater stability in Philippine merchandise trade.

Finally, mention should be made of the especial zeal with which the external debt is being monitored, an element of great importance from the standpoint of the relationship between the external resource needs of our economic development program and our capacity to service the use of such resources.

I spoke earlier of the contrast between the position of the economy at the end of 1966 and its position today. The contrast has two aspects. One aspect is embodied by the current level of our international reserve. The sharp and sustained upward movement in world prices of our traditional exports, superimposed on the aforesaid reforms and on the improved peace and order conditions created by martial law, have given the Philippines a position of financial strength the likes of which it has not experienced before.

The other aspect relates to the capacity of our economy to sustain an expansion rate in the relative growths of the 1966-67 magnitude. There is much to support the position that the Philippine economy can undergo that kind of expansion today without running into another round of balance of payments troubles. The explanation for this is to be found in the changes that have taken place in the structure and management of the economy during the intervening period. Those changes have made our economy more capable of sustained upward movement. This capability is what I really want to discuss with you today.

If ever the Philippines was ready for an economic takeoff—as generally understood by economists—that time is today. I would not have said this seven years ago; and I would have thought twice before saying it even as recently as a year ago. But today, as we stand here to help celebrate the silver jubilee of the Central Bank, I am convinced that the Philippines has come to that momentous point—the point at which an economic takeoff is imminent.

Let us first examine the economic structure of our country.

The Philippine economy has in the last eight years taken large strides in the direction of strengths—thus less vulnerable now to the vagaries and vicissitudes of external forces. The sectors of the economy which have led to this

new vigor — agriculture, exports, small-scale industries, tourism — and which have experienced policy bias of a negative sort during much of the past quarter-century, are the very sectors receiving the closest attention from the Government today.

The recurrent foreign exchange crises which our narrow export base and our high propensity for imports have repeatedly created have had the effect of reorienting our industries, wherever this has been possible, toward greater efficiency in the use of imported equipment and raw materials, toward lower-cost foreign substitutes, and toward domestically produced replacements for imports.

In the field of trade, the measures that have been taken in the direction of greater domestic processing of our traditional exports, the broadening of our export pattern in the wake of the international financial crises and the closer management of our import trade have all contributed toward the enhancement of our economy's capacity to withstand adverse developments in any of our major trade partners.

Finally, the improvement in the techniques used to manage our external debt, and the greater rationality in the distribution of maturities, have brought our economy to the point where it can withstand declines in foreign exchange inflows without having to resort to drastic measures.

I turn now to the resource situation of our country.

I would be doing less than justice to our economic policy makers if I didn't start by discussing our external resources. Not only is the sustained rise in the international reserve the most joyful element in our overall resource situation; it is also, unquestionably, the most important element in any determined developmental drive. With the foreign currency deposits taken into account, the Central Bank now has external resources totaling close to \$1.5 billion with which to finance our essential requirements. Barring a need to draw down such a fund on a heavy and sustained basis — even taking into account the energy crisis and the new price levels of oil — there now exists an ample cushion against anything but the sharpest decline in our foreign exchange receipts. The near-term prospects for the continued rise in our international reserve, in the light of current price movements in the commodity markets, the trend of tourist arrivals and the rate of inflow of foreign capital on both short and long-term account, may be considered bright. The stronger our reserve position, the more confidently, it goes without saying, may we embark on a program designed to raise our real growth rate substantially over the levels of the last decade.

There is, next, that other most important element of a developing country's resource endowment: labor. An abundant supply of low-cost and adequately educated workers is considered by some economists to be second in importance only to a sound financial position from the standpoint of accelerated development. That such a supply of labor is of critical value is best seen in the case of the countries in our region which have been recording the highest rates of real growth. I refer, of course, to South Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong and Singapore. It is interesting to note in this connection a survey conducted recently by a well-known local auditing firm showing that our country now has one of the lowest average wage levels in this part of the world. The examples of Hongkong and, not so long ago, Japan show that labor will not stay low-cost forever, and that as an economy's growth exerts pressure on its labor supply.

Then, there are our natural resources. All too often when people speak of accelerating economic development it is manufacturing that they have in mind. Agriculture tends to be seen as a leading sector only in times of sharp upward movement in commodity prices, as at present. The example of Taiwan and the record of our own banana industry show that agriculture of the non-traditional kind can provide the essential thrust to a development program calling for markedly higher rates of growth. The potential of our country in both domestic market and export terms is considerable.

Land is, of course, needed also for industrial facilities, and the folly of taking our land endowment for granted has been demonstrated by the situation of Japan's industries, which now have to seriously consider establishing facilities overseas due to the sheer shortage of good industrial sites, compounded by ecological problems. Land is not going to be a constraint to program of accelerated development for some time to come. For this we should be thankful.

Finally, there are our mineral resources. Anyone who has read the current Four-Year Development Plan will appreciate that our economic planners are fully aware of the potential of the mining industry as a leading sector in any program of accelerated development. Foreign investment analysts are no less aware of that potential, a fact indicated by the economic evaluations of our country that reach my desk and the number of foreign mining-industry officials whom I receive. Indeed, I probably receive as many foreigners interested in mining as I do all other types of foreign businessmen combined. Of course, when I speak of mineral resources I refer also to the offshore variety. One of the things I feel extremely confident about is the outlook on the current exploratory activity on our sea and in the lands that border them, activity which will produce results while I am Chief Executive.

Let me invite your attention now to the third factor supporting my thesis that our economy is ready for take-off. That factor is the rationality that now characterizes the policy framework for our economic activities.

I don't think that there is any major area of economic policy that has not undergone revision of one degree or another during the past sixteen months. Change has in no instance been effected for the sake of change. Revisions of policy have taken place only after the most searching and the most objective evaluation of all relevant factors.

Today's situation stands in great contrast to the pre-martial law situation, when the demonstrated rationality of a proposed policy change was no guarantee whatsoever of its enactment into law. Sound policies being as critical as they are to the efficient use of our resources, the rationality that now attends the making of our economic policies must be considered a plus factor in a program of accelerated economic growth.

I ask you now to consider, as the fourth part of my thesis, the capacity of our economy to generate domestic financial resources for development. One of the aspects of our economic development that sets it apart from that of other developing countries is that we have always provided most of the financial resources — well over 80 percent — required by our development programs. The fact that the contribution of foreign financial resources to our development has been rising in absolute terms indicates that the domestic saver has been maintaining the rate of his savings. Earlier this year I proclaimed a Savings Consciousness Year and created a National Savings Commission charged with the responsibility of undertaking studies and programs aimed at bringing about a rise in the volume of savings. The Government is now considering the question of whether a further change in interest rate policy would on balance be beneficial to the economy. On the basis of the record, there is every reason to believe that a program designed to increase the economy's rate of real growth will get the savings support that it needs.

What are the implications of a program of accelerated growth for our economic policymakers? The answer lies in the basic nature of such a program. Because accelerated growth within the context of our present stage of economic development is ideally a function of increased investment and increased exports, what will be required will be emphasis on policies that encourage saving and rationalize consumption, promote export-oriented activities and discourage imports, and reward efficiency and penalize waste. These are the general precepts that guide present policy making, so there is no need for me to elaborate. I dare say, however, that the possibilities for optimizing the use of our resources have by no means been exhausted.

It is entirely appropriate that the inauguration of the splendid facilities of the Central Bank and the observance of its silver anniversary should be the occasion for the enunciation of a bold new strategy for the economic development of our country. As the Central Bank charts a new course through the next quarter-century, so, also should the nation whose progress Central Bank policies are meant to subserve strike out on new paths to the future. That new course for our country is the one that should keep us firmly on the road to substantially higher rates of growth of which our economy is now capable.

Meanwhile, we should try our very best to maintain a position of strength, to conserve that which we recognize as vital to our economic life-lines, and to take counsel with ourselves as far as we are able in matters that relate us to the outside world bearing foremost in mind our national interest. I need not point out that small developing nations like the Philippines are not asked to participate in decision making when international monetary policies are concerned, nor in fact in many power plays in our world, and yet these same small developing nations are the most severely affected by any worldwide policy change. It is imperative therefore for us to proceed with both caution and

inner strength, with an independent turn of mind, and an ever growing self-reliance. It is the only way, by exercising our own powers and using our own resources wherever we can, for us to survive in a complex world.

Source: National Library

Message of President Marcos, A College for Leadership, February 4, 1974

A College for Leadership

YOU ARE GRADUATING after 11 months of intensive schooling from one of the most unique institutions of learning in the Philippines. It is traditional in every country, at least in the free world, following the lines of military training for government, to set up a national defense college wherein the master's degree can be granted after 11 months, as you are going to receive your masters now.

As the Course is intensified and compressed into an 11-month period, rather than a longer period as is usual in civilian institutions, you will note the intensity of the curriculum as well as the studies conceived and implemented in the college.

I congratulate you on this training. It is a part of the effort throughout the Philippines, in all institutions, to convert the entire country into some kind of a training institute. You will note that training is going on throughout, the country, from the smallest village or barrio all the way up to the executive academy and international seminars. The idea is that, if there be a conversion or a change, an alteration of attitudes and a reorientation and reassessment of values, then these things must immediately be imparted to as many people as possible to guarantee the continuity of change. As one intellectual has well said, the idea is to establish an epoch, not just an episode which departs and is forgotten with the day or with the period. What is desired is the institution of an epoch which brings about its own fruits and continuity.

As I said, you see training in all levels of life going on. The attitudes of our people are now moved into more stable objectives and the concept, of course, is always to look for leadership because leadership often determines the success or failure of any given mission. It has been repeatedly said that leadership imparts into any period of any country's history its own personality, its own enthusiasm, its own strength. Yet this personality, this enthusiasm and the strengths and weaknesses of leadership may be imparted not only to that period I but to future generations as well.

The National Defense College of the Philippines is, as I stated in the beginning, an unusual institution. It is an institution that picks up men who are already leaders in their respective fields, and gives men a broad perspective of the problems facing the country, not only from the military point of view but also from the broad perspective of national leadership. And here is where, of course, we may be criticized for elitism, for giving emphasis to quality instead of quantity and the like.

However, it is quite true also that in relaying to leaders the broad perspective that does exist not only in the military but also in the political structure, we hope that you will impart the ideals, ideas, hopes and purposes of I the New Society—and of the human society, for that matter, to the greater mass of our people. I belabor the subject because of the fact that, I am sure, many people will inquire, what Dean Marcos Herras, Dean Robles, for instance, are doing here in this military institution? The President is militarizing everybody? No, the idea is to allow counteraction among the different elements of our society especially in the leadership because one of the fatal weaknesses of any society, whether democratic, authoritarian or dictatorial, is the idea of closed compartments. That may be good in intelligence work where you need to compartmentalize, divide and segregate.

But in the establishment of societies, the great leaders have discovered that in many instances, as in a crisis, it may be necessary for men to act on the assumption that their corresponding partners in the movement, in the action or in the project are moving in the same direction—assumptions even without the need for consultations. This is important for purposes not only of efficiency but also for purposes of attaining the greatest objective with the least possible effort and at the least possible price.

The Philippines is at a period where we have to cram in a few years what other countries have attained over a period of decades, nay, even centuries. We speak of the development of other countries. Actually, those other countries have been preparing or, rather, working at development over the years. The modernization of Japan was the work of

over a century. The same thing is true with Germany. The same thing is true with America and many other countries; Yet, we are expected to rise up to their standards now without paying the price which, as you all know, was pretty high — the attendant social evils of the industrial revolution which resulted in the misery and degradation of millions of people, especially the young and the women, etc. I need not go into all of these. It is enough to say that we should make up for our lack of experience by learning from the lessons of the past.

We need not, therefore, go into the fact that you are the chosen men in this particular field and as such your obligations are quite clear. I need not go into the fact that the private and the public sectors are represented here precisely because the partnership between these sectors need not be emphasized or argued about. It's taken for granted that when the country moves, these sectors move together and to segregate them is fatal to our efforts.

I need not also state that we have found the National Defense College to have the capability to build leadership in our country. I wish that we could accommodate more students in the National Defense College, and at the same time, increase the faculty members and the administration of the college. I have been talking to Gen. Syjuco here and it's my hope that we will be able to work this out very soon.

There have been efforts to lessen the emphasis on the defense college or postgraduate work. I remember that sometime ago, I imposed as a condition for promotion to the rank of colonel, graduation from the general staff school and the defense college. Of course, there were many complaints because, indeed, habits die very hard and once you have dropped the ways and habits of scholarship and move into the pragmatic day-to-day life of survival, you lose the aptitudes that you learn in school. But the man who commands people, the man who makes decisions, must both be a scholar as well as a man of the world. And it cannot be gainsaid that you can separate one from the other for a decision-maker must depend upon certain wisdoms that are no longer beyond question. I have talked to all leaders in both government and private sectors and this is what they found out: that the men who are running the affairs of corporations and government often become dry, stale and completely burned out. There are no more new ideas. Then is the time to go into postgraduate work, sabbatical leave, etc. I even feel it myself and I know when I am burnt out. Then I refuse to meet anybody and I go back to studying. I go back to working along the same lines that you have worked.

I was talking to the General about the tutorial system where they give you your work for over a week and the professors may guide you once a week. You may have certain questions to ask but it is up to you to go in there and read and brush up on your new, original ideas.

When the energy crisis started and, of course, many of us anticipated this way back in 1972, I ordered all the books that there were on the energy crisis, of new sources of energy as well as all related subjects. Then I went for a one-month sabbatical. I went around. They thought that I was traveling around in the provinces. Yes, I was, but I was reading more than meeting people. This, to me, is some kind of, you know, scholarship which every leader must devote himself to, otherwise you will spend time in conferences listening with a mind completely blank. It has lost its facility to absorb new orientations and new ideas. We cannot utilize old formulas for new problems and while you may try to reshape this present world with sheer energy, there are easier ways of reshaping it and man, in his capability to change his environment, must find out, must determine for himself what is the easiest way or the more pleasant, the more graceful and the least costly.

This is the eighth graduating class of the National Defense College. This is a group of leaders that will now go into the field. Some will say that yours has been a lost and completely useless effort. Eleven months, what did they gain from it, some will ask. A lot of new wisdom but they didn't produce anything.

The new economist now includes education as a priority investment. Many, if not all of the modern economists now agree that education should constitute a greater portion of the investment of countries aspiring for something higher than present-day levels of civilization. If this be true, then no education of any kind is a waste of funds, time and energy.

So I say that we should encourage the National Defense College, to sharpen bright minds, and when these minds tend to deteriorate with misuse or abuse, then to re-sharpen them all over again so that they may be utilized in spreading the gospel of new frontiers, new aspirations and new objectives.

I congratulate you for your effort. No one, except a scholar, can understand the efforts that go into scholarship, into self-discipline and the effort to extend knowledge or its application. It is easy to study when you are young. It is hard to do so when you are old and you have set habits and prejudices because you must reopen your minds all over again. You must broaden your perspectives. I know because I have to warn myself against this all the time. I must warn myself against prejudices, against the lack of openness of mind and the breadth of mentality required of scholarship. At the same time, it is always easy to be satisfied with the familiar and the old. This is natural, this is human. It is also easier and less taxing to devote yourself to escapist literature rather than to more intellectual and rigorous pursuits.

I, therefore, congratulate the effort that you have put into your scholarship. I congratulate the college administration and the members of the faculty for participating in a noble effort and I urge you to continue with the same enthusiasm that you have shown and I look forward to greater achievements. You are now authorized to grant master's degrees. May these degrees continue to increase and increasing, spread the gospel of its new endeavors and new wisdom throughout our land. And much more than this, remember that in these efforts of yours, both of the graduates as well as of the members of the faculty and administration of the college, you have the complete and enthusiastic support of the President and the entire government.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos on the 35th anniversary of the Philippine Navy, February 8, 1974

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 35th anniversary of the Philippine Navy

[Delivered on February 8, 1974]

The Expanding Role of the
Philippine Navy

IKINAGAGALAK KONG MAKILAHOK sa ika-35 kaarawan ng Hukbong Dagat ng Pilipinas. Sa araw na ito, ating muling inaalala ang mga pinagmulan ng ating hukbong dagat at gayon din ng ating Armed Forces. Napakinggan ninyo ang mga citation o ang pagbibigay-alam ng kadakilaan ng lahat ng nasabitan ng medalya sa araw na ito.

Sa lahat ng labanan, ang Hukbong Dagat ng Pilipinas ay nangunguna sa katapangan at sa matapat na paglilingkod sa inang bayan. At gayun din, aking nakikita na magaling din silang lumakad at magmartsa, at marahil, mas mahusay sila sa ganitong bagay kaysa sa mga taga-lupa. Pinagmamasdan ko ang mga mukha ng mga namumuno sa Philippine Navy, Philippine Constabulary at Air Force sapagka't marahil hindi nila tatanggapin ang papuring ito sa Hukbong Dagat.

All of us are, indeed, very happy to be here to participate in this ceremony in the name of the people of the Philippines. I congratulate and commend the officers, men and civilian personnel of the Philippine Navy on their 35th anniversary. We are all convinced that in the years that the navy has been in the frontline of service to this nation, it has discharged its responsibility with loyalty, devotion and high efficiency.

Doubtless, we have a small navy compared to other countries. We are a developing nation with limited resources and means. We are a young nation and, therefore, we have time and opportunity to grow. This goes for our navy as it goes for many of the things that we are now building starting with the New Society.

Today, I am proud to report to you that we have acquired a distinct reputation as a nation that has posted achievements based not on our size or numbers but on enterprise, boldness, competence and lately on a new discipline that has added a greater sheen to the character of our people. And, of course, the Filipino soldier has always been known and noted for his valor. The forerunners of the men in the Philippine Navy proved this in the last war. All the fighting men, of course, in the last war had demonstrated this capability in the decades before that as we struggled for our rights and the realization of our dreams.

You will note the peculiar quality of courage, individual heroism and valor cited and quoted in the citations that have been read during the awarding ceremonies this afternoon. I note the participation of navy personnel especially in the fight against insurgents and subversives in the South. I have awarded the presidential streamer to a distinguished battalion, the second battalion of the Marines commanded by one of your outstanding leaders, Lt. Commander Asuncion, who incidentally, used to be with the Presidential Security Command. I have awarded also several gold crosses and a bronze cross and military merit medals, all for outstanding valor.

Thus, it is in this context that our small navy enjoys the affection and the confidence of our people. Not only in combat or in war but also in peace has the navy earned this accolade from the people, for there is something splendid in a small band of men struggling against great odds as during the war when our navy, still in its infancy, faced overwhelming forces and never once flinched in the fulfillment of their duty. In the same way, we look upon the life and times of our navy as the story of our country. The Philippines, from the time of its birth as a nation in modern times has had to struggle uphill, raising itself from the dust and the ruin of war, to begin the noble and

inspiring task of making itself in a worthy member of the community of nations, as well as worthy of our devotion, of our toil, of our sacrifices, of the sons and daughters who will come after us.

I like to think that the men and women who compose our navy today having in their veins and in their hearts the faith, the aspirations, the sublime compulsions and visions of our forebears who left comfort and comparative security to rise above tyranny and found for themselves a new country where freedom will be a touchstone of life. Thus, braving unknown seas, sailing frail boats, they immigrated to this land in the course of which adventure they developed unity, a comradeship and a brotherhood that was to stand the test of time.

It was that same spirit and inner compulsion which, if you will remember, brought glory to our aptly named Mosquito Fleet, small, fast Q-boats which during the war performed impossible feats to harass and halt the enemy, buying time for our forces. These exploits loom large today, I feel, in the minds of the men and women of our navy, and inform the activities and missions of the present-day navy. This I feel, has made your organization peculiarly fit and capable in facing up to the challenges of our times.

In performing your traditional role as the first line of defense archipelago, the navy has been not only ready and capable, but highly responsive to the needs of the hour. Though constrained by resources and operational limitations, our navy has continually grown, acquitting itself well with every mission it has undertaken. For instance in giving support to the ground elements of our armed forces, as in the early stages of our pacification campaign in the South, the navy played a crucial role in making mat campaign a success. The navy's effectiveness in every instance is, of course, the fruit of your realistic and unceasing training through bilateral and multilateral exercises. Of this, I am sure, all our navy officers and men are truly proud.

On this occasion, it is perhaps also timely and proper that I, on behalf of our country and our people, articulate the appreciation mat we have to our allies, especially to the United States of America, represented here by no less than Admiral Shelton and the head of JUSMAG, General Grimsley, who have been instrumental in helping us develop the Philippine Navy. Many of the units now composing the Philippine Navy have come, under one arrangement or another, from the United States government and the American people. For this, let us thank our American friends.

I am particularly gratified to find navy ships deployed not only all over our long coastline but also in more distant waters, serving in every area with distinction and fired by a single objective, to protect the integrity of our country. Our navy today is engaged in continuing and multifarious missions I such as the maintenance of navigational aids, search and rescue operations, weather patrol, ensuring the safety of life and property at sea, looking after boating safety, port safety and helping in solving the problem of pollution as well as committed to the enforcement of laws and regulations. Indeed, I find the Philippine Navy an example of dedication and sacrifice, worthy of the emulation of our people.

As your Commander-in-Chief, I consider it fundamental that armed services must have the sense of unity to the point where coordinating operations become an automatic reflex action. I find this cohesive spirit vibrantly expressed in the navy, particularly in the Marines. This unit of the navy; has served and still serves valiantly with other units of the armed forces in the still unfinished business of stabilizing peace and normality throughout the land. I repeat, the citations and awards and declarations this afternoon demonstrate this outstanding quality of the Marines, this band of men who have been committed repeatedly to the protection not only of the people's honor but also of the peace and tranquility of our homes.

No less remarkable is the herculean job of maintaining the logistics pipeline of the entire armed forces, which was accomplished by the navy through its military sealift and terminal command during the critical early days of martial law. You will recall that when the crisis in the South suddenly developed, we had to rely initially on our Air Force to airlift troops and critical supplies to the front. However, the rapid increase of the field operational requirements outweighed the physical capabilities of the Philippine Air Force, despite its heroic efforts and despite its use even of civilian air units. Thus, we realized that the momentum of required logistic support could not have been sustained without the Philippine Navy. And your organization responded with such high Spirit that the massive requirements for personnel and cargo transshipment were ably met. On another front the tremendous contribution of the navy is equally on record. I refer to the part played by the navy's terminal command in vigorous implementation of the

government's national electrification and infrastructure development program. I am, therefore, happy to commend the navy for these outstanding contributions to national progress even as it unflaggingly discharges its basic function as a potent arm of national defense.

There is no question that the navy has indeed contributed immensely to the general well-being and progress of our people, and I shall mention here only a few naval programs — the massive and effective home defense programs; this naval ferry in Cagayan; the floating clinic; your participation in the equitable distribution of oil, grains and other prime commodities; and the signal role the navy has played in the Pasig river beautification campaign. These are just a few of the navy's concrete contributions to the national interest for which our people are palpably grateful.

The navy is by all indications in the forefront in the equally important task, of developing a self-reliant posture. The launching of the RPS Tawi-Tawi this morning and the Patrol Craft Fast 325, the successful outcome of the first amphibian vehicle built by the navy completed only a few months ago, are again eloquent testimony to the imaginative efforts at making use of our indigenous resources as we stand out to achieve our objective of self-reliance. But self-reliance does not only mean the development of our internal military capabilities. It also means the development of allied civilian industries — these must be assisted and developed to enable them to extend a meaningful assistance to the national effort, especially in times of emergency. It is therefore, with this need in mind that I ask you to sharpen the growing awareness of our people about this necessity by procuring some of your requirements from qualified civilian establishments, and thus provide the starting point for the effective unification of existing efforts so that in time of need we shall be ready. This partnership in peace between the military and civilian sectors is not only an essential ingredient of self-reliance but also one of the fundamentals of the reformation we hope to institutionalize in our New Society and to infuse into our people.

Again, I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines in representation of 40 million Filipinos, extend commendation and congratulations to you, the Philippine Navy, your flag-officer-in-command Rear Admiral Ruiz, to the officers, men and civilian personnel of this organization. You have done well. We salute you on this day.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

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Message of President Marcos, The Competence of the Philippine Navy, February 8, 1974

THE COMPETENCE OF THE PHILIPPINE NAVY

BY PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

(Proposed remarks at the launching of the 87-Ft and 65-Ft Watercraft, Cavite Naval Shipyard, February 8, 1974)

I am proud to be here today.

I feel proud because these vessels that we are launching today are proofs of the creativity and resourcefulness of the Philippine Navy.

Exactly two years ago, I officiated here the launching of a 20-meter ferro-cement boat. Since then Admiral Ruiz tells me, ten vessels of different sized have been built and launched from this shipyard.

I remember that on that occasion I directed the Philippine Navy to develop a capability to design and to build boats and ships using Filipino resources. I can see that from the Flag Officer-in-Command down to the yard personnel, this order was taken literally to heart.

As your Commander-in-Chief I commend all of you for your good work and dedication. It pleases me to see that we have in the Philippine Navy men who can translate into tangible achievements our aspirations as a people. These are the men we need today not only to reform our society but to building the New Society as well.

I am, therefore, looking forward to the acceleration of the boat and shipbuilding project of the Navy. I want to stress that this project is an important component of the self-reliant defense program of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. We will continue to commit resources to this project in order to hasten transformation and the modernization of the Philippine Navy, as well as to extend assistance to the private sector consistent with our policy of replacing obsolete commercial vessels engaged in inter island and international shipping.

With the launching of these two watercraft, the Philippine Navy has proved that it has the developed capability to build some of these vessels that we need both for defense and development. I am sure that with additional facilities, it can design and build bigger ships.

The Philippine Navy, as with the other major services of the Armed Forces, has two principal roles in our national plans. Its primary task is to secure the territorial waters of our country, and its secondary, but no less important, task is to support our development effort;

Thus during the rice crisis, for instance, the ships of the Philippine Navy were used to transport rice and corn from the southern ports to Manila. The Navy is sealifting the bulk of the equipment for our national electrification program. This is not of course to mention the critical role that it played in the pacification campaigns in Mindanao.

I am already looking forward to the day when we shall be able to defend and patrol our shores with ships and vessels that our people have built. This day is not distant. From what I have seen today, I can say that we have already this capability. It is now a matter of nurturing this capability to its fullest development. This I intend to do.

Thank you and good day.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, The Meaning of Bataan Today, April 9, 1974

THE MEANING OF BATAAN TODAY

BY PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

(Speech at the Bataan Day celebration, April 9, 1974, Mt. Samat, Bataan.)

Once again we remember Bataan, and to those of us who had lived through that stirring time, the memory of that battle is still vivid and moving. But more and more there are among us who now regard with only passing interest the great struggle on that peninsula. As to the young Filipinos who came of age long after World War II, Bataan is now only a dim echo of a lost era, perhaps no more than myth told in quiet recollection by their elders. But it would be wrong for us to forget Bataan so easily and all that it had meant to our people, all that it revealed of our countrymen, particularly the nobility of spirit that made possible defeat in victory, a paradox that was to carry us through four years of cruel enemy occupation and bitter deprivation, and eventually to make us savor the sweet fruits of victory.

One Strong Bond

The soldiers who lived through Bataan could only deplore war, the needless waste of it, the brutal violence that maimed bodies and cut down the very young, and imposed tremendous demands on human endurance. But the soldiers also marveled at the generosity of men who even as they fought to survive could turn to a comrade and give comfort, or even give up their own lives so another may live. And there was the miracle of men refusing to accept the inevitability of defeat or surrender, as the enemy forces multiplied and the enormity of their engines of war loomed with crushing effect. That we could still look to hope and victory even as we narrowed down our hold on the peninsula spoke eloquently of the infinite capacity of man's mind to soar, to break the fetters of despair and to deny death. Even as the lights went out in Bataan, and finally in the hearts of our soldiers, we had looked forward to a new dawning of light, to a new day in our country when the devastation and the killing would cease, and we could stand upright once more and begin to build, to build fresh from the ground, and not only towering temples on our land, but also shining temples in the hearts of our people. We saw the brotherhood that embodied the resistance at Bataan as the one strong bond that would make our people rise from the ruins and build a new country, a better country, a freer country, and a country that could go forward into the future moved by the purpose and will of a united and inspired people.

Symbolic Cross

This soaring stands for, the spirit that made the soldiers, the nurses all those who stood fast on this hallowed scrap of earth and gave fully of themselves, seemingly a race apart. But they were not unique, as events were later to prove, for even as Bataan and Corregidor grew silent, there was a stirring in the land, in the hills and mountains, the towns and hamlets, of our country, as Filipinos of all ages seemed, to gather strength from the surrender on this peninsula, from the pain and the agony of our troops who were herded into prison camps, to gather a tremendous and irresistible will to continue the battle. And thus spontaneously the resistance forces were born, marshalled into fighting units, and through the four perilous years that ensued, which again reenacted Bataan in every region of our country, except now we were not an isolated, hemmed-in force, but a great wave that flowed back and forth, with the majority of our people enlisted in the fight, men, women and children, all fighting together under one flag, and with one purpose — to regain our freedom and to extend it through time.

I had known many of those fighting men, the majority of them unsung heroes, and I speak as well of the women and children who helped the resistance grow, who sustained the guerrilla fighter when he was wounded, or hunted, or hungry, or sick, or friendless. I knew the heroes in Bataan who died with bright dreams on their lips; who thought of the well-being of loved ones even as they sickened in the trenches and in desolate battlefields, conjuring up a vision of a better life for their children, when the smoke and the carnage had died down, and there was time to consider the edifices of peace, time to work and plan, and to invest life in this country with the power and the glory of fighting,

except that in that time, it will be a fight beyond survival, dedicated to the winning of the far frontiers of development and progress, of growth and prosperity, of a freedom that would never again succumb to greed and grief; nor to cruelty, nor to selfishness and vain glory.

A New Meaning

And it was in knowing them, and in following the gleam of their vision, that I left the narrow trail leading to my own personal search for a private place in the sun, to the larger field of public service.

I have never regretted this, and I have never regretted the decision to come to grips with the tragic turn of events that was leading our country back to the chaos and the wasteland of war. Today, as we gather here to remember that war, and particularly the turning point at Bataan, let us also remember that if Bataan had meaning then to our country, as the last bastion of freedom, Bataan today has new meaning for us, for all Filipinos, for even as we sought to survive terror and tyranny in that now distant time, Bataan today offers to the Filipinos of this decade the same indomitable will to survive, and beyond survival offers the same dream of making this land something more than just a place to find shelter in, a place that we could truly make our own by endowing it with the reality of our dreams, by giving to it the sweat of our brow, the wonders of our imagination, the achievements of our genius as a people.

A nation grows by the force of its achievements, the iron of its will to make something more than what may be seen by the eyes, to give life within its boundaries a quality that will shine in the dark and define for all time the character and worth of the people of that country. I like to think that in Bataan we had forged this kind of quality, out of the materials that Filipinos before us have provided, from the time we claimed our right to this country, through the changing centuries, through slavery and colonialism and through the first intimations of the great destiny we could make for our nation, through the wars and the yearning, the disappointments and disenchantments, the many surrenders and defeats, and the surging leap once more to possess ourselves and our future.

A Guiding Beacon

Bataan today has more meaning than at the time when we fought an invasion of an alien force, for today Bataan shines forth as the beacon to guide us through the new battles we must fight, not to throw back an enemy from without, but to conquer the enemy from within — everything that would deter us from our purpose, that would weaken our will to gain self-sufficiency, that would divide us and thus make us vulnerable to even greater defeats, that would throw us back to the old and corrosive ways that rob us of our spirit and our valor, that would make us lose faith in our own capacity for greatness, our capacity for achievement that would make us willing victims to a new kind of slavery — the slavery of ideology when that ideology runs counter to the Filipino grain. Bataan today means that we must adhere to the discipline that made the soldiers on that peninsula more than a quarter of a century ago stand up and fight, even when there was no point in holding a piece of real estate anymore.

Finally, Bataan should mean to us something of a light showing us our objective, if the objective then was to delay the enemy, the objective now is to move forward to the future. And there is greater challenge in this for the future is infinite, and winning one battle means fighting new and more battles. There is greater courage needed for we must face up not only to the odds on hand, but to the odds that we still cannot even see, and which we must have future generations of Filipinos to fight. And thus our job is to make the future generations strong enough, courageous enough, gallant enough, and motivated enough to continue to fight, and more than that, to triumph over their own formidable foes.

If we must give meaning to the Bataan that was, and give as much of ourselves to the Bataan that we face today, in the way the defenders of the peninsula gave of themselves, then we must press the gains we have already made in nation-building, particularly the gains we have made in making a new and purposeful Filipino, the Filipino of this new era who has proven beyond all doubt that he can accomplish things and conquer.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, Cooperative Endeavor in the New Society, April 18, 1974

COOPERATIVE ENDEAVOR IN THE NEW SOCIETY

BY PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

(Proposed speech at the 8th annual Assembly of the Government Employees' World League, GSIS Social Hall, April 18, 1974)

It is both a pleasure and a privilege to address the general assembly of the Government Employees' World War Veterans League, Inc., an organization that has done so much for the welfare and upliftment of our war veterans and of countless other workingmen in the country.

Worthy Causes

While it is understandable that an organization like yours should concern itself primarily with the interests of its own members, it is a matter of record, and for which you should feel justifiably proud, that your League has identified itself with the worthy causes of other groups of workers in the country and has strived as earnestly and tirelessly to secure for them the same benefits that you have sought for those of your own ranks.

This is as it should be. Indeed, it is on this concept of mutual help and cooperative endeavor that the New Society has been built. The government, needless to say, is doing all it can to alleviate the ills besetting our society and to improve the general well-being. But even with its vast resources and facilities, there are many things that by itself alone our government cannot accomplish. Private enterprise and initiative must come in and share in the effort.

The full realization of our goals in the New Society is the work of generations, both in terms of time and contemporary solidarity. Every citizen — the old and the young, the rich and the poor — all are needed. Everyone has his place and his useful of the benefits of common effort.

Initiative and Enterprise

Your organization has shown exemplary initiative and enterprise by broadening the scope of its involvement to include working for the interests of other groups as deserving of attention and concern as the most deserving among you.

Aside from helping obtain government recognition for deserving guerrillas and the extension of education, employment and other benefits to war veterans, your League has sponsored for supported measures and resolutions, most of them in the former Congress of the Philippines, aimed at improving the lot of the common man.

Your association, on its initiative or hand-in-hand with others, has sought the enactment of a Labor Code and the creation of a Workers' Bank. It has proposed or supported amendment to the Social Security Act to provide employment to voluntarily unemployed workers and has had a hand in the move to set up public-defender offices and government employment agencies throughout the country.

Your League has pushed the move for a national manpower and youth development program which is now being implemented on a nationwide scale. With others, you have worked unstintedly for the unification of labor and have pursued a vigorous campaign against illegal recruitment and other labor malpractices.

In short, your League has all but completely lost its distinct identity as a strictly veteran's organization by branching out and involving itself in numerous laudable projects and drives affecting all sectors of our working class.

Unselfish Stance

This selfless and unselfish stance commends itself highly to the attention and emulation of other civic groups and organizations in the country which should concern themselves not only over ways and means of securing more benefits for their members but should think as well, if not in greater measure, in terms of the great good they could accomplish working by themselves or cooperating with others in promoting the public welfare.

In my Notes on the New Society, I made an observation which I find most apt to recall here by way of a reminder. I said that the authority of government must be brought to bear whenever the ends of the New Society — that is, the promotion of the interests of the individual and the welfare of the whole — are not being served.

On the other hand, it should be obvious that individual enterprise will play a significant role in our society, particularly in the economic field. And while it is true that the distinction between the public and private sectors is formal, since each has its particular duties to the people and their society, there is nothing that should prevent the two sectors from joining together in a common cause.

Nation Building

It is in this spirit that I commend your League for its distinctive performance, especially in those aspects of it where it has gone out of its way to work for the interests of others — initiating projects of helping in the effort to alleviate or improve the lot of our workingmen, veterans and non-veterans alike.

Your current general assembly no doubt will continue to preoccupy itself with such matters and to strive even harder to devise ways and means of further contributing effectively to the tasks of nation-building. By your own performance, you have shown that this is possible and that the ways of doing it are indeed varied and rewarding.

Urgency of Increased Production

In passing I might mention that one area in which your involvement as individuals or as a group would be most desirable at this time, is where you could add the weight of your collective influence in helping bring home to the people the urgency of increased production,

We have to redouble our efforts in this direction as a means of counteracting the inimical impact of the energy crisis which has the whole world in its grip.

We must go on producing more for local consumption and for export — to boost our foreign exchange which we need more greatly than ever to support the additional costs of importing oil and capital goods.

Global Problem

The need for greater production has become a global problem, felt in varying degrees of gravity by countries around the world. Though we are comparatively better off than most developing countries in this regard, the problems we face are no less serious and demanding — problems which we can hope to surmount only through concerted and sustained efforts.

I have called upon our local officials to rally the people behind the drive for greater production, even as I now call upon you, as leaders and leading citizens, in your respective communities, to help similarly in arousing public awareness to this great need;

These are thoughts of compelling urgency which I leave with you for your serious consideration, along with my own personal greetings and best wishes for a successful and fruitful assembly.

Thank you, and a success to your undertakings.

Sources: National Library

Speech of President Marcos, The Government as Physician, April 24, 1974

THE GOVERNMENT AS PHYSICIAN

BY PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

(Proposed speech at the 67th annual national convention of the Philippine Medical Association, Cebu City, April 24, 1974)

It is for me a source of special satisfaction that at its annual conventions, the Philippine Medical Association has frequently expressed both an awareness of the national condition and a willingness to get actively involved in tasks directly related to popular needs. Last year, your convention theme was, "Health Care Delivery in the New Society," Similarly motivated, with an equally large view, is the theme you have adopted for this year's convention "The Physician in the National Health Plan."

A Fresh Impetus

Expressions of collective purpose like this provide fresh impetus to the program of national action that I am pursuing. They also confirm my conviction that the responsibility for the advancement of the Filipino people is accepted by all segments of our society, and that the task of fulfilling this responsibility is not an undertaking confined to a few.

I can assure you that. I value your support highly, and that your welfare as professionals will receive the constant and reciprocal support of my administration.

Man For All Seasons

The medical profession has always stood close to the center of my concept of national progress. I will go farther than the statement of your convention theme: I will say that the physician holds a vital place not only in the national health plan but in the total national plan. I cannot conceive of a plan of government that does not give prime importance to the struggle against disease, which, along with illiteracy, has been for countless decades one of the major obstacles to national growth. The total national program is therefore a program in which the medical practitioner, the trained and dedicated physician, is a man for all seasons. His constant presence is a requisite in any program that endeavors to succeed in liberating the entire national community from ancient ills.

At the beginning of my first term, I had occasion to point out that, according to surveys I had caused to be conducted, a very high percentage of our people, especially in the rural areas, lived and died without once seeing a doctor. This report signified two facts — first, the bleakness of life among a great majority of our people at the time; and second, the scarcity, and therefore the great value, of doctors in the country. I resolved then that the undertaking to rescue the common man from age-old neglect shall be pursued relentlessly with your help and with all possible resources.

Article of Faith

It is an article of faith in my program of government that the true measure of human progress is not the Gross National Product; it is not the Balance of Payments nor the heights to which the dollar reserves soar — although these have the if own important and peculiar place. The measure, rather, is the well-being of the individual citizen, the visible state of his person. When you apply this measure, you instinctively ask: Does he have a roof over his head? A shirt on his back? Is he secure against crime or injustice? Can he read? Can he think for himself? Is he healthy?

More than anything else, is he healthy?

Almost always, when we speak of the nation's well-being, we have in mind an idealized composite of pleasant and comfortable conditions, a happy state of economic stability, of high employment, of factories in full production, of good wages and high savings.

Seldom does the literal meaning of well-being occur to us — the simple, fundamental condition of personal good health. If a government program is thoughtful; if it is cast in humane dimensions; if it is geared to people and not to abstractions and statistics, surely it must consider the basic condition of the individual man, the wholeness of his limb, the reliability of his body functions, the soundness of his tissues and glands, the precision of his heartbeat. That is the well-being that I would like to see before everything else; it is the well-being to whose attainment I hope you and the government could cooperate and support each other.

Health Needs Paramount

I appeal to you to direct your energies, as we in government have been doing, to the planning and perfection of measures which could secure to the ordinary citizen the benefits of medical progress and science, for his own sake as a human being.

I need not point out that in the past, the man in the remote town or in the barrio received a degree of medical attention, if at all, because it was politically useful, because it would bring votes to a candidate. In the society we want to create, under the program of government I am endeavoring to carry out, the health needs of our people will be answered for no other reason than that they deserve our attention and our energies as well as our knowledge and skills. We will give to every man in this country what medical science and technology can provide because he is a Filipino, because he is a member of a community of human beings, and because it is for human beings that government is established and society is organized and maintained.

Government as Physician

It is not for me to call attention to the Hippocratic Oath, since you, more than anybody else, are acquainted with its language and its substance. I do wish, however, to relate it to the image I have in mind of the government as physician to the ills of the nation. By the standard of the Hippocratic Oath, the sick man is reason enough for excellence and sacrifice on the part of the physician. No physician worth his profession, can permit a man afflicted by disease or pain to be also a victim of discrimination or neglect: it is a poor and unfortunate physician indeed who will give his best skill and knowledge only to a patient who can reward him for his ministrations. Similarly, I shall be ashamed to remain at the head of a government which will not give service for the sake of service, or a government that needs first to ascertain the rewards of work before exerting effort and expanding energy to cure the afflictions of society.

Program of Assistance

To enable you and the medical profession as a whole to help government merit provide maximum service to the common citizen, especially in those areas blighted until now by apathy and negligence, we have drawn up a program for wider distribution of hospitals around the country, to correct the long existing situation in which hospitals proliferate in a few urban areas and the rest of the country is left with virtually none. The Medicare program is being expanded so as to include, if possible, every citizen in this country. The loan program for hospitals will be reexamined closely with the end in view of supporting the initiative for greater and more intensified service among private hospitals. The compensation and incentives program under Medicare will also be reexamined, for a similar objective. You have my word that everything possible is being done, or will be done, to make stronger and more effective partnership between government and the private sector.

You may therefore consider this an invitation to the medical profession to an enduring and more effective alliance with government.

Thank you and good day.

Source: National Library

Speech of President Marcos at the annual reunion of the U.P. Law Alumni Association, April 26, 1974

Speech of His Excellency
Ferdinand E. Marcos, President
of the Republic of the Philippines,
at the annual reunion of the U.P.
Law Alumni Association at the
Social Hall of the DBP Building,
Makati Avenue, on 26 April 1974.

You have bestowed on me the most distinguished alumnus award for 1973-1974, for which I thank you most sincerely my gratification becomes more complete as I recall to mind the truism that no person was ever honored for what he received; honor has been the reward for what he gave. At the same time, I remember the story that when a high official resigned from the government to become president of a multimillion international firm, he was awarded a medal after listening to the long and glowing tribute paid him, the honoree said: "I am sorry my mother is not here. She not only would have enjoyed this ceremony, but she would have believed every word of it." It has been a year since we last broke bread together at our annual reunion. The years, I am afraid, speed by faster than many of us care to remark; but I for one do not fear the passage of time. Victor Hugo, Titan of Freedom Literature, was once called upon to comfort a friend who had arrived at his 50th birthday and was depressed at the idea of growing old. "You should rejoice, my friend," Hugo told him, "that you have escaped your forties, which are the old age of youth, and have at least arrived at the age of fifty, which is the youth of old age."

A reunion is always a time for stocktaking. If I could, I would conduct a simple experiment to distinguish two types of human nature. I would gather a throng of people and put them into a ferryboat. By the time the boat swings into the river I am sure to find that a certain proportion have taken the trouble to climb upstairs in order to be out on deck and see what is to be seen as they cross over. The rest have settled indoors, to think what they will do upon reaching the other side, or perhaps lose themselves in apathy or tobacco smoke. But leaving out those apathetic, or addicted to a single enjoyment, I would divide all the alert passengers on the boat into two classes those who are interested in crossing the river, and those who are merely interested in getting across.

As alumni of the College of Law of the University of the Philippines, all of us gathered here tonight are to be classified, not only as those merely interested in getting across, but more characteristically as those interested in crossing the river. And indeed, at this point in our national history, we are crossing the Rubicon; our people are fording the stream of national destiny. Never in our progress as a nation has the rule of law been more crucial than it is today. As your humble head of state and head of government, I must confess quite candidly that the need for the support of the U.P. Law alumni in the total development efforts of the administration, has never been greater than it is at this time.

Recently, the bestseller lists in the United States have included a book written by Joseph C. Goulden called *The Superlawyers*. It is about the s-called Washington lawyer who is defined as an attorney who practices before the federal government in the American capital – a man of immense expertise, influence, and wealth. The book includes a story, perhaps apocryphal, of the corporation general counsel in the midwest who asked one such superlawyer what his company should do concerning certain tax legislation. After several weeks, the Washington lawyer responded, "nothing," and enclosed a bill of \$20,000. Unaccustomed to this style, the general counsel testily wrote that for \$20,000 he certainly was entitled to a more complete explanation of the recommendation. He got it. "Because I said so," the Washington lawyer said in letter two, and billed the corporation for another \$5, 000.

As U.P. Law alumni, many of you here tonight are the superlawyers in Philippine society, considered the best of the trial lawyers in the country. What does a trial lawyer do? A superlawyer would say that when he sits down at his office, he is confronted by a voluminous collection of facts. What he has to do is to winnow through them and find out what are most salient. He must organize them so he can understand them and put them into an orderly, logical sequence. Then he faces the burden of proving his case that is, presenting the facts as articulately and persuasively

as possible, in an effort to guide those who are going to make the decision. Of course, very few lawyers receive the unusual and pressure-filled course, or go through the arduous discipline, of a trial lawyer.

I have made this digression to emphasize that the new society needs men and women who think like trial lawyers – people who can sift the facts, present them articulately, and use them to guide the people who, are the ultimate judges of our efforts. As your President, I call on your appreciation of the facts as they existed before the new society was born. Constitutional opposition, so indispensable in a democracy, was repudiated with such cynicism that I was forced to conclude that the democratic order had broken down in the Philippines even before we were confronted with the martial necessity.

The legitimate opposition found common cause with the openly unconstitutional opposition consisting of the communist revolutionaries, in no time, the legitimate opposition became illegitimate, pursuing its ends outside of the democratic political machinery.

I had learned in our alma mater that a threatened constitution provides for itself its own means of survival. And it invests the exercise of this means in the highest magistrate bound by oath to protect and defend the constitution. The commander-in-chief clause of both the 1935 and 1973 constitutions not only protects the republic from its enemies but also indisputably sanctions the martial necessity without interjecting the supremacy of the military. Since the civil authority remains supreme over the military, the civil courts continue to exercise jurisdiction over the entire legal system, unless it is over crimes against the state. The constitution, therefore, provides for its survival in the democratic manner, using the instrument which is not only legal but moral in the highest sense. It places the proclamation of martial law under the rule of law.

No less than majority leader Mike Mansfield has submitted a report to the United States Senate with this statement: “Martial Law was declared and is being administered at this time on a constitutional basis in the Philippines. The military carries out the orders but it is the president who gives them. In this respect, the principle of civilian supremacy remains in the saddle.” Indeed, the new society is anchored on a new social contract: that the political authority will establish the priorities and promote the mechanisms of equalization, but it is the entire citizenry which must provide the work and accept the sacrifices.

To insure the people’s support and therefore the eventual success of our democratic revolution, I immediately took steps to formalize the acceptance of martial law through the adoption of a new constitution which was ratified almost unanimously by the barangays on 17 January 1973. This action was questioned in a petition filed before our Supreme Court in the cases entitled Javellana vs. Executive Secretary, et al., Raising the issue of whether I had the power to call a plebiscite and whether I could proclaim the ratification of the new constitution. In so raising this issue, the petitioners (who, incidentally were liberals or political opposition leaders) raised the fundamental issue of the power of the president under a proclamation of martial law to issue decrees.

In 1971 I submitted myself to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court – in the case of Lansang vs. Garcia on the question of the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. In 1973 I again submitted myself to that jurisdiction – for the Javellana case raised the question of the legitimacy of the entire government. Additionally, I proposed to meet the insistent suggestion that, in the event of an adverse decision, I would proclaim a revolutionary government or set up a dictatorship. For who is the dictator who would submit himself to a higher body like the Supreme Court on the question of constitutionality or validity of his actions?

Even more to the point, I wanted to emphasize that the revolution which I was leading was a constitutional revolution. It was constitutional in the sense that it did not depart from the strictures or limitations of the old and the new constitutions. The Supreme Court upheld our position in its decision of 31 March 1973, ruling that there was no further judicial obstacle to the new constitution being considered in force and effect.

We therefore now have a basis for the formalization of the political base of the new society. We also have the foundation of the legal structure of this society. We pursue a course relying on the political will, which makes political reforms imperative. Constitutionalism remains the basis of the present government constitutionalism that reaches down to the humblest level of the citizenry.

Tonight I make this assessment, that the gains in the political reorganization of our society have been substantial, but I would not call them satisfactory. We have tamed the old political habits, the old alliances between oligarchs and their political retainers; now we must uproot them. Only those succumb to backsliding who have lost their old privileges and thus miss their failing dominance.

To my fellow alumni, I appeal for a renewed sense of loyalty to the rule of law under the new society. We are engaged, more than anything else, in a crucial experiment for survival. We talk of a development program but it is the moral development of our race which is ultimately at stake. And I would recall to you that the law is the external deposit of our moral life; in the immortal words of the great justice Holmes "The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience." What more momentous experience can a nation undergo than to pass the crucible of constitutionalism and emerge tempered and poised for the cataclysmic task of national construction.

For the U.P. alumni who are devoted to the law – let us consecrate ourselves to the thought that the law has honored us, and may we honor it.

Source: National Library

Address of President Marcos on the occasion of Labor Day Celebration, May 1, 1974

LABOR – OUR GREATEST WEAPON

BY THE PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

(Address on the occasion of Labor Day Celebration,
Maharlika Hall, Malacañang, May 1, 1974.)

Mga kapatid kong manggagawa:

Ibinalita sa akin na ang pagtitipong ito sa bulwagang Maharlika ng Malakanyang ay ikakalat ng radyo at telebisyon sa buong bansa — sa Luzon, Bisayas at Mindanao. Salamat naman sapagka't sa pamamagitan nito ay ating maipahahatid and ating taos-pusong pagbati sa baw't manggagawang Pilipino sa muling pagsapit ng Labor Day. Itinuturing kong isang banal na tungkulin ang makipagpulong sa bayang manggagawa sa araw na ito — sa mahigit na labingtatlong milyong Pilipinong siyang bumabalikat sa kabuhayan nating lahat at siyang pumapasan sa madlang pananagutang pangkabuhayan at panglipunan sa ating bansa.

Dinaramdam kong iilan lamang ang maaaring makarating dito sa bulwagan ng Malakanyang. Ang napipisan dito sa kasalukuyan ay ang mga lider obrero na galing sa buong bansa. Napansin ko si kasamang Bert Oca, na siyang pangulo ng Pinagbuklod na Manggagawang Pilipino, na ngayon ay isa nang jobless ex-delegate sa Concon. Narinig ninyo si Johnny Tan sa kanyang pagbasa ng Labor Day Manifesto. Nakikita ko rin sina ex-Justice Rafael, Ignacio Lacsina, Felixberto Olalia, na may ilang panahong naging panauhin ni Secretary Enrile sa Camp Crame — datapwa't ngayon ay masugid na tagataguyod ng Bagong Lipunan. Nariyan si Democrito Mendoza, na siyang bagong Lapu-Lapu ng kilusang manggagawa sa Bisayas at Mindanao, nadiumano ay kasalukuyang lumulusob sa Luzon. Hindi ko nakikita si Dong Panong — ang kapatid na Cippiano Cid, na siyang tunay na kahalili ni Isabelo de los Reyes palibhasa'y Ilukano rin; balita ko'y maysakit at kami ng First Lady ay nakikiramay. At para kung nakita na bakante ang isang silya ditosa Presidential table — na siyang dapat maging luklukan ng kaibigang Pedro Fernandez na kasalukuyang nakaburo sa Funeraria Paz. Biglang nalugmok na lamang samantalang nangungulo sa isang kumperensiya para sa pagkakaisa ng kilusang manggagawa — isang dakilang kaibigan at gabay ng kilusan.

Napansin ko rin ang mga kinatawan ng mga unyon sa sugar industry: Zoilo de la Cruz, ng NACUSIP sa Negros at Panay at Ric Alconga, sa Gitnang Luzon. Di ko na kailangang ulitin ang mga pangalan nina Ancheta, Padilla, Suansing, at Arniego. Wala akong natatandaang Labor Day na hindi si Arniego ang tagapagpakilala — sapol ng unang ipagdiwang ang Labor Day sa Pilipinas buong panahon pa ni Isabelo de los Reyes.

Maging ang Muslim Mindanao ay may kinatawan — namasdan ko si Datu Blah Sinsuat ng Kotabato, Alam ninyo, si Datu Blah ay nagdala ng apat na pu't pitong mananayaw at mangangantang Muslim upang maghandog ng kanilang awit at sayaw sa amin ni Ginang Marcos, sa aming kaarawan; ang hirap ay napakaliit ng ispasyo dito sa Malakanyang, kaya't baka diyan sila mataboy sa grandstand sa Luneta, Gayon pa man ay lubos ang aking pasasalamat sa kagandahang-loob na iyan ng ating mga kapatid na Muslim sa Mindanao.

At nabanggit na rin lamang ay marahil dapat ko nang aminin na ngayon ay anibersaryo ng aming pag-iisang dibdib ng First Lady — ika-dalwampung kaarawan o ang tinatawag na “porcelain anniversary.” Ayoko sanang aminin na ito ay ikadalawampu na, sapagka't baka mahalata ang tunay na gulang namin ng Unang Ginang. Maniniwala ba kayong ang First Lady ay mayroon nang apat na pung taong gulang? Kung masdan ko, lalo na sa araw na ito, para bang hindi nagbago, bagkus ay lalo pang gumanda, buhat nang kami ay ikasal. At ako naman — kamakailan lamangay sinabi ng Time magazine. “The President of the Philippines is without doubt the most athletic chief of state in the whole world.” Naniniwala ba kayo rian? SI First Lady ay naniniwala rian, bagaman hindi gaanong lubos ang kanyang paniwala sa Time Magazine.

Tinatanggap ko ang paratang na iyon ng Time. Ang dahilan ay sapagka't nang ipasiya kong maglingkod nang puspusan sa ating bayan, ay itinalaga ko ang aking sarili na kung ako ang magiging instrumento ng aking bayan

upang isakatuparan ang kanyang mga layunin, dapati namang ang instrumentong iyan ay manatiling laging matalim(hindi mapurol) malakas, at laging handa sa anumang hamon o kalagayan. Sa isang dako, ang Panguluhan ay maaaring iwangki sa obrero. We both deal with conflict and tensions as a matter of daily occupational hazard. The Presidency has been described in fact as a permanent crisis; and the mastering of crisis is above all, a matter of self-mastery, — or self-discipline.

Martial Law and Unionism

The whole world by now knows that in the Philippines, martial law has developed into a unique form of government which combines firmness with compassion, order with justice, and force with equality. One of the great manifestations of this uniqueness is to be found in the field of labor relations. For the Philippines is probably the only country under martial law where trade unionism and collective bargaining go on freely and are encouraged and promoted by the State within the framework of voluntary or compulsory arbitration, and where all labor laws continue in their normal operation and effect. In several countries under martial law, free trade unionism is simply forbidden or is violently suppressed.

But under the New Society, we have guaranteed the right of the workers to self-organization and to free collective bargaining. In fact, more unions have been organized and more collective bargaining agreements have been signed under the New Society than in any comparable period in the past. Through their unions and their collective bargaining agreements, our workers are truly major participants in development — in its tasks and responsibilities as well as in its rewards.

7,000 Workers Reinstated

Through the National Labor Relations Commission, which I created under Presidential Decree 21 on October 14, 1973, we have not only maintained a dynamic system of free trade unionism and collective bargaining under the New Society.

We have also decided 8,531 labor disputes, resulting in benefits to 70,441 workers in the form of increases in wages and other terms and conditions of employment, separation pay, overtime pay, and other monetary claims arising from employer-employee relations. We have also caused the reinstatement of 7,189 workers considered illegal or unfairly dismissed by their employers.

From September 1970 to September 1972, only onset and certification elections were held. From September 21, 1972 up to the present, under the New Society, a total of 179 consent and certification elections were held, resulting in the recognition of 179 unions as new collective bargaining agents.

More CBA's

From September 1972, under the Old Society, only 425 collective bargaining agreements were concluded. From September 21, 1972 to the present or a period of one year and eight months, a total of 1,762 collective bargaining agreements were entered into by labor and management, each providing terms and conditions better than those signed under the old Society.

The National Labor Relations Commission in the Regional Offices of the Department of Labor, aided by Field inspection, has caused the payment of ₱7,945,229 to 17,758 workers under the New Society. In the Old Society, only ₱183,734 was restituted to workers during a comparable period.

Total workmen's compensation awarded under the New Society added up to ₱83,520,171, compared with only ₱54,198,419 during a comparable pre-martial law period, benefitting a total of 34,633 workers, many of whom were disabled by industrial accidents.

Because of the energy crisis and the global inflation it has set off, real wages in our country, as in the rest of the world, have suffered. Responding to the situation, I have ordered the payment of emergency allowances to all government workers earning ₱600 or less under Presidential Decree 390. I have also called upon all employers in the private sector to grant emergency allowances to their workers. The response of the private sector to my appeal has been encouraging; I like to hope that the momentum of compliance will be sustained.

Emergency Allowances

To date, since the promulgation of the appeal on February 18, 1974, in the form of Letter of Instructions 174, a total of 18,166 enterprises have already paid ₱37 million in emergency allowances to some 800,000 workers in all industries. Considering that there are an estimated 55,000 enterprises employing five or more workers all over the country, we shall expect more substantial compliance by the time of the next reporting deadline on May 7.

These emergency allowances, no matter how modest, constitute a vital investment in social stability and national solidarity. I therefore strongly urge all the capable employers to extend this aid to their workers as soon as possible.

More and Speedier Benefits

Early under the New Society, I ordered the implementation of the new minimum wages in the sugar industry — ₱11 for non-agricultural and ₱6, ₱7, or ₱8 for agricultural workers. The minimum wages in the sugar industry were further improved through the “pakiao” rates voluntarily established by workers and employers at the initiative of the Department of Labor.

Through the GSIS, the SSS, and Medicare, we have provided new medical, death, burial, survivor and housing benefits for the workers. On the other hand, I have raised today the maximum worker’s compensation benefits from ₱6,000 to ₱12,000. Moreover, as a result of the integration of workmen’s compensation security, to be administered by the GSIS in the government sector and by the SSS in the private sector, workmen’s compensation benefit shall now be paid speedily and on time to victims of work-connected injury and death.

We have provided jobs for our people not only in our new and expanding industries and but also in the world labor market. During the past year and eight months, we have provided employment to 60,000 Filipino workers overseas. Filipino talents and skills are becoming ubiquitous in many parts of the world. In 1973 alone Filipino workers abroad remitted an estimated 100 million dollars through our banking system. Returning Filipino workers have helped improve our skills and technological standards.

At the same time we have expanded and reinforced our training program under the National Manpower and Youth Council, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and the regular educational system, thus raising significantly the employability of our workers.

The Poor and the Rich

Today is Labor Day throughout the world, and the theme of many marches and parades is the great gulf between the poor and the rich. But not too many have remarked the great gulf of division and injustice between the rich countries and the poor countries. The workers in the rich countries are likely to be rich; the workers in the poor countries are likely to be poor. If the American worker earns twenty times the wage of the Filipino worker, the Japanese worker perhaps fifteen times, and the Taiwanese or South Korean worker three times his wage, the reason is not to be found in the shortcomings or deficiencies of governmental protection or in the militancy of trade unions, but in the level of development that has been attained and in the basic character of the labor market — whether it is in a state of scarcity or surplus.

Labor Supply and Demand

I do not want to disparage the efforts of the Government as well as the efforts of trade unions. Your own contributions to social justice are fundamental and irreplaceable. And so are those of the Government through the Department of Labor. But there is also merit to the accusation frequently heard that unions are insensitive to the plight of the unemployed. I do not want to believe that you are insensitive to the unemployment problem, because if you are, then this is a very myopic view. For so long as we have not overcome our chronic unemployment and underemployment, the presence of a large reserve of unskilled labor available at cheap prices will always act as a pressure to depress wages and working conditions, no matter how much protection the government may extend to workers by law, and no matter how militant the struggles of trade unions might be. For the price of labor is in the end subject to market determination, too, — to what we call the law of supply and demand.

Employment Program

The Government therefore has embarked resolutely on a national government program which is at the same time strongly employment-oriented. The fruition of development efforts especially in terms of employment requires gestation periods of longer or shorter duration. But we are at least sure that we have at last taken a basic direction which will provide the results we want — a direction which we hope by the end of this decade will change the character of our labor market from a surplus to a scarcity of unskilled labor.

With the mopping up of our labor surplus, the real wages of our workers and the real incomes of our people as a whole will go up dramatically in an irreversible manner. Only then can we reverse the spiral of unemployment and low wages into a spiral of prosperity. Only then can trade unions realize those conditions and that climate where their own influence in national affairs will increase — in direct proportion to the development of the country.

This point is so important that I feel I must refresh your memory about the statement I made before you on the last Labor Day last year. I said then that “unemployment is the real exploitation of labor.” I am glad to learn that the Conference of Asian Labor Ministers held in Tokyo from October 1 to 3, 1973, built its final communiqué around this theme. It said: “Unemployment” is the greatest exploiter of labor and the greatest threat to peace and prosperity.” And the report of the International Labor Organization/UNDP Comprehensive Employment Strategy Mission, which for short we call the Ranis Report, after the name of its leader, stated, and I quote : “In practical terms, this means that our

basic strategy must be directed towards a sustained increase in the incomes of the working families of the Philippines, an objective which can be accomplished only by mopping up, as quickly as possible, the unemployed and underemployed labor force. In other words, we fully agree with those who have called unemployment the worst exploitation of the working man.”

The Ranis Report

Now, the Ranis Report as you know is the product of intensive study by a 30-man task force of social scientists that came here from several countries and distinguished international institutions at my request. The ILO sent them and the UNDP financed their study. The mission conferred with responsible Filipino leaders in all fields — government, labor and management. Their study is the first major systematic assessment of our economy since the Bell Report and it sketches for our consideration policy strategies for the solution of unemployment and the improvement of the lives of our workers.

The major recommendations of the study happen to jibe with some of the major policy decisions that we have already made under the New Society the mobilization of the rural hinterland through small-scale and medium-scale industries, and the reorientation of our industry from import substitution to labor-intensive industrial exports.

I want on this occasion to thank the ILO and the UNDP for this valuable service to our country. I am glad to see that the director general of the NEDA, Dr. Gerardo Sicat, is here. He, together with the Secretary of Labor, was the focal point of the Ranis Mission in the Philippine Government. This Report is still considered classified. But now, at this moment, I order it declassified. I want it disseminated to all the organizations of workers and employers, as well as

the policy-makers of the Government, so that it can be exposed to a thorough scrutiny and debate and so that by this means the concrete strategies of development and employment which all sides can support, will crystallize.

(At this point, the President may hold up the 2-volume Ranis report for the TV audience; he can ask Secretaries Ople and Sicat to step forward and receive the Report.)

The Labor Code

At the onset of the New Society, I made it clear that all priorities must be reviewed in terms of development. Thus, in the first Cabinet meeting after the proclamation of martial law, I directed the Secretary of Labor to accelerate the codification of all labor laws to the end that they will be attuned to the demands of development and the promotion of employment. I directed him to consult with all the responsible men in labor, management and the Government; to purge labor laws of historic biases against employment and development; to streamline the administration of labor relations to make it more positive, more efficient as well as more just.

I recall that the National Tripartite Congress of 1973, representing labor, management and the Government, took up this challenge and evolved a draft Labor Code which you submitted to me on the last Labor Day. I have followed the debates on the code which continued throughout the year. I am glad that not only the workers' organizations, but also the various employer organizations, the NEDA and the Board of Investments have, endorsed this code. Since all endorse it must be either a work of wisdom or harmless work. I prefer to believe that it is the former.

Since the Code provides for a six-month transition period, there will be enough time and scope, I believe, for proper adjustments to be made, in any event, we shall, where necessary, cause amendments to be made to strengthen what experience will reveal as the weaknesses of any part of the Code. The code in fact introduces fundamental reform seeking to reorient labor laws towards the promotion of development, employment, enforceability and industrial peace based on justice.

What are some of these reforms?

Anti-Graft Precautions

The Labor Code of the Philippines reorient labor laws towards development:

- a) By purging labor laws of built-in leverages for graft on the part of labor enforcers and fly night labor leaders;
- b) By removing archaic and unworkable provisions of labor laws, and;
- c) By eliminating the permit system in labor administration without impairing the substantive rights and privileges and the umbrella of protection assured by law to the workers.

Permanent NLRC

Second, the Labor Code of the Philippines institutionalizes the National Labor Relations Commission established under Presidential Decree No. 21 in place of the old, discredited Court of Industrial Relations. Composed of one representative of the government who shall act as chairman and two representatives of labor and two representatives of management as members, the National Labor Relations Commission is attached to the Department of Labor rather than to the judiciary to make possible the speedy settlement of labor disputes unimpeded by legal and judicial technicalities, and to give the President of the Philippines a free hand in the direction and control of the labor relations machinery under the New Society. Procedures under the National Labor Relations Commission shall be non-technical, but they shall assure due process; hence, the guaranty of swift justice for all.

Transforms Workmen's Compensation

Third, the Labor Code of the Philippines abolished the present workmen's compensation system, which has become graft-ridden and unworkable, and integrates workmen's compensation benefits into the social security system to be administered by the SSS for the private sector and by the GSIS for the public sector. The integration of workmen's compensation benefits into the social security system will save the government at least P28, 000,000 a year in dubious workmen's compensation claims facilitate the prompt payment of benefits, assure payment of the meaningful compensation, save the government ₱12,000,000 in administrative expenses a year, and establish a new, major source of fund for economic and social development.

Overseas Employment Development

Fourth, the Labor Code of the Philippines establishes an overseas Employment Development Board and a National Seamen Board which shall undertake the systematic employment of Filipinos overseas and optimize the national benefits therefrom in the form of dollar remittances and improved skills and technology for our people. At the same time, the establishment of the Overseas Employment Development Board and the National Seamen Board in the Department of Labor shall mean the liberation of Filipinos seeking work here and abroad from graft, abuse and exploitation.

Government Corporations under Civil Service

Fifth, the Labor Code of the Philippines implements the provision of the New Constitution placing employees of government-owned and controlled corporations under the Civil Service Commission and mandating the National Assembly to standardize their salaries. The terms and conditions of employment in government owned and controlled corporations shall henceforth be fixed by law rather than left to the free, dislocating play of collective bargaining forces

Restructing Labor

Sixth, the Labor Code of the Philippines will eliminate the wasteful, and energy sapping anarchy and opportunism in the Philippine movement by restructuring and uniting by region and by industry. The immediate goal is to eliminate inter-union and intra-union rivalries and Old Society union politics which made unionism in the past an obstruction rather than an act of development.

Seventh, the Labor Code also embodies the Presidential Decree 27 which emancipates the tenant from the bondage of the soil and as laborer.

These features of the Labor Code demonstrate the truth of the claim that the labor laws have been revised to make them more responsive to development as well as to social justice.

I am therefore glad to sign in your presence this Labor Code of the Philippines into law and ask that you fully support its implementation.

(SIGNING CEREMONY)

In a world marked by sudden changes and growing uncertainty in the economic and political fields, amidst a ravaging inflation, the best defense any nation can have is to sustain its productive capacity and if possible increase its productive thrust. This is a challenge to management, but an even greater challenge to labor.

God has endowed us with rich natural resources, but our main blessing does not consist in that. It consists of our human resources. As the Ranis Report points out: "South Korea and Taiwan (and to some extent Colombia, Brazil and Pakistan) have utilized the combination of an entrepreneurial group, emerging via the import substitution maturation process, with an unskilled but high quality labor force, to initiate major industrial export drives.

Compared to her present potential rivals in this part of the world, the Philippines has substantial advantage in terms of both indigenous entrepreneurial capacity and the existence of a highly literate, high quality labor force. It is an advantage which is, however likely to erode.

As you can see, this strategic moment has arrived for us to employ to the fullest extent the greatest weapon that we possess and the competitive edge that we enjoy in the world economy — the highly literate and high quality Filipino labor force. With this we shall effect a major shift in our exports from land-based products to labor-based products. With this, we shall generate a massive industrialization of our countryside. With this we will achieve in less than a decade those conditions that will enable the Filipino worker to rise to the level of the most affluent workers in Southeast Asia.

A Charter of Rights and Obligations

I pledge to you that with your support, this aim will be realized. And I pledge to you that even as we accelerate our economic strides, even as enlarge steadily the size of our Gross National Product this growth will be the growth of the laboring man and the family — we shall see to it that growth will always be tempered by justice and development will always be weighed in the scales of the dignity of man. An earnest of this pledge is the Labor Code that I have just signed. Let it be accepted as a charter of human rights as well as a bill of obligations for every working man.

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Source: National Library

Proposed speech at the inauguration of the Population Center Foundation Building, South Superhiway, June 11, 1974

POPULATION GROWTH: A MATTER OF GRAVE CONCERN

BY PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

(Proposed speech at the inauguration of the
Population Center Foundation Building,
South Superhighway, June 11, 1974)

About two years ago, on April 21, 1972 to be precise, we gathered around these very same grounds to lay the cornerstone of this magnificent building. Today, we celebrate its completion and the start of the foundation's population program. There is much to be proud of and thankful for. To those who have worked for the completion of this building, my congratulations. And to those who have assisted us, my sincere gratitude.

Rapid Population Growth Cancels Gains

On an occasion such as this, I feel it is appropriate if not necessary restate the vital issues that stem from the problems of growth and national development, the policies and the direction we must pursue to overcome the pressures and strains of a rapid population growth rate.

We cannot overemphasize the fact that our rapid population growth erodes the economic gains we have painstakingly worked for and earned. Attrition of our economic and social growth will continue unless effective and appropriate measures to control population growth are instituted and made an integral part of national planning and development.

The problem that faces us is the problem of inadequate resources coupled with the uncontrolled increase in the number of consumers of these resources. We can do either or all of three things first, improve technology; second, improve land utilization or, if possible, increase the land area; and third, decelerate population growth.

We are in fact doing all these things. Through technology we are improving the productivity of both agriculture and industry. Through more rational land policies, we intend to make better and more efficient use of our land. And of course through this foundation and the Population Commission we are engaged in a massive effort to arrest our population growth.

Social and Political Pressures

But it is not sufficient to say that population growth merely strains our economic growth. It is productive of other social and political pressures that threaten the social well-being of our people. It is for these reasons that I have always regarded our national population program with deep concern.

The Context of our Population Policy

However, in the pursuit of solutions to our population problems, I have always stressed that these problems should be perceived in the context of our own necessities, resources, culture and socio-political structure. Whatever may be said of population problems of other developing countries, particularly of developed countries may not always be true of our country. It is essential that we adopt strategies that are relevant to the traditions and ways of our people. This delicate and personal problem is deeply rooted in tradition and culture and requires measures that recognize and respect the beliefs and convictions of our people. Thus, we have and will continue to adopt a non-coercive policy. And I enjoin all concerned in our program, those in the government, private and religious sectors of our society to uphold and safeguard this fundamental policy. It is the Filipino way. I take this opportunity to dispel all fears, if

there are any, that this program will in anyway enroach on the individual's right of freedom of choice and self-determination.

Effective Integration

I have also pointed out that the approach to our population problem should be a total approach. An approach that considers all factors germane to it. Consequently, we must continue to integrate population and family planning into all our development programs: education, health, labor, community development, agriculture, welfare and above all in national planning. Only through a process of effective integration can we expect to achieve a sustained and comprehensive effort that will yield meaningful gains. The problem of population cannot be viewed in isolation of other problems. It is essentially related to development, to human development and all its facets.

The Role of the Private Sector

Corollary to this, no one institution alone or even government itself can provide sufficiently are effective measures. There must be the total involvement of everyone. And I am pleased to see the private sector take up this challenge. The Population Center Foundation, a private institution, is pledged to support a more vigorous and expanded participation of the private sector, it is precisely this type of cooperation and working relationship that government seeks of the private sector in its effort to attain national prosperity.

To Reach the Barrios

Finally, a reassessment of our performance shows quite clearly that we must redouble our efforts to increase the outreach of our family planning services. We must zero in on the youth and on young couples.

It seems that the conventional methods of providing family planning services must be augmented by more practical and effective delivery systems. Despite the fact that we have established 2,500 family planning clinics, I felt it was necessary to authorize through Presidential Decree 79 paramedics to provide the family planning services that have heretofore been furnished by doctors. The barrios must be reached. Since most of our doctors are found in urban centers we must field paramedics to the barrios where the need for these services is critical.

A simultaneous and equivalent effort to inform and educate our people is a sine qua non of effective family planning practice. Unless we enlighten and educate our people in the need and benefits of family planning, our efforts, in the main, will fall on barren ground.

A Grave Responsibility

These are the directions we must pursue with vigor and determination. The responsibility is grave and it rests on everyone. Again, I wish to congratulate the Population Center Foundation for its pioneering work in mobilizing the participation of the citizenry. I also wish to thank all those who helped us in one way or the other to make this foundation a reality. On my part, I shall match the foundation's efforts to improve the quality of life of our people with equal concern and zeal.

Good day and thank you.

Source: National Library

Address of Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo in the celebration of the First Anniversary of the Philippine Independence Day-Banquet and Ball held by the Filipino Community of the City of New York, July 4, 1947

Address
of
Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo
Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations
In the celebration of the First Anniversary of the Philippine Independence Day-Banquet and Ball held by the
Filipino Community of the City of New York

[Delivered at Waldorf-Astoria, July 4, 1947]

The anniversary we observe today is a two-fold one: it is in a manner of speaking, both a birthday and a wedding anniversary. The self-same hour that witnessed the glorious birth of the Republic of the Philippines witnessed also the solemn ritual of our people's indissoluble union with liberty.

This also is a double anniversary. It sheds its benign light with equal splendor on the American people and the Filipino people. It symbolizes their single victorious purpose in war as well as their resolute common purpose in peace. It holds for both the same joyous memory of fulfillment and the same inescapable challenge to vision and enterprise.

Anniversaries are for looking backward. They are for taking stock of the things we have done as well as of the things we have left undone, and we pause in our endeavors in order that we may measure our achievement by the yardstick of our original purpose.

But anniversaries are also for looking forward. They are for fixing the vision anew on the goal that lies ahead, and we pause in order that we may measure the distance we have to travel by the yardstick of our collective will.

I emphasize the sober mood of inventory far more than I do the inebriate sense of simple rejoicing and glory, and for a good reason. This, after all, is for the American people the one hundred and seventy-first anniversary of their independence, while it is only the first anniversary of our own. Americans can look back upon many long years of consistent and fruitful endeavor in freedom, and they can afford to rest, as it were, upon the laurels of wealth and power they have won. We, on the other hand, have many long years of travel ahead of us, and we can ill afford to be distracted from our labors by any emotional excursions empty of content.

In observing this Fourth of July, we Filipinos have this significant advantage: that for our generation independence is much more than a mere memory hallowed by tradition and custom; it is, instead, a precious experience which we have lived and shared, and therefore a powerful source of direct encouragement and inspiration. Not by rote nor by the testimony of historians do we know that this indeed was the hour of our freedom, but rather by the personal knowledge of the vision we have pursued, the sacrifice we have borne, and the suffering we have endured. For us "the rockets' red glare" and "the bombs bursting in air" are matters of first-hand experience denoting Bataan and Corregidor, Leyte and Lingayen; and when we sing of beholding the radiance and feeling the throb of "glorious liberty," we know that the words have reference to something our own eyes have seen and our own hearts have felt. The quickened pulsation of the blood tells us better than any twice-told story of heroism the true meaning of independence.

In the mood of inventory to which I have already referred, I propose now to examine the true meaning which independence should hold for our people. I would say, first of all, that independence has become for the Filipino people an opportunity rather than a privilege, and that it implies moral obligations more than it assures juridical rights. While independence may appear to be a privilege to those who do not possess it, it is an opportunity to those who do. And those who do possess it shall make nothing of it until they realize that independence has positive value not as an end in itself but as a source of imperative moral duty.

In its narrowest sense, independence means living by one's own effort. However, in the world as we know it, independence of this sort is neither possible nor desirable. It is not possible for any nation, however rich or powerful, to live by itself alone, nor is it desirable that it should be so even if it could. It is an ancient tenet of religion that all men are brothers; it is an equally self-evident truth of modern science that all nations are neighbors. Yet neither religious tenet nor scientific truth has cancelled the essential merit of the ideal of independence: that every nation, like every man, must strive for a certain measure of freedom by being self-sufficient in the primary essentials of life, secure in the conditions of peace and order which make life supportable, and rich in the attributes of respect and dignity which make life worth living.

Measured by these tests, our young Republic may be said to have made remarkable progress in the brief span of one year. Rising from the wreckage of a destructive war, our people have wrestled with the problems of political reorganization, economic reconstruction, and social regeneration with high resolve and enthusiasm. The Government of the Republic is functioning on a sound constitutional basis. The will of the people continues to be expressed in periodic elections as provided by law. The basic civil liberties which are guaranteed to the citizen by the Bill of Rights are meticulously respected by the agencies of the State and by the courts. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly remains unimpaired and is in fact upheld by the government under conditions which might have induced a less enlightened leadership to establish restrictive regulations or even punitive measures in the ostensible interest of peace and order. For the first time in nearly two decades there is in the Philippines today a real party of the opposition whose existence is generally recognized to be essential to any genuine form of representative government.

In the field of economic reconstruction, the most encouraging sign is to be found in the upward trend of productive enterprise. An impending rice famine has been averted by increased production of this staple cereal supplemented by imports from Siam and the United States. The production of copra has risen to pre-war levels, while the production of abaca, or Manila hemp, is now sixty per cent of the pre-war output. Crop loans to private producers and government-owned corporations devoted to the encouragement of the production of cereals and of the principal export commodities, including sugar, are certain to bring about a more speedy restoration of the national economy than was at first anticipated.

American financial and material assistance has been assured and is now being extended in accordance with the Philippine Trade Act and the Philippine Rehabilitation Act. This has made possible the initiation of a large-scale program of public works construction, including public buildings, schools and hospitals, railways, roads and bridges, post and telegraph offices, harbors and air navigation facilities, our weather observation and lighthouse service. Furthermore, our Government is now ready to resume the program of light industrialization which was rudely interrupted and set back by the war, including the reopening and expansion of cement and textile factories, sugar and oil mills and refineries, lumber mills and fertilizer plants, and the development of water power. The acquisition of surplus property worth half a billion dollars has greatly facilitated the restoration of essential public services. In addition, the discussion of the Japanese reparations program has advanced to such a stage that the Philippines may soon confidently expect the transfer from Japan of a number of important industrial plants and equipment.

The entry of foreign investment capital, especially American capital, and the extension of American technological assistance are also assured under these enactments. At the same time, our Government, by establishing the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation and by assisting other banks and credit institutions, is giving every encouragement to Filipino citizens to apply their skills and talents to the exploitation of the country's natural resources.

The Philippine Government has secured budgetary loans from the United States which were needed to help tide the country over the current period of financial stringency. There are two things worth noting about these loans: first, that the state of utter economic prostration in which the Philippines found itself at the end of the war would have necessitated such loans whether the country were independent or not; and second, that the economic potentialities of the Philippines are such that these loans will be repaid as soon as the productive capacities of the nation can function normally and the system of tax collection is restored and reorganized. The United States has extended loans and outright gifts to various countries of the world, and I believe that Americans will agree with us when we say, quite candidly, that no country is better entitled to such assistance than the Philippines. At the same time, we also dare to affirm that few among these beneficiary states are in a better position to pay for every cent received than the

Philippines. We wish to reassure the American people that these loans are gilt-edged investments guaranteed by collateral of the soundest character. The Filipino people, furthermore, consider them as investments in good will that will be repaid in full, with substantial interest, in kind. It is only necessary to add that the Philippines should be given sufficient time to settle these obligations—an extension of from three to five years, perhaps, to allow for the rehabilitation of productive enterprise.

The upward trend of the cost of living, which is a post-war economic malady not confined to severely devastated countries like the Philippines, has not only been arrested but shows encouraging signs of leveling down. Increased production will hasten this process. In the meantime, the Government has sought to relieve the tense agrarian situation by the enactment of a new Tenancy Law providing for the unprecedented 70–30 crop-sharing plan; that is, 70 per cent for the tenant and 30 per cent for the landlord. The Government has also launched a new attack on the agrarian problem by purchasing private landed estates for redistribution to the farmers and by reviving the pre-war program of establishing agricultural settlements in new areas. In the field of labor-management relations, the Government has prevented or cut short several major strikes through mediation and arbitration by the Court of Industrial Relations, while at the same time permitting the growth of a labor movement that is more extensive and more vigorous than any existing in the Philippines before the war.

Despite its difficult financial position, the Philippine Government has accomplished prodigious feats of social regeneration. It has provided schooling for a greater number of Filipino children than before the war. It has distributed relief to the needy from UNRRA supplies and other foreign sources as well as from voluntary domestic contributions. It has reopened hospitals and public dispensaries throughout the country. It has approved a Veterans Bill of Rights under which a Veterans Board has been created to administer pensions, educational benefits, and hospital facilities to veterans, war widows and orphans. By persistent and effective representations to the American people and government, the administration has secured appropriate recognition and reward for our valiant guerrilla fighters, and stands an excellent chance of obtaining similar concessions for Filipino veterans of the USAFFE.

In reciting the efforts and achievements of the Government of the Republic during the first year of its existence, it is not my intention to ignore the shortcomings and difficulties, the entire complex of the multitudinous problems which continue to plague our people and Government today. There are serious problems of criminality and gangsterism, of graft and black marketeering, of shortages and inflation, of unemployment and low wages, of disease and deteriorating public health, of agrarian unrest and military operations against armed dissidents, of slow-moving treason trials and of insufficient faith in government. Though I will not attempt to gloss over these matters, I feel bound to declare that most of these criticisms are made in deliberate disregard of the facts which condition the existing situation. Foreign critics, but especially American critics, speak of the situation in the Philippines as if the country was not twice ravaged and laid waste in the space of four years, as if the Filipino people were unscathed by the ruthless acts of a brutal occupation, indeed, as if the war that despoiled our country and people had been solely of our own making and responsibility. A sense of proportion would seem to dictate that conditions in the Philippines be viewed in the proper perspective and that the faults of government be considered against the background of the almost total collapse and disorganization of Philippine life as the result of war. Without condoning instances of corruption or incompetence, such an attitude would give praise or blame as the facts require. Judgment would be tempered by sympathetic understanding, and a sick nation, no more than a sick man, would not be required to give a performance equal to that of one which is hale and sound.

The inadequacies of Philippine life today are not peculiar to the Philippines. Most countries have them in a greater or lesser degree, including those that suffered no direct physical or moral damage from the war. There is hardly any criticism now being leveled at the Philippines which cannot, with equal justice, be leveled also at the City of Chicago or the States of Mississippi or Missouri or South Carolina, and this latter without the partial justification which exists in the case of the Philippines. Furthermore, our critics would most certainly have a much sounder basis for judging the conditions in the Philippines today if they were to read up on the history of other countries—like the United States, for instance, on July 4, 1777—one year after their independence. They will find that the picture was nowhere pretty at any time—certainly not of the United States where there also was great insecurity of life and property and where there was a movement supported by respectable people to replace the Republic with a monarchy and make George Washington a king.

It is not my purpose to excuse the faults of our Government by citing the faults of another. My purpose rather is to show that we Filipinos are ourselves sharply aware of these deficiencies, and that our frank recognition of their existence is in itself a beneficent act of conscience which constitutes the first step in the process of healing. We know these shortcomings to exist, we do not avert our eyes from them, nor do we wish to conceal them from the eyes of others. We are confident that the conscience of the nation, reacting to every evidence of negligence or incompetence, corruption or abuse, will fashion the necessary remedies in accordance with our laws and constitution, and in the interest of a more perfect democracy.

For the things that have been accomplished so far, the credit goes, in the first instance, to the recognized leader of the Filipino people, President Manuel Roxas. A man of solid achievement in Philippine public life, trained almost from young manhood for the responsibilities of leadership, he has sought to put our nation on its feet by methods of self-help supplemented by every available assistance from the United States of America. Faithful to our country and our people, loyal to our Constitution and our laws, he has held before his vision, in admiration and a guiding star, the liberal, humane, and democratic institutions of American life.

This faith in America, this admiration for American institutions, account in great part for the strong pro-American orientation of our foreign policy. In a score of public addresses since his induction into office, President Roxas has underscored the fact that the Republic is, in his own words, "committed to the cause and international program of the United States of America," whose friendship is the "greatest ornament of our independence and raises us far above the level of our intrinsic power and prestige." Such sentiments, one might add, come natural to a man who is one of the finest products of the American public school system in the Philippines, and who has served with courage and distinction under the American flag in defense of American ideals.

This spirit of intimate collaboration and alliance has already been enshrined in, and validated by a number of treaties and agreements. But over and above such written affirmations of common purpose are the sentiments of mutual faith, affection and gratitude which have outlived the moment of political separation and which are so deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of both our peoples that there shall be no need whatever of reducing them to the form of a polite diplomatic instrument. The Filipino people know, as the American people should know, that the independence of the Philippines was a historic act of mutual consent and consideration between two peoples, and that its ultimate success or failure will depend equally upon the capacity of the Filipinos and upon the willingness of the Americans to exhibit continuing evidences of their friendship and esteem.

Such evidences of improved relations between the Philippines and the United States have been of a most encouraging character. The relations between the American troops stationed in the Philippines and our civilian population have eased up considerably as a result of the sincere efforts of the authorities on both sides, specially Major General George F. Moore, to reduce or remove the causes of friction. Even more heartening are the new proofs of generous consideration which the United States Government has shown in giving heed to the claims and grievances of our Filipino guerrillas and veterans of the USAFFE. The cloud of misunderstanding and resentment arising from the failure to give appropriate satisfaction to these grievances is fast lifting, and we have every hope of resolving all remaining issues in an atmosphere of mutual regard and consideration.

The commitment of our young Republic to the cause and international program of the United States of America has a wider implication than is apparent at first glance. That policy commits us with equal force to the cause of the United Nations of which the United States was one of the principal organizers and of which the Philippines is a loyal member in good faith and in good standing. We have, since San Francisco, given to the organization our full and ungrudging allegiance. By express will of our people and Government, we are pledged to continue giving our loyal support to the United Nations. We shall do so, not merely because it is our desire to honor our signature on the Charter. We shall do so because in our hearts we know that in the United Nations lies the last great hope of mankind—for peace and justice, for prosperity and survival. More potent, in the end, than any aggregation of troops and armaments or system of fortifications or treaties of military alliance is the establishment of One World which shall stand as the bulwark of the security of all.

The independence of the Philippines has imposed another obligation of supreme importance upon the Filipinos. We were the first country in Asia to break through the wall of colonialism which had been built for centuries around that rich and populous region. We have a duty to lead the way, and to continue leading the way, until that wall is

crumbled completely and all the oppressed and exploited nations are free. The President of the Philippines, realizing the historic responsibility of our people in this field, has expressed on various occasions his whole-hearted support of such a policy and has given me a special commission, in his official letter of instructions, to give it the most emphatic endorsement. Insofar as I personally shall have the opportunity and the power to give expression to this desire of our people, and to comply with the President's instructions, I shall endeavor by word and deed, in the councils of the United Nations or elsewhere, to support the legitimate aspirations of all peoples to freedom and independence. For I consider that it would be disgraceful for us Filipinos, having won our freedom, to remain silent or to stand apart in selfish isolation while the anguished voices of our less fortunate brethren in Asia cry out for liberty.

I said, in the beginning, that it was my purpose to speak to you on this occasion in a mood of sober reflection. The nature of the work we have done as well as of the work we have yet to do certainly requires an attitude of honest self-examination. The nature and magnitude of the problems that beset our young Republic compel us to gather our forces anew for a supreme exertion of heart and mind and muscle. There must be no relaxation of effort. While yet the injuries of a long and bloody battle remain, we must face the challenge of another equally arduous and exhausting.

Though our Republic is young, our people are old in the endurance of battle and in the experience of suffering. The centuries of our history have taught us lessons in patience, in courage, and in determination to which no exhortation can add one jot of meaning. The future can place no burden upon us more onerous than we have borne in the past. A generation that, like ours, has already borne the crucifixion of the Japanese occupation can bear any responsibilities which the future may bring. We know the measure of our strength as a people, and by this strength we shall measure the remaining tasks that await us in buttressing our independence and in establishing upon a more stable foundation the Republic of the Philippines.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the presentation of the “Tawid” Awards for 1973, July 25, 1974

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the presentation of the “Tawid” Awards for 1973 by the Ilocano Heritage Foundation

[Delivered at the Cultural Center of the Philippines, July 25, 1974]

The Meaning of the “Tawid” Award

IT IS MY great pleasure to be associated with these ceremonies in honor of our ten outstanding brethren.

We pay tribute tonight to these exemplars whose achievements have ennobled both our life and the public service.

To them we offer not only the “Tawid” awards, but our lasting appreciation for the invaluable contribution they have made to society.

Our awardees constitute a distinguished roll of honor. Justice Fred Ruiz Castro, Dr. Andres V. Castillo, Dr. Salvador P. Lopez, Dr. Mauro Baradi, Commissioner Juan Agcaoili, Secretary Jose D. Aspiras, Don Santiago Fonacier, Dr. Santiago de la Cruz, Prof. Domingo Paguirigan and Prof. Nicolas Zafra — these are men who have brought honor both to the Ilocanos and to the Filipino race.

In honoring them, we ask our fellow countrymen to follow their examples. We do not ask of course that every citizen duplicate their deeds, but simply to match their qualities and values.

Achievement assumes different dimensions. There is the act of valor on the battlefield, the triumph of discovery in the laboratory, or the writing of an epic. But there are also acts of quiet achievement, such as the capacity to improve one’s self, the exercise of extra effort on a job, the passion to live the useful life, all of which may not seem dramatic but which nevertheless lead to self-fulfillment and contribute to the betterment of our fellow men.

The Ilocano is said to be the most frugal Filipino. He is reputed for his industry and pioneering spirit. We look around and we see that these and other virtues have become part of the national character. We have done away with the negative habits of the past to become a more purposeful and dynamic people.

This transformation is timely and necessary as we embark on a new era of nation-building. We have inaugurated a new season of development that reflects the authentic demands of our people rather than the interests of the axis of old society politicians and economic powers.

With the founding of the New Society, we have forged a new national will and purpose. We have reordered our priorities and mobilized all resources to support our urgent programs. But the key factors in our undertaking are not only natural resources and capital wealth. We have to strengthen our national character, firm up the collective backbone that is necessary to carry out the agenda for reforms.

There are many expressions of the transformation in our moral and spiritual infrastructure. The lives and deeds of our honorees are one. I think they encapsulate the new achieving spirit of the Filipino. Our honorees are a reflection of the new ethic.

We must go on perpetuating this ethic. We should sing and celebrate this temper in the same manner that we seek to preserve our beloved *dallot*, which is a dying tradition. I hope that the example set by the awardees will inspire our youth to lead lives of excellence and industry.

I am also pleased that tonight we shall again hear the *dallot*. I note mat the Ilocano Heritage Foundation, in addition to recognizing excellence in fields of specialization, is also interested in the promotion of art, culture, literature and history.

I commend the Foundation for its interest in these concerns, in preserving — in this instance — Ilocano folk art and traditions. Even as I call for national unity and concord, I have taken the position that our ethnic and cultural practices should be preserved and protected. I have sought, for example, the fullest promotion of Muslim art and culture. We can achieve brotherhood even in the diversity of our customs and traditions.

I believe, therefore, that the Foundation itself deserves an award. Perhaps we can extend this honor on another occasion. But speaking of the ‘Tawid’ awards, I would like to believe that we are giving these out tonight not only to the honorees themselves, but to the new breed of Filipinos who have made reforms and changes in our society possible. Beyond being individual awards, the ‘Tawid’ awards are a recognition of the finest and best in the Filipino.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1979). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 5). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos, A Homage to Heroes, August 25, 1974

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand Marcos
President of the Philippines
A Homeage to Heroes

[Released on August 25, 1974]

Let me address myself this time to the young men of my generation, who, thirty-two years ago, exercised the ultimate freedom of choosing to die in battle rather than surrender.

It is to them that we owe the homage of remembrance, and they are, to begin with, part of the human constituency of the dead, the living and the yet-to-be-born that is the People.

I shall speak in personal terms, for although heroes belong to the collective memory— and conscience — of the race, we must yet regard them according to the individuality and wisdom of our singular experience.

Thus, to you, fallen and gallant comrades, I must speak within the context of the times, a time of anti-heroism and anti-heroes, a time when the heroic gesture is measured against the needs of, the moment. For three decades, we have transformed your glorious legacy into functional use, making of your gallant stand the inspiration of the given moment.

The essential meaning of your valor lies in the achievement of a dream that was unfulfilled in life. There was a time when many of us took your pledge to perish rather than to yield as the act of men who fought with former conquerors that we may not be conquered again.

Still, this was not enough. The eloquent rhetoric of the day placed Mt. Samat on the anvil of progress.

Thus, it had been said over and over again that you died that we might live in happiness, freedom and prosperity, that the purchase of your blood might be justified in terms of a growing GNP. You died, indeed, for a standard of living, low prices, abundance of commodities, and efficiency in the public service. And when all these did not transpire, there was a great temptation to say that you died in vain, without understanding that the question of your heroic meaning was meant to justify the existence of the living.

It is true that your valor, consecrated to the freedom and dignity of the race, was succeeded by an arrangement in which the community of the under-privileged many supported the society of the privileged few. The inequalities in privilege and opportunity, in comfort and convenience, between the few who were rich and the many who were poor have been all too evident three decades after your finest hour in Bataan.

This was a real outrage to the sensibility, for how could a race which spawned at least two generations of young heroes suffer the impoverishment of the poor, the luxuries of the rich, and the fluctuations of the world economy?

If this be your dream, as many orators have suggested, know then by a stroke of destiny, by the recognition of implacable necessity we are beginning under the new discipline, to see our workers more productive, our bankers count their coins, our factories operate with maximum efficiency, and our scenic spots overwhelmed by tourists and their dollars. We are counting the economic blessings brought about by the decrees of the New Society, for these blessings are, I understand, an integral part of the dream which made you shed your blood here in Mt. Samat.

And yet I am troubled, and, perhaps, I am not alone. Philosophers and thinkers, incisive observers of the human scene, tell us that no one revolts for a standard of living. They tell us that human beings are moved by moral

sentiments such as justice, liberty and equality. They speak to us of gallant gestures and heroic acts, gratuitous in the real sense, so that courage goes without compensation, resolution without calculation, and sacrifice without remuneration. They say that these are qualities – “crisis qualities”—which place men above “dumb, driven cattle.”

And so while widows, sweethearts, relatives, friends, and compatriots, commemoratively mourn your physical death, I mourn your spiritual demise. Heroes in our time cast long shadows in the life of the living, inspiring them to the valorous deed for the sake of valor, for what is fine, exalted and selfless in man. Theirs was the discipline of living life according to the full exercise of one’s faculties, aspiring to the virtue that is characteristic of man.

No man should live in penury, no child should be born in the hovel, but we have somehow come to believe that penury and the hovel spell the destruction of human spirituality. Possessed with the materialism of the times, we would prefer the abundance of goods to the quality of our lives, and to a large extent, equate quality with affluence.

It has not been enough that we have liberated ourselves from the dependency of the past, that in claiming our destiny, we have the rare opportunity of turning the tide of mendicancy, helplessness, and passive expectancy. We have, by our own efforts, in daring to live dangerously for a purpose, averted the tragedy of a society awaiting passively the hand of its executioner. We would rather apply ourselves to the abundance of goods than to the efflorescence of faith, hope and confidence.

But to a certain measure, they should come together: the blessings of this earth and the resurgence of spiritual strength. I mourn, then, for your moral heritage, the defiance of fate, for that which is unpurchaseable in man: his freedom and his dignity.

I would that we shall bow no more. I would that we shall endow the gift of life with struggle, courage, and wisdom, rather than, pining for those creature comforts which could not be attained without strenuous effort. We should have understood by now that the authentic dimension of human development is man’s moral purpose on this earth.

Rest you, again, fallen comrades and heroic brothers. We shall yet be true to your exemplary gallantry. We shall yet learn that ultimately, what will make this nation stand is not so much the size and number of its factories but the height and strength of its people.

We shall try to match your stature...

My friends, thus do I address the silent judges of our enterprise, an enterprise conceived in danger and struggle, an enterprise worthy of our deepest commitment. If there are no heroes now, from whom will future generations derive their inspiration?

The generation that stands here now in Mt. Samat has done its part.

It is now up to us.

Source: National Library

Extemporaneous Speech of President Marcos at the inauguration of the Philippine Heart Center for Asia, February 14, 1975

Extemporaneous Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration of the Philippine Heart Center for Asia

[Delivered on February 14, 1975]

Like many of you today, I see the Philippine Heart Center for the first time. What I see is a surprise to me. And one of the great pleasures of living lies in being surprised. With Mrs. Marcos, I must confess that it has been one surprise after another. I am amazed at the magnitude, scope and sophistication of this Philippine Heart Center.

I therefore extend my congratulations to all those who have participated in establishing this Heart Center, to those who have inspired it, to those who labored on it, from the unskilled laborers to the scientists and technicians, from the planners and designers to the architects, from the great minds who have conceived of such an institute, from the Heart Foundation of the Philippines that started work on it two years ago, to the Organization led by Mrs. Marcos in bringing about the realization of a dream.

For and in behalf of the Republic of the Philippines and the people of the Philippines, I accept with gratitude this offering of the Heart.

Allow me also to articulate the gratitude of the 42 million people of the Philippines to our distinguished visitors all pioneers and outstanding men not only in cardiology but in medical science whose presence at the opening ceremonies have not only clothed these ceremonies with elegance and prestige but now opens a well spring of inspiration for those who will seek to follow in their footsteps in this Philippine Heart Center.

As We look at this Heart Center, different images and visions come to my mind. In my case, I see it as a long, torturous and difficult road that we have travelled from ten years back when I first became President of the Republic. In 1965, when I was first elected President, I ordered a medical survey of the Visayas and Mindanao and I discovered to my dismay that 60% of those who died in 1964 had never seen a doctor or nurse throughout their lives. And today, we have the most advanced and sophisticated medical center specializing on cardiovascular surgery. The impact of scientific technological discoveries on our every day lives is so staggering and mind-boggling that there have been suggestions from some quarters for a moratorium on the escalating advance of the natural and physical sciences. Biologists, for example, speak of the discovery of DNA, the principle of very life itself, of biological computers and robots, of cryonism and cloning, or the multiplication of human beings. The knowledge, about the universe is growing with precision. Even to specialists, I am told, these continuing discoveries of natural and physical science are formidable.

To us, therefore, the ordinary minds whose grasp of physical and natural sciences must of necessity be limited, these discoveries are radical and sweeping, and yet the world of common men accept them as a matter of fact.

What enters my mind today, therefore, is a sad fact that the calling to which I have dedicated myself, that of political leader or social engineer or political scientist, or as some would say statesman, is rather conservative, if not totally backward, compared to the radicalism that I see in natural and physical sciences.

The natural and physical sciences are millions of light years away from Aristotle, but the formulae of social scientists, even political scientists are still fundamentally an arms length from Plato and Aristotle.

This enters my mind as I realize that the political leadership in this country which I have the honor to lead had been compelled to perform radical heart surgery in the Philippines. We have had to replace the Old Society with all its evils, its deficiencies, anarchy, criminality, corruption, its viciousness which resulted in daily kidnappings, arson that burned among many others the International Airport Terminal Building, which resulted in the bombing of the Supreme Court Building, the City Hall of Manila and the City Hall of Quezon City and the attempted seizure of Malacañang Palace and the ambush of public officials, like the Secretary of National Defense, the kidnapping for ransom of such magnitude that they were no longer reported to the police, to the immobilization of the private sector and also the impotence of the Government. All these—had to be replaced with the NEW SOCIETY.

And you might call it radical surgery.

I cannot but express envy, therefore, that the people of the Western World have received your radical reforms in medical science with applause and accolade. While our radical reforms in our society which I intended not only to eliminate anarchy and save the life of the social patient but to eliminate and eradicate the causes of this illness should be met with suspicion, distrust if not outright antagonism not only by Western constitutionalists and libertarians from whose teachings we learned our knowledge of government, but perhaps also outright rejection by the common people of the Western World.

As I look at this prestigious assembly of surgeons, the question that comes to my mind, therefore, is whether the radical changes in the surgical and medical procedures have always been so welcome and accepted by the world. Or has it been accepted because of the success that followed the radical medical reforms?

And the questions that follow are, must my kind, my calling, the profession of lawyer or the constitutional list and legal thinkers, the political theorists—must they, always be conservative and reject radicalism no matter how peaceful, constitutional it may be.

Otherwise, how can the world face up to the complexities of modern problems.

For more than ten years ago, we had warned that the world was approaching a mass of such complexities that the ancient formula of the old economists and political teachers may no longer be relevant or even applicable to the situation.

The economic thinkers now are recasting and refashioning new rules in the game of affluence. The political thinkers are still in a state of shock and incapable of taking a step towards their survival.

Medical science perhaps appreciates the plaudits and accolade that is due the pioneers which are due principally to the resolution, confidence and natural talents.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1975). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the commencement exercises of the Philippine Military Academy, March 1, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the commencement exercises of the Philippine Military Academy

[Delivered on March 1, 1977]

Beyond the Challenge of Our Times

IT IS A tradition firmly kept and followed every year for the President to come to this academy to offer words of welcome and congratulations to its new graduates. In the years of my presidency, I have seen many young men pass through the portals of this institution from the year 1965 to the present. I have seen these young men come out of the academy to serve the nation, and it has been my great experience as President to see them rise to heights of leadership in our armed forces and in the Republic.

It was said once that “the service of institutions of learning is not private, but public.” In the case of the Philippine Military Academy, this is both a commitment and a mission. No other institution maintains so fundamental and unshakeable a bond with the nation; none has been directed, by charter and design, to prepare young men for national service more than the Philippine Military Academy.

I congratulate you, honored graduates in today’s ceremonies, for your deliberate and voluntary choice of this noble career in the military. For your life work and profession will be that which is devoted in the way of sacrifice, perhaps of life, of all ambitions, of youth to the country and to our people. There can be no more noble profession than this.

And so I may say on this occasion of your commencement that I welcome you today as my colleagues and comrades-in-arms, and if there be any advice or counsel that I as commencement speaker might impart to you, it is the counsel and challenge of the times in which we live.

I remember a year ago when I came for the commencement of the graduates who preceded you; I spoke of the urgent problems we faced in the sphere of national security and the problems of pacification and rebellion that we continue to face in the southern regions of the country.

I sought the transfer of this ceremony from February 20th to March 1st because we have been occupied by a crisis which confronts our country, and that is, the crisis arising out of the effort to settle the fighting in the South peacefully. Last year, I spoke of the policies and measures of government and the military to bring peace to the South. I told the graduates then, and now you who are graduating this year, that a military solution is insufficient and inadequate to bring about complete peace in the South. That year, very sadly, we could only speak of the peace that we wanted and not of peace actually reigning in the troubled areas.

Now a year later, the situation has changed. For the first time since the start of the conflict, hostilities in Mindanao have stopped under the umbrella of a ceasefire, agreed upon in Tripoli last December 23, Libyan time, and December 24, Philippine time.

This agreement entered into after the first round of negotiations in Tripoli was started by the visit of the First Lady on November 15. You are well aware that for the past three years, we have been trying to negotiate some kind of settlement of the secessionist rebellion in the South. For more than three years, we had sought an invitation, or we had thought to invite the leadership of Libya, which had openly declared support for the secessionist, to either come to the Philippines or for us to be invited to Libya.

Suddenly after the great earthquake in the South on August 21, the minister representing Libya in the Quadripartite Islamic Committee that visited the Philippines upon our invitation, also went to the South — where I had brought my entire family to give succor and sympathy to the victims not only of that great earthquake but of the *tsunami* that killed more than 8,000 of our people. He joined us in Mindanao and suddenly we received an invitation to visit Libya.

Since I was also in the middle of many urgent matters, I indicated that I, perhaps, would not be able to go to Libya personally for the meantime, and asked that it be postponed for a month or two.

During the International Monetary Fund-World Bank Conference in October, we received the formal invitation from President Moammar Khaddafy, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Libyan Arab Republic for the President and the First Lady to visit Libya as state guests. And if the President could not go, for the First Lady to visit as the guest of President Moammar Khaddafy.

The First Lady was accompanied by the representatives of the National Defense Department including the major service commanders. I can mention the Commanding General of the Philippine Army, Major General Abat; the Commanding General of the Philippine Air Force, Rear Admiral Espaldon; the Chief of Intelligence and Security, Major General Ver; Metrocom Commander Brigadier General Olivas, and representatives of the Secretary Of National Defense, as well as Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Collantes.

I repeat, we did not expect the ceasefire to arise out of this formal meeting for a state visit is usually such a ceremonial affair where you go through the usual ceremonies of toasts and expectations and the amenities of wishing each other good health and success but actually achieving nothing.

However, on November 17, 1976, while I was playing golf on the Malacañang golf course, I received an urgent call through the telephone — a call from across the seas, from Libya. The First Lady was on the telephone. To my surprise, when the First Lady recognized me on the telephone, she said, “Hold on, somebody wants to talk to you.” And I heard the voice that said, “This must be President Marcos.” And I said, “Yes, it is President Marcos. Who is this?” And he said, “This is Colonel Khaddafy.” I did not realize that he spoke English rather well, because we had sent French and Arab interpreters for the party of the First Lady.

As you are well aware, heads of state, heads of government don’t talk to each other over the telephone without being introduced, but here we were. Of course, the First lady had broken protocol and thank God she did. She told me later, “I did not break any protocol because I do not believe that such a protocol exists. After all, he wanted to talk to you, so I gave the telephone to him.”

And we exchanged amenities but later on, we discussed the Mindanao conflict. I realized then and there that it was a God-given opportunity for me to immediately open the subject of the Southern fighting. And one thing led to another, I asked him, “Why don’t you and the First Lady now look into this problem of the impasse about the agreement and how we should settle the Mindanao conflict? I said, yes, negotiations should be immediately called. And I called his attention to the fact that Minister Ali Al Treki, his Foreign Minister, had agreed that if it were possible, the negotiations should be held in Tripoli, Libya. I repeated this suggestion and this led to the negotiations in Tripoli.

I have been asked by a number of voices to reveal the truth about the situation in the South. Am I optimistic of a continuation of the ceasefire and a final peaceful settlement of this conflict? I am certain in the graduates will be interested to know exactly what are they graduating into. Are you graduating into a war in the South? Are you going to fight more battles? My answer is: I am optimistic that the ceasefire, temporary and transitory as it may be, will graduate into a final, peaceful settlement of the Mindanao conflict.

You are well aware that we have signed what is known as an agreement in principle on December 23, 1976. This agreement provides that there shall be a ceasefire. We will negotiate the organization of a regional government which shall be autonomous to a certain extent without violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines. We also agreed that the constitutional processes and requirements of the Republic of the

Philippines would be complied with. This is why we are now submitting to a plebiscite on March 17 the matter of what provinces will be included in the autonomous region to be organized in Mindanao.

This is the first step towards final resolution and reconciliation. Under the agreement of December 23, we must hold the second round of negotiations from February 5th to March 3rd. It is now March 1st. And the question has been asked: why has nothing come out of this second round of negotiations if it is true that you and President Khaddafy are both optimistic about the results of this second round of negotiations? My answer is: We have been exchanging communications. I have written to President Khaddafy through the Charge d' Affaires, Ambassador Mohammad Dreiza, explaining that the plebiscite was necessary. His cabled answer which I received the other day indicates that he is also optimistic about the results of this settlement. He informs me that whatever the obstacles, he is aware that both parties are sincere in seeking a just and peaceful solution. And what with the sincerity demonstrated by both parties, the government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Liberation Front as well as the supervision by Libya and the Islamic Conference of the Moro National Liberation Front, there will be a settlement.

So the second round of negotiations is in progress in Tripoli. We believe in the good faith of President Khaddafy. We believe in the sincerity of the members of the Islamic Conference and also of the Quadripartite Committee composed of Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Senegal and Libya. We believe that the participation of the Quadripartite Committee which has been appointed supervisors of the ceasefire will bring about a sincere implementation of the agreements.

What are the difficulties and obstacles to a final settlement of the Southern front fighting? The present obstacle right now is: The Moro National Liberation Front has made some demands. We are all aware that we have insisted that the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines be maintained. However, they have insisted that I issue a decree organizing Palawan and the ten provinces of Regions IX and XII which are Tawi-Tawi, Sulu, Basilan, Zamboanga Norte, Zamboanga Sur, Lanao Norte, Lanao Sur, Maguindanao, Sultan Kudarat, Cotabato Norte, Cotabato Sur, and Davao Sur – thirteen provinces to be included in one single region.

I have said that under our Constitution, we must seek approval of such a region, a regional autonomous government, by the people themselves. And so I have called a plebiscite for this purpose.

I just received a cable from President Khaddafy indicating the position of the Moro National Liberation Front. The Moro National Liberation Front has stated to President Khaddafy, and President Khaddafy has transmitted this to me, that if the provinces of Palawan, Cotabato Sur, and Davao Sur were not included in the autonomous regional government, fighting might be resumed.

It is my opinion, however, that this is a position that has been adopted as a negotiating position. It is now necessary that the leadership of both the Philippines and Libya as well as the members of the Islamic Conference, demonstrate the highest form of statesmanship to bring about a scheme under which there may be a regional autonomy without violating the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines.

This is the situation in which we are. This is one of the reasons why I could not come on February 20th. You are well aware also that on those particular days, we were going to call a plebiscite for February 21st, but on the petition of a great number of the residents and the voters in the Southern region, we have delayed the plebiscite to March 17 to give time for a proper information period.

During the past two weeks, we have endeavored to bring the issues to the people of Mindanao, in order to ensure that the plebiscite in the 13 provinces of Southern Philippines will fully reflect their mandate. All sectors in the South are now engaged in this particular effort, and the Commission on Elections has fully prepared for the orderly conduct of the voting.

Today, I come before you and announce that for purposes of this plebiscite—as of the day that I called the plebiscite, the effects of martial law are hereby declared lifted for the 13 provinces of Mindanao for purposes of the plebiscite. This will allow an open, free and honest ascertainment of the wishes of our people.

What will be the question that will be asked? Do you want your provinces to be included in a unified regional autonomous government in which shall belong the 13 provinces mentioned? And, if any possible solution to this impasse could be suggested by the voters, we will provide remarks sheets for the remarks of the voters.

Is there a plan for regional autonomy for the South? The answer is yes. What is this plan? This plan is embodied in a proposal by the Batasang Bayan which met last month on this particular subject. It provides for regional autonomy that in no way violates the national sovereignty or conflicts with the programs of government for development and administration. What does it provide for? It provides for the election of a least 21 members of a Sangguniang Pampook or regional assembly to be elected throughout the region.

This Sangguniang Pampook will recommend for presidential appointment the members of the Lupong Tagapagpaganap or the Executive Council that will run the affairs of the region. This has always been the plan not only for the South but also for the entire Philippines.

In all candor, I would like to go on record that I am fully in support of the plans for unification of Region 9 and 12 into a single autonomous region, provided that the leaders and the members of the Sangguniang Pampook as well as the Executive Council or the Lupong Tagapagpaganap shall be properly elected in accordance with law.

These two regions, of course, comprise ten provinces, five of which have extensive Muslim populations and the other five non-Muslim.

It is I believe, a necessary condition for the upliftment and development of our Muslim communities, so that their resources, knowhow, and initiative may be consolidated into a community of ideals and objectives consistent with the vision we also entertain for the rest of our country.

But my position on this matter is ever subordinate to the people's will. I have guaranteed the free expression of this will, I have lifted the effects of martial law in those 13 provinces. I have provided funds for an information campaign. I have ordered the local officials as well as those in the military engaged in information to see to it that all information necessary for the settlement of this issue is disseminated to the public. The Department of Public Information of our government is engaged in such a campaign.

When I look back upon the plight and wayward course of our rural communities, it is not so much the neglect of government or the predatory impact of migrant classes that has stifled development in these areas including Southern Mindanao. More revealing is the evident insufficiency of local leadership and initiative to make the necessary efforts of social transformation. Government has never willfully neglected the need to develop these areas. Government has provided funds for these areas. Unfortunately, some of these funds have found their way to the pockets of local leaders in the old society. Resources channeled to these communities simply did not bear fruit in the circumstances of our rural inhabitants.

Now these regions — and I refer not only to Southern Philippines but all of the rural areas throughout the Philippines — these regions are now the focus of many developments. It is important that these programs be supported by an active, dedicated leadership, by effort at grass-roots level, by the consciousness of local residents so that by their own efforts they can change the whole spectrum of realities and possibilities in their own communities.

Beyond ending the estrangement of many Muslims from the rest of the national polity, we must also end the estrangement of Muslim from Muslim, of communities from one another. The consolidation, therefore, of the two regions provides a framework for the unification of goals, and we are confident that given the institutional support by government, it will result in the common development of our Muslim communities.

All Filipino Muslims must see in this an opportunity to gather around the common cause of their development. If in the past, they have been divided—some firmly in support of the Republic and others seeking to secede from it—today they must all look upon reconciliation as the only effective road to the progress they desire.

From my viewpoint as President of the Republic, what must be provided for? I repeat, we cannot settle the Mindanao conflict by relying on the strength of the military alone. This is neither desirable nor wise. It will be necessary to grant some kind of autonomy, but such autonomy as will not destroy the Republic nor infringe upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. We must see to it that our people are reunited. We must see to it that those areas are never utilized again as a launching ground to undermine the Republic whether from within or from without.

Because of the intensive efforts exerted by government and the military for the rehabilitation and development of the troubled areas, we need not be detained too long by the work of reconstruction. As a whole there is now in the affected areas the material and institutional conditions that make for a good staging base for the development process. Development, rehabilitation, autonomy, unification, reconciliation—these are the answers to the problem of the fighting in the South, and these are your government's pledges to give not only to the Muslim and Christian inhabitants but to all the residents of Southern Philippines.

We must acknowledge, in this particular program, the signal role that the Armed Forces have played in this effort. For while the severity of conflict might have easily unleashed the might of arms, the military has shown restraint in dealing with an estranged segment of our society. And it has been fully involved in unification and reconciliation efforts. Besides the roster of lives lost by our Armed Forces — and there are many whom we have lost who came from the ranks of the graduates of the Philippines Military Academy, those brave and dedicated men who have gone to the life beyond in the service of their nation and their country during this prolonged strife — there is also another roster of men who aided in the work of reconstruction and reconciliation in projects to rebuild and create and in the plans to develop Mindanao.

This is not an isolated development occasioned merely by this peculiar urgent requirement and stresses of the conflict in the South. It gives expression to the overall broadening of the role of the military in our society, to the very evolution of the Filipino soldiery, in the tides of challenge and effort into which the nation has plunged itself.

Although it is an institution steeped in the ways of tradition, our military establishment has kept pace with the changing context and circumstances of international life, in undertaking its supreme mission of ensuring national peace and security.

Along strategic and theoretical lines, this derives from the awareness that the problem of maintaining security changes are the circumstances of life change. We see now that we must view and understand security problems in their total context—not only the military aspects, but also the social, political and economic ones. And in seeing them this way, we realize the need to adapt a total systems approach in resolving these problems.

In the resolution of this problem, there has been a deepening of the bond between the military and the government and other institutions of society, in the consolidation of once separate functions under a single program, in the harmonization of civilian and military roles in our society.

We may see it as a natural consequence of the common conviction that the system we have sought to foster in our country can only survive if it truly repairs to its real strengths—its capacity for innovation. Rigidly adhering to the forms of democratic life as we had been tutored by the West, we might have proven our fidelity to theory, but clearly we could not have survived the tempests of ferment and revolution, which so lately have bedevilled us.

We cannot narrowly conceive of the police powers of the state as a function detached from the stream of effort that goes into nation-building. It must be involved in the making of change. It must secure order and stability because these are the keys to national regeneration and progress.

And so my message to you today is exactly that. We are in a period of regeneration, of rehabilitation, and the theme is innovation, ingenuity, and the utilization of the mind more than perhaps of the body. As you go out into the field to fulfill your responsibility to yourselves, to your God, to your country, keep in mind that it is necessary for the Filipino to innovate in order to progress and prosper.

And thus the settlement of the Mindanao question and all the problems of peace and order has required innovation. In innovating, we have had to utilize the peculiar services of a woman representative like the First Lady. I forgot to tell you that she has agreed upon my insistence that if no other recourse were available in order to settle the Mindanao conflict, she would have to return to Libya on a second mission so that we may finally settle that problem.

The challenge of insurgency compels us to build from within, and to be vigilant and responsive to the needs of the society. More than ever we must be sensitive to the principle that no force, whether military or civil, can be viable and can succeed in the attainment of its objective without the support of the people. I repeat what I have said in the past: No matter how strong the Armed Forces may be, and no matter how stable the political institution, the moment the people withdraw their support from such armed forces and such political institution, they are bound to crumble and fail. Your ultimate objective should always be, therefore, to retain the strength that arises out of the support of the people.

The challenge of competition among the major powers in our part of the world compels us to work towards a viable equilibrium of forces and influence in Southeast Asia that will not attempt one nation to impose its will upon the region.

It can be achieved in concert with our partners in Southeast Asia and in efforts to cooperate with those nations who subscribe to a different social system and ideology. And it goes without saying that such collaboration is most effectively fostered when the fabric of cooperation involves as well the steadfast effort to develop together.

This problem certainly will not bend easily to solution. The road to self-reliance is difficult. And difficult, too, is the task of winning nations on the side of peace.

But we can do much on our side, as we are in fact doing for ourselves and our region.

I would hold up to the attention of this graduating class no higher ideal than the understanding of problems in their total context, and the outlook which it implies of balance, of flexibility, of dedication, and, I repeat, of innovation.

The moving history of our nation during this decade testifies to the growth and the efficacy of this ideal. And I know of no institution that has so commendably fostered this ideal more than the Academy itself which prepares new generations for national service each year.

From here have come men with a clear conception of duty to people and country, and men who in the school of experience have proved their mettle.

As you and I journey further into the future, let us respond with vigor to the changing needs of changing times, ever ready to cope with the complex as well as the simple. The history of the Academy tells us that the years ahead will be different from its earlier years, and new coping mechanisms will be needed to carry on the tradition of this institution. As elsewhere in Asia, we must in this academy keep running in order to stay still. For this reason I ask that we make sure that we derive the maximum advantage from military training in this academy by reviewing the process by which we train our officers, closing no possibilities for innovation where it is needed, even at the cost of certain time-honored practices and traditions like the fourth class system which I ask the cadets themselves to study in order that we can determine whether we should retain it or not. I ask that the Armed Forces of the Philippines now also undertake a reassessment of the entire training program of those who will ultimately join the Armed Forces of the Philippines to include this academy.

For the Philippine Military Academy must grow, and it must grow beyond the challenge of our times.

Before I forget, I would like to announce in your presence today, that I will sign a decree increasing the base pay of Philippine Military Academy cadets. This increases the base pay of cadets who at present receive P319.00 to P470.00 a month. It also increases the base pay of probationary second lieutenants.

In your presence, I, therefore, sign this decree. And I hand it over to Colonel Magsino.

Once again, I congratulate the graduates of Class '77 as well as the cadets who remain in the Academy, the members of the administrative organization, and the members of the faculty as well as the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

I am confident that the graduates will rise to the challenge of our times and will succeed not only in war but also in the peace that we would like to win.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1979). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 6). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Extemporaneous Speech of President Marcos at the 80th Foundation Anniversary of the Philippine Army, March 22, 1977

Extemporaneous Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 80th Foundation Anniversary of the Philippine Army

[Delivered at Fort Bonifacio, March 22, 1977]

A History of Valor

HINDI KO INAKALANG mapapahalo ako sa tatanggap at sasabitan ng medalya sa gabing ito. Many of you don't know it, but I have always felt that Major General Abat came into the Army under fraudulent enlistment. This, of course, is a background. During the guerrilla days, if you remember, I was operating in eastern Pangasinan, Mountain Province, and Nueva Vizcaya. And one of my guides was a young man. Upon investigation, he turned out to be 17 years old. Yet, he had enlisted in the Armed Forces of the Philippines claiming to be an 18-year old. That young man is now the commanding general of the Philippine Army, Major General Abat.

I think that he wanted to turn the tables on me tonight. I have always ordered him around. He kept running back and forth between the units. I used him as a guide, a messenger, and a courier. Sometimes, he was my cook.

Now, he awards me this Kagitingan badge. I was looking at the other major service commanders during the presentation here. We, of course, were nostalgic about the beginnings of our military history. Of course, only the Philippine Army has a long history of 80 years. However, there is a footnote in Philippine history which says that the Philippine Navy was jointly organized with the Philippine Army. So the Philippine Navy should better watch out.

I don't know how many units the Philippine Navy had. Probably, it had two scows. I happened to know about this because the capitan-heneral of the Philippine Army was Artemio Ricarte whose *nom de guerre* was *Vibora*. He happens to be a relative from Batac, Ilocos Norte.

So I know, more or less, what happened during the organization of the Philippine Army. What did they call it? The "Foot Army" in 1897.

But let me come back to this Kagitingan badge. This is given me while I am wearing the barong. Am I to wear this with my perennial uniform, the barong?

I am indeed honored. I accept this award for and on behalf of all those men and women who have gone ahead of us, who have made it possible for us all to be here today to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the Philippine Army.

I go all the way back to the many years when our lives depended upon the friendship and loyalty of many unknown and unnamed Filipinos.

I see General Fred Santos. He and Colonel Fidel Cruz brought me out of Manila in the uniform of a Philippine Constabulary officer in August of 1944. Brigadier General Argawi was in command of the company in Bulacan. I and so many others hid in Bulacan. It is for these men — unsung and unknown — that this award has been given.

You referred to the medal of valor given to me. I think the only reason it was given to me was that there was nobody else left among those who fought beside me.

I am deeply honored especially in the presence of all these courageous warriors who have demonstrated the capability of Filipino soldiers.

I am indeed very happy to come on this occasion notwithstanding the very critical days ahead. I did not realize that Major General Abat had this presentation all prepared. Otherwise, I would have asked him to wait for the arrival of the First Lady. Certainly, this rivals the Kasaysayan ng Lahi.

I am certain that when the First Lady comes back, she will ask to be shown this presentation. I do hope that they have taken a video tape of all these proceeding.

This is, of course, the oldest major service in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The problem is that when I look around me, I notice that most of us belong to the Philippine Army — Undersecretary Crisol, General Espino (although he occasionally flies now and then), and I.

So we must hold back our feelings whenever we see the troops of the Philippine Army making good. They have certainly made good in the past, and they continue to make good in the present.

Therefore, when we celebrate eight decades of the Philippine Army's history, we honor a tradition of valor in arms and we pay homage to the memory of a great number of our soldiers who are no longer with us — Ricarte, Bonifacio Aguinaldo and the heroes of Bataan and Corregidor. The men whose deeds are written in the annals of our nation and who made history before us. For the history of the Philippine Army has been the history of our nation.

In every period of that national history — from the revolution to the present time — this service has had to face many special challenges. To every challenge, it has returned the response required by the times — courage in the face of adversity and uncertainty; resourcefulness, flexibility, compassion in periods of relative quiet.

In the turmoil of revolution, our people sowed the beginnings of the service. We remember only dimly the character of our revolutionary army, the faces of officers and men who were very young when they joined. The quality of their arms was something which marked the need to make up with courage what they lacked in equipment. It is to the lasting glory of that band of soldiers that they established by valor the first national republic in all of Asia.

Denied the fruits of national sovereignty, they took to the field once more in a war against a new foe. And only the superior forces of the enemy, and ultimately the voices of those who sought peace instead of war, enabled silence to prevail in our countryside.

It took more than three decades for our people to be granted the right to maintain a new army. And when at last it was organized during the Commonwealth, it was swiftly drawn into battle once more — this time side by side with the Armed Forces of the United States against the forces that would invade our land. The early stages of the war, of course, inflicted tremendous losses on the defense forces, but the entire nation during the war lost a million men and women. Darkness enshrouded our country, but just the same, our loyal sons raised the flag of intransigence in many a hilltop, and the soldiers of long ago now had to repair once more to their revolutionary origin and resist the invader through guerrilla warfare. Resisting alone, with the allied forces engaged on other fronts in the Pacific and in Europe, our soldiers maintained the struggle, and it was not long afterwards that the country was liberated. It is a part of our history that throughout Southeast Asia, perhaps, it was the Philippines alone that maintained the continued resistance to the invading forces during the entire period of the Second World War. This is part of the history of the Philippine Army.

In more recent times, the Philippine Army has had to maintain its flexibility as an armed service. It was required to fight in Korea. It has undertaken civic action in Vietnam. It has put down a rebellion in Central Luzon. It has worked on developmental measures. It has the painful task of confronting our brothers engaged in secessionism in the South. It has been required to dismantle the apparatus of rebellion and secessionism and to join in nation-building.

In peace or in war, at home or abroad, in the North or in the South, under colonial auspices or conditions of national independence, the Philippine Army has maintained its creative tradition of coping with the changing challenges before the nation to fulfill its supreme and unchanging mission.

Today, we find the Philippine Army confronted once more by challenges as momentous as those that it had been confronted with throughout its eighty-year history. For the first time perhaps since the national Revolution of 1896, the country looks toward a time when its military capabilities will be sufficient to maintain national security regardless of the scale of assistance extended by other nations.

Today, I just granted the Presidential streamer to the 32nd Battalion. Its performance has been outstanding; it is perhaps the most decorated unit among all the operational units in the Philippine Army.

At the same time, I have awarded the Presidential Unit citation to the entire Philippine Army and the symbolic unit citation badge to its commanding of the Philippine Army, from this day forward, are entitled to wear this symbolic unit citation badge.

We are presently engaged in a task to reconcile and unite with our brothers in the South. You are well aware that we have had a little crisis because of the stalemate of the negotiations in Tripoli. You are well aware of the Tripoli agreement of December 23, 1976. I need not go into the antecedents of such an agreement. Suffice it to say that we have the generous intervention of the nations belonging to the Quadripartite Committee of the Islamic Conference — Egypt, Senegal, Somalia, and Saudi Arabia. We have also the generous intervention of President Khaddafy, the great leader of the People's Socialist Libyan Arab Republic.

We have been able to obtain an agreement as of December 23, 1976 and a ceasefire. There had been a stalemate and the negotiations were recessed. Undersecretary Barbero came here for consultations. There was no possibility of a resumption. There was a threat of the resumption instead of hostilities.

Intervention in the highest possible level became necessary. Inasmuch as I was unable to leave, we sent, as our ambassador, the First lady.

I would like to announce that the First Lady has just left Tripoli at 4:45 this afternoon. And I would also like to announce that by virtue of the generous intervention of the brilliant and great leader of Libya, we have come to a tentative solution for the peaceful settlement of the Mindanao conflict.

It is still subject to further determination of the various details But I received on the 18th of March a formal proposal from President Khaddafy of Libya by cable, which he confirmed that same day by telephone. He personally called me up to inform me that because of the intervention of the First Lady and because of his desire that there now be peace in a friendly country like the Philippines, he believed he should not allow those who would like to see us fighting once again to succeed. He, therefore, submitted a proposal which I am approved.

This, of course, will be subject to further negotiations with the rebel groups and with the Quadripartite Committee of the Islamic Conference. But I am certain that inasmuch as President Khaddafy has led in the negotiations for the peaceful settlement of the Mindanao conflict, we will finally be able to bring peace to Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

I have awarded these streamers because the men of the 32nd Battalion have fought well. It is my hope and prayer that there will be no need for men like you to continue fighting for the honor and integrity of our country. And that there will be unity in our land.

This is my news for you today. On the occasion of your 80th anniversary, it may no longer be necessary for you to fight in Mindanao.

May God grant that peace to continue.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1979). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 7). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 1977 UNICEF Executive Board Session and Special Meeting on the Situation of Children in Asia, May 17, 1977

The Best We Have to Give

IT IS PERHAPS unusual that so many of our children should be with us in this hall as we open this 1977 UNICEF Conference in Manila this morning. I do not know if they can grasp or they do grasp the complex and urgent agenda of this conference, but I have a feeling that they instinctively understand and sympathize with our efforts. If we cannot fully appreciate the decisions or recommendations that will be made in your deliberations, the future will take care of that.

But it is not for our children alone and millions more like them that we meet here today. It is for their future. It is as well as that we see them in the face, to recall one more the unique mission of the United Nations Children's Fund; to remind us of UNICEF's distinguished record of service, which in 1965 was deservedly honored with the Nobel Peace Prize; and to refresh us with the challenge that the young pose to us today — the question of what kind of society, and what kind of world, they will inherit from us, their elders.

Here in Asia, the challenge is written in all its awesome dimensions. In this — the largest of the continents — live more than two billion people, nearly half the world's population. Of this, about 40 percent are children most of whom have been born into conditions of poverty ignorance, and deprivation. Anyone who would wish therefore to understand the nature of the challenge facing the young should seek it here in Asia; and anyone who would raise their lot must of necessity begin here.

It is hardly surprising the UNICEF's largest programs are being carried out in Asia, and that as the only United Nations agency devoted exclusively to the well-being of children, UNICEF should in this meeting devote special attention to the situation of children in the region.

The urgency or timeliness of this conference does not derive from any new problems lately loosed upon the world. The problem is old, and we have looked at it, examined it, and debated it for such a long time now. But greater resolve is needed to now arrive at far-reaching solutions.

Children do not vote although in the Philippines 15-year olds are allowed to vote in referenda and plebiscites. And therefore in general children have no political constituency. Their problems usually rate a low priority in the pragmatic appraisal of national or international agenda. But we need every now and then to focus consciously on their situation, to "shock the globe," in the words of Gabriela Mistral, "(by) touching the child."

In 1974, UNICEF declared an international emergency for children. That declaration provoked worldwide concern, and there was substantial response to UNICEF's appeal for special contributions in behalf of mothers and children in the famine-stricken countries. But it has been much more difficult to attract sustained attention and elicit meaningful action to cope with what amounts to a permanent state of emergency in the poor countries of the developing world.

Because poverty is such a widespread and chronic phenomenon in these countries, its effects on children have generally failed to arouse the kind of urgent global concern that might stimulate more effective and meaningful efforts to improve their lot.

Yet the magnitude and seriousness of the situation in the developing world are dramatically underlined by the appalling statistics available to us. And they become even more alarming when set side by side with the situation of children in the developed world.

In the area of infant mortality, the death rate is eight times higher than in the developed countries. More than half of the total deaths in developing countries occurs among children in the 0-5 years age group. In some developing countries, one out of every four children dies before its fifth birthday.

Whereas in the advanced countries, the leading causes of child mortality — diarrhea, dysentery, pneumonia, malaria, measles and tuberculosis — have been considerably contained, in the developing countries, they come hand in hand with the poor living conditions of parents.

Almost two-thirds of the world's children live in the rural areas, where 80 percent of the population have no access to health services; 85 percent without adequate supplies of safe, clean water, or sanitary facilities for waste disposal.

United Nations estimates indicate that only one out of every 20 children in the developing countries has access to basic health and welfare services. Seven out of every ten infants in Asia are born without medical assistance or trained help, and less than one percent of them receive day care services during their childhood.

Malnutrition is the most significant cause of high death rate among children in the developing countries, because it makes them more vulnerable to infection and disease. Those who survive are usually unable to escape irreversible brain damage and physical impairment. Severe Vitamin A deficiency alone, a major cause of blindness in children, affects 100,000 of them annually.

The educational situation of children in the developing world is no less disturbing. In 1975, some 120 million children between the ages of 6 and 11 were out of school. Of this number, 80 million were in Asia. In the poorer countries of Asia and Africa, an average of only about 1/3 of the children are in primary school. Almost half the primary school age children in developing countries are not getting a minimum basic education.

In the rural areas only some 10% of children receive the minimum four year's primary education required to achieve and retain basic literacy. The situation for girls is even worse, since in some countries less than one out of ten girls of primary school age is in school. Consequently, the number of illiterates over 14 years of age, especially among girls, is growing.

Educational problems are compounded by a shortage of well-trained teachers and teaching materials, as well as irrelevant curricula, which abets the tendency of children to drop out from school. An estimated 375 million school-age children were out of school in 1975, as compared to 350 million who were in school; and the situation has continued to deteriorate.

The combined effect of all this has been to stunt both the physical and mental development of the child. Those who survive the harshness of their environment face only a future of further poverty and want.

What is saddening about these statistics is their seeming unreality not only to those living in affluent societies, but also to some privileged classes in the developing societies. There are formidable walls that spare us from knowing too much about their lot, and even in our compassion, we tend to protect ourselves from inquiring fully into their real conditions, the quality and prospect of their lives.

We marvel too much at the great advances being made in science and technology, at our growing capacity to create abundance and to prolong human life, but hardly do we ever wonder how distant these things remain from the reach of millions of children on the planet.

And the situation has not been helped by recent crisis. The onset of economic crisis at the beginning of the decade brought home to us the embattlement of the developing countries — their difficult struggle against inflation at home, and recession abroad. Children were among the hardest hit. Deterioration in the already precarious situation of over 500 million children, among others, prompted UNICEF to declare the international emergency in 1974. This is 1977, and yet this year, as we begin preparations for the observance of International Year of the Child, it is very clear that the emergency still persists.

Many will say that the situation is not as bad as I have painted it, that the problems are slowly yielding to effort. But we who live in the poor developing countries feel that something above has caved in and we are trapped underneath; we hear the distant sound of the rescue party but we are running short of breath.

In Asia today, we have sought to direct a significant part of our resources towards the care and development of our young; yet when the programs are weighed, we find that our investments lag far behind in relation to our needs. And however effective our programs, it remains a fact that the situation cannot be reversed by the work of a year or a decade, but by unflagging effort and increased application of resources.

Asia's children suffer from no permanent disabilities. They have no deficiency for which there is no cure. For as Bertrand Russell once said, human nature is at least nine-tenths nurture, only one-tenth genetics.

Clearly, more effective action is called for, and it is my earnest hope that the exchange of views and experiences in this conference will lead to that result.

Today, planning in the developing world seeks increasingly to complement economic goals and strategies with specific anti-poverty measures that would have real social as well as economic benefits. Urgent attention is addressed not just to the industrialization of our economies but to the necessary distribution of incomes, the improvement of living standards, the creation of a more equitable social structure, the promotion of employment and social opportunities, the rectification of our land problems and the mobilization of women for development. Measures toward these goals promote and foster a more favorable climate for the total development of the child.

What UNICEF has since formulated as "its strategy for the delivery of basic services," we in the developing countries of Asia are also embracing as our crucial strategy for development. There exists in our countries today a common awareness that economic growth does not automatically produce social equity or progress, that the fatter one becomes, one does not necessarily spread the succulence to the weaker members of our society. But social equity or progress must be systematically brought about by meaningful social policies. Only this makes sure that man will once again be restored at the center of our national development efforts, that he will once more become the end and the beginning of the development process, and consequently, we shall once more gain a firmer grip on his future and a much clearer view of the plight of the child.

Only upon this awareness of the human dimension of development can more effective action hopefully proceed.

We in the Philippines view national development in all its aspects — economic, social, cultural, political — as a single, unified, seamless process, concerned with all groups of the population and co-extensive with the totality of the nation's life.

We recognize in the situation of our children an indelible prism of our national condition — the weaknesses of our national economy, the inchoate character of our social life, the relative youth of our political culture, and the sense of our insecurity as a nation in a world dominated by the rich and the strong.

To every statistic we find concerning the situation of children in the developing nations, there is in our country a mirror that replicates it, perhaps not quite in its grimmest aspects, but grim nonetheless.

Filipino children and youth below 21 years constitute 56.80 percent of our population. As of the last census of 1975, one out of every 10 Filipino children dies before he reaches the age of five.

Only four out of ten children receive health, nutritional, educational and other social services, considered vital to the development of the child.

Of those who enter school during the compulsory period of elementary education, 43 percent attend for a few years, drop out and lapse into functional illiteracy. This incidence of dropouts is higher than the estimated 40 percent drop-out rate indicated by UN statistics on the developing world. Of course, in the last two or three years, we have sought to reverse this tendency.

The implications of these problems upon our national prospects, and the knowledge that the conditions of our children had not substantially improved despite heavy investments in social services, figured prominently in the

design of our new national development plan for the years 1973-1977. In that plan, we ordained a new commitment to the status and welfare of children, expressed in the formulation of an entirely new philosophy and system of delivery of services.

Within that scheme, we proclaimed the Philippine Child and Youth welfare Code on Human Rights Day, the 10th of December 1974. Its first principle declares: "The child is one of the most important assets of the nation. Every effort should therefore be exerted to promote his welfare and enhance his opportunities for a useful and happy life."

Two years later, on the 10th of December 1976, we proclaimed the nationwide observance of the Decade of the Filipino Child for the years 1977 to 1987. The supporting activities, coordinated by the Council for the Welfare of Children, culminated in the launching of a comprehensive, integrated national plan of action for the development of children and youth for the decade.

The basic objective of this 10-year plan is to transform within that programmed period the status of Filipino children, taking into account the whole range of services and assistance necessary to their development. Its principal strategy is to institute an integrated system of services, incorporating old as well as new services.

This is the legal framework of our commitment to our children; to transform it into operational services and living realities for our millions of junior citizens, we have molded all public and private agencies into a coordinated network of change agents.

Where it was necessary to create new agencies and offices to undertake new services, we have not hesitated to create them. Thus a few days ago, we created the new Office of Undersecretary for Non-formal Education, to formulate and implement a program for our out-of-school-youth in the Philippines. Similarly, we have set up a nutrition center, a lung center, designed to meet the high incidence of lung diseases among children, presently to be complemented by a foundation for respiratory diseases for children. We have instituted a mental-feeding program about which you have been told. At the head of this movement, of course, is the First Lady and governor of Metro Manila. The mental-feeding program, we believe, is as vital as their need for health and nutrition care for the body. We have also launched a nationwide compulsory immunization program as part of our national plan of action for the decade of the Filipino child, and in order to serve the full count of our rural children.

In most of these projects, we have been favored with assistance from the international agencies, as well as from the private sector.

All this is a measure of our commitment to the well-being of our children, and I am certain that many of its features are also to be found in the various programs for children in the rest of the Asian region.

When taken all together, these varied efforts for the children of Asia may justly gauge the concern in which Asia holds her children. And this is the spirit in which we approach the observance of the International Year of the Child in 1979, the eve of the Third UN Development Decade.

To make such observance more meaningful to the developing countries of Asia, I urge this conference to give serious thought to the declaration of a Decade of the Child in Asia, to form part of the International Year of the Child. To provide support for such a plan, the Philippines is ready to offer its facilities to host a regional consultation among Asian nations preparatory to the declaration. In this regard, a National Steering Committee to be created for the purpose of undertaking preparations for the observance of the International Year of the Child in the Philippines will be directed to assess the situation not only of children in the country, but of all countries in the Asian region.

The thread of our concerns, the likenesses of our programs, and the common alarm with which we all view the prospects of our children make of our problems certainly much more susceptible to solution today than they were, say, a decade ago. In many ways, we are learning to cope through the example and experiences we are today able to share with each other.

Nonetheless we cannot mistake the challenge.

What we face is a challenge different from any we have had to cope with in this century, and finally greater than any we have known before, for it involves at heart the whole of the human prospectus.

The fact that more than 500 million children live in a state of continuing emergency in the developing countries is in itself an indictment of the social order now prevailing in the whole world. How to alter this tragic situation is the difficult agenda of the international community today. The dimensions of this task are vast, the needs immense, and the challenge inescapable, for inaction is unthinkable when the future of so large a portion of humanity is at stake.

It is in the nature of the problems posed by the situation of our children that we cannot afford to treat them simply as a special problem, but as a test requiring our best efforts in area of global affairs — in the making of peace, in the sharing of abundance, in the building of prosperity in the developing world.

The International Declaration of the Rights of the Child states correctly that “mankind owes to the child the best it has to give.” In its ultimate implications this declaration means that we have an obligation to provide children with a social environment in which they can realize their full potential as human beings; we owe them a new and humane society thriving in a just and peaceful world.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the 23rd Annual Convention of the District and City Engineers League of the Philippines, May 18, 1977

The Highway to Development

THIS IS YOUR 23rd annual convention. It is our custom to get together in mutual consultation for I have always looked upon your community of engineers as important participants in the work of national development. The membership of this league totals 350 city and district engineers. You are indispensable partners in Government. Upon you rest some of the most vital activities in the total national development effort. For we cannot look forward to accelerated progress and national modernization without the active participation of the highway engineers.

I noted in the last survey conducted by the Bureau of Internal Revenue as well as the Department of Local Governments and Community Development that the highest number of percentage among the services that our people would like to spend their taxes on is highways. It has always been so. As soon as I became congressman a long while back, immediately after the war, I conducted a survey in my own district, the second district of Ilocos Norte, as to what our people wanted. And there was always a triumvirate of services that they demanded — roads, irrigation, schoolhouses. A close fourth was health facilities. I note however that today there has been a change in some areas. The second requirement in the Ilocos is water and irrigation because of the dryness of the place. The third would be schoolhouses. The same thing is true of other areas that feel a lack of rain. But throughout the Philippines the second preferred area of expenditure for taxes is the operational expenses of government. I presume that this means the increase in salaries of government officers and employees. But highways are the general demand all over the Philippines. Wherever you go, highways are what our people expect from government.

Whenever there is peace and order problem, our people insist not only in the sending of government troops but in the construction of highways. Whenever there is any marketing problem, highways are the answer. And now that we speak of pollution in the Laguna de Bay area, there is a proposal that we cut down the pollution rate by building a highway around Laguna de Bay. For this is the answer in some countries, especially China, where the construction of any residential or industrial buildings around waterways or catchment basins or lakes is prohibited.

Indeed, highways has acquired the highest priority in our infrastructure program. Modern highways and communication systems are vital not only to domestic economic growth but to the stability of our country. They are vital to productivity and exchange of ideas. They are vital to exchange of culture and advancement.

Thus, the national development program, at the start of my Presidency, involved three things— roads or highways, schoolhouses, irrigation systems. Lately, however, in view of the oil crisis, we have moved up one priority item which is power. I am alarmed by this new forecast to the effect that there may even be a war over oil supply in the 1980s, if we don't gradually move into other sources of energy. And so lately there are two programs vying for number one priority in the entire infrastructure program — highways and power. At one point power was the No. 1 program, after we constructed the basic trunklines of our roads, and as we move into hydro-electric, geothermal, and nuclear power sources of energy, we will try to develop our coal deposits. We are engaged right now in active drilling for oil as well as natural gas.

You are well aware that we have dug oil, but we do not know how big the deposits are. And we have hit natural gas, but we have not yet exactly determined the volume available for us. Drilling continues. Perhaps, we are spending more funds now on the power project than on highways. But it is touch and go. Actually, we cannot say that we are spending more for power than highways. The truth of the matter is that the momentum in the construction of roads has been such that even if we wanted to, we cannot decelerate in highway construction.

Being a developing country, we did not start with a dynamic system for rapid transport and commerce. And our infrastructure needs have always been enormously complicated by the fact that we are an archipelagic nation. And so we wanted to set up what is known as Japan-Philippines Friendship highways, portions of which are financed by our Japanese friends. All the way from the North, we are going to link through one continuous highway the different lands (with the exception perhaps of two ferry areas, between Sorsogon and Samar across San Bernardino Strait, and

between the southern part of Leyte into the Surigao straits, where we expect to set up ferry boats). I took this up during my conference with Prime Minister Fukuda. And we agreed that while one of the big ferry boats would be constructed in Japan, the technology for their construction should be transferred to the Philippines. We also agreed that another ferry boat should be constructed in the Philippines with the help of Japanese experts.

Our position has always been that we will never borrow money for the ordinary operations of government. We will never borrow money for ordinary expenses. Our national budget is divided into two parts. One, the ordinary expenses. The other, capital funds. Actually, these are the long-range self-liquidating projects. For instance, you borrow money from Japan for the Japan-Philippines Friendship Highway; the amount is not included in the ordinary expenditures of government, although much of the money that we spend also comes from our taxes. When we borrow money, some of our people have the impression that the money that we borrow has no counterpart in domestically-generated local funds. That is not quite true. The dollar requirement for what are known as foreign-assisted projects may be only about 40 percent of actual requirement. Sixty percent of total expenditure comes from peso counterparts. Where does his peso counterpart come from? It comes from taxes paid by the people. And so even as we borrow, we must set aside 60 percent of the requirement from taxes paid by the people.

But, anyway, we borrow only for the long-range self-liquidating projects like power, highways, irrigation, and even schoolhouses which are now considered by all economists as a long-range investment capital fund. There are many other matters for which we borrow. We support, for instance, private industry. And we guarantee loans to private industry. For the small and medium scale or cottage industry, we borrow money from abroad and then lend it, through the Development Bank of the Philippines, to small or big entrepreneurs. And these are considered self-liquidating. They are not supported by the budget. They are self-liquidating in the sense that they will ultimately pay for themselves without any money from government.

If we review the record of the last 10 years, it will be obvious we have achieved more in terms of laying the base of our infrastructure than all administrations that preceded us in the last 30 years.

The record is more impressive if we now focus on the period of the crisis government. From 1972 to 1977, the national leadership has been pursuing the task of development. We injected rationality, efficiency, and the highest standards of incorruptibility into government. During the past 4½ years, we have built infrastructure facilities throughout our country and accomplished projects in record time. And the scale of commitments we have made to the total modernization of our infrastructure program has been unprecedented.

And when we claim these achievements, we claim them as unique achievements, resulting from the partnership between you and our people, between you and our government. For you work not for me, not for the Secretary, although sometimes your loyalty and support are personal. But you are working for our people. You undertake the vital task of implementing these projects. You are the direct implementors of the policy of our people. However, as we congratulate ourselves on our achievements, we must remember that although these achievements are remarkable and important, they are merely stepping stones. There are still larger tasks. To the growing network of roads, bridges, ports, and airports we have erected, we must yet add many more to fully meet the vital requirements of our national development program. Our attention must always turn to the more complex physical targets which are spawned by our own achievement. The second-generation problems are traffic congestion, congestion of population in our cities, creation of more arteries for the region, and construction of more modern facilities.

In short, we cannot stand still and rest on the highways we have already built. With every highway, we have linked communities to one another. There are other communities in great need of the same facilities. In every region, where our infrastructure development programs have succeeded in quickening the flow of commerce, there arise new needs that must be filled. For development generates its own dynamics and its own demands. That is the problem with achievement. It sets up its own standards. And setting up its own standards, it points out additional requirements.

Well, to these demands, what is our response? The response of the political leadership is a single-minded one. We shall continue the integrated development of our infrastructure facilities. We shall commit the resources required by these programs. And we shall undertake every measure to make every peso committed to these programs count to the full value of that peso.

We have succeeded in solving the old riddle of insufficient funds for infrastructure development. And you must remember that this was the classic answer to the absence of highways construction before I became President. Before I became President, the pork barrel system was pervasive. We allowed the political leaders to allocate funds. There was no National Economic Development Authority to set up the priorities. There was no rationality in planning. As soon as I became President, I inquired as to how much money had been spent for highways, for schoolhouses, for irrigation. And then I demanded a physical inventory of the achievements. And the achievements were awfully below the actual expenditures.

We have increased our revenues from the P5 billion collections in 1969 to the present P28 billion. That's a big jump. We have saved for development. Even our percentage in the expenditures for the military was reduced from 19 percent all the way down to 14 percent. This surprises many people because it has always been the belief that the defense establishment and the military eat up most of our funds. But we have insisted that expenditures for security must not exceed 20 percent of our budget. Education, of course, takes up the greatest portion of our budget.

But in addition to this, we have so established a reputation for probity, honesty, and dependability that we have a good international credit standing. We now have received assistance from many sources in foreign lands. Today, our financial position, though still strained by the economic crisis abroad, allows us to plan for even more ambitious projects in this areas.

However, having the right policy priority and having the right physical planning program are not enough. We must have a corps of workers and builders who will be able to translate our visions into concrete realities. And this is what I wanted to talk to you about today. Almost five years have elapsed since we instituted the New Society. We are now moving, we hope, into normalcy.

Occasionally, I wonder whether the principles and standards of the New Society have been deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of those who must demonstrate by example the principles and standards of the New Society.

Of course, you and I are well aware that we have improved the quality of our engineering and technology — the technological services as well as the building up of talent in the corps of engineers in highways, in public works, in power, and in all the fields so that we may truly serve the peculiar development needs of our country. I am very proud of the achievements of Filipino engineers, Filipino technicians, Filipino scientists. I am certain that we are seeing today the brilliant manager in which the Filipino mind has risen up to the challenge, for the times test the gifts of the Filipino whether he is an engineer, a scholar, a scientist, a farmer, and a laborer.

The creative ways in which we have demonstrated our capability to meet the various problems of development in a period of economic crisis can be pointed to as achievements peculiarly our own. Our road networks penetrate today even the once inaccessible swamps of the countryside. Bridges now span difficult straits separating our islands. The bridge between Samar and Leyte is an example.

Yesterday, I inaugurated at Pulilan the North Expressway Extension. And I was happy to note from the air and on the ground its long viaduct as well as the road that goes through the swamp areas of Bulacan and Pampanga. In Metro Manila, we have established the basis for a final solution to our perennial transport and flood problems, although we still have several years to go to attain our full objectives.

However, to this corps of talent and of ingenuity, we must, however, add the commitment to the ideals of the New Society. It is not enough that we have talent. We must also have the purpose. We must also have the dedication. We must also have the commitment to the standards of efficiency and of honesty in public service.

I am happy to note that you in this Department have taken steps to clean up your own ranks. However, I am often asked exactly how sincere the effort is at cleaning up. Of course, I must congratulate the competent managerial and staff support services that the Department has given. You will remember I have always said that errors and failures of the past were due to a disorganized and corrupt administration in highways as well as in public works. Conversely, the successes we have made proceeded from the corrective measures we instituted and the rising efficiency of development management.

As our programs grow more complex, there must be a complementary growth in our professional and institutional competence. But we must look beyond competence. Your Department is especially vulnerable to the charges of corruption, weakness, and temptation. I therefore ask you to take more than ordinary steps to eliminate all possibility of any doubts on this score.

To our community of engineers, to the Department of Public Highways, we must finally look for the human dimension that can truly turn programs into living realities.

I therefore hope that in the course of his conference you have called, there will emerge new and constructive ideas that will enhance the role of the engineer in the eyes not only of the Filipino people but in the eyes of his international counterpart. I also hope that you will develop the institutional and personal support for our infrastructure development program.

I expect that you will continue managing our projects with efficiency. It is our conviction that whatever we commit to infrastructure must pay off finally in terms of our industrial and technological growth.

Today, let us therefore make a common pledge. Let us act always according to the highest standards for public service in the pursuit of our highest objectives.

I call upon all the city and district engineers to undertake their own program of policing their own ranks. Let not this policing of your ranks start only from above. I would like to see it start from below, from the engineers themselves. There is another point on which I have always called the attention of the Secretary — the unusually large expenditure on machineries and maintenance. Up to now, the expenditure on equipment seem to be higher than those of other departments, including the Armed Forces of the Philippines. I would like to see this lowered.

I have asked the Budget Commissioner to now conduct an analysis of expenditures made by the various departments of the government— not on the basis of reports submitted by your Department, but on the basis of reports from the field. Some of my representatives will directly come to your districts to inquire into these matters. Institutional reforms should be initiated as soon as required.

It is quite obvious that the bulk of the major activities of the Department of Public Highways consists of projects fully or partially funded by foreign loans.

And so I hereby order the creation of separate offices which we shall specifically indicate, after consultation with the Reorganization Commission. The most important of the loan assisted projects are those assisted by the IBRD.

Anyway, I have ordered the creation of new offices which will handle this. I will attend to this as soon as the Reorganization Commission has cleared this matter.

And so I give my congratulations, but do not feel that we are not capable of improving our work. I think you and I should now move towards further improvement and greater effort. I congratulate you on this occasion. And on behalf of the First Lady, I thank you for these beautiful trophies you have given us that look like laurel leaves.

But I would like you to relate to our people. There is the tendency to merely attend to our work without improving relations with our people. I would like you to go out of your way now to explain to our people what we are doing since the people look to you for leadership. Inasmuch as you furnish them with what they need, you are in a position, better than I am perhaps, to explain to them the New Society and what it is doing for our people. And how the highways are a part of the general effort at modernization and improving the lot of the common man.

I would like to see a stronger emphasis on rural roads in the months and years to come. Yesterday, I ordered the release of the funds for farm-to-market-roads. Instead of proudly pointing to the highway projects, we should proudly point to the rural roads. The barangay roads will really serve the common man and the farmer. I trust that you and I will continue in this general effort. I am certain that we will achieve much with your help. I am confident

that our people will continue to grant our government their confidence and their trust. the field. Some of my representatives will directly come to your districts to inquire into these matters. Institutional reforms should be initiated as soon as required.

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Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the Pacific-Asian Congress of Municipalities, May 26, 1977

Tags: Ferdinand E. Marcos

The Management of Cities

IT IS INDEED a pleasure for me to be able to come and meet with the mayors of Asia and the Pacific.

It is doubly gratifying since you add to it the possibility of meeting with most of the mayors of the Philippines. This is beginning to look like a political meeting, what with the introduction, first, of the Secretary of Local Governments and Community Development. He forgot, however, to say that I did proclaim martial law in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution because nobody else has the power to proclaim martial law even in the face of rebellion and of anarchy. He also forgot to point out that as I proclaimed martial law, it is my hope and dream that I will be able to lift martial law as soon as possible.

If this invitation had come from a less friendly source, I would have suspected that someone was trying to sow dissension in my house. For after this conference was keynoted three days ago by the Governor of Metro Manila, who is incidentally my wife, Oriental prudence and wisdom dictate that I should now keep my peace. But evidently, someone here is determined that I should have the last word in the family. Never having been known for my timidity and being only President of the Republic of the Philippines, neither wise nor prudent, I have decided to come and meet with you, the real political leaders of the various countries represented in this Conference.

At the beginning of my political career, I was asked whether I wanted to be mayor or governor. But I managed to bring about some kind of a procedure by which we would choose who would run for governor and who would run for mayor, and eliminate myself from consideration. I know the burdens of Local executives. Having been used to the more free and uninhibited ways of a young practicing attorney as well as a bachelor, I did not think I was cut out to be a mayor or governor. You know, a mayor in the Philippines — I presume that this is true everywhere else — attends to the constituency 24 hours of the day. That was not for me. So I decided to become something else. I did not know that I would end up a glorified mayor, President of the Republic of the Philippines.

But levity aside, let me say that I appreciate the gesture very much.

It has been a great and exciting privilege for us to host this meeting of the Pacific-Asian Congress of Municipalities. I do not remember having seen so many of our local mayors in one place at the same time. I do remember, however, authorizing the mayors to come here on official time. And I guess they took advantage of that. This reminds me of the political campaigns from as far back immediately after the war. I see some of the leaders who were with me in the campaigns of 1959, 1965, 1969, and more recently in the referendum and plebiscite we held in 1973, 1975, 1976. We have really been through quite a few referendums and plebiscites, have we not? Well, we are not through yet. So I guess I should deliver a good speech for the benefit of the local mayors at least. I trust that the last few days have brought the delegates closer together and brought about a deeper understanding of the problems that confront local government executives.

To gather together under one roof the representative leaders of 81 cities in 17 countries in our part of the world is for us an achievement of sorts, and for you, a splendid testimony of the kind of interaction and esprit de corps that exists as a working international organization suggests its far-reaching importance and the quality of work it has the capacity to accomplish.

Those of us who serve the national governments of our respective countries look upon your community as our indispensable partners in the administration of government and in the building of national progress. It is as such a partner that I have come here today as you conclude your conference.

During this historic decade, attention has increasingly been focused on the need for international cooperation among the states in the resolution of problems affecting the nations and the world. It has risen beyond the once dominant

objective of securing world peace, to touch many new and complex issues such as the reform of the international economic order, the repair of the global environment, the plight of the developing nations, the sharing of global resources, and the resolution of the population challenge in our time.

The nations have perhaps never been more aware of the basic interdependence on one another than they are today; neither have they been more conscious of the need for urgent cooperative action among themselves.

That this imperative to cooperate has now touched our cities and local governments, to my mind, significantly enhances the attainment of what were once considered distant goals. And I would venture to add that the initiative of this Congress makes even more compelling the prospect of cooperation across a wide expanse of heterogeneous rural and urban groupings today.

For in many ways, the problems that appear so ominous on the international front find their clearest expression in the character of our cities and localities. Whether they belong to the southern or northern parts of the world, our cities embody problems of a similar nature — the concentration of population, the decay of urban life, the contrasts between the poor and the affluent, the erosion and decline of the environment, and the challenge to the will of Government.

In the developing countries, these factors assume even more compelling dimension. For it is a crucial part of our experience that our primate cities tend to sharpen rather than close the culture of poverty and underdevelopment from which we need to liberate ourselves.

Thus if at the helm of our national governments, we need today dynamic leadership and vision, we need equally an activist leadership at the helm of our cities. And there is no resolving the unique pressures posed by our urban and rural sectors, unless we build stability in our metropolitan centers. Talking about leadership in the local level, I have noticed wherever I went— whether here in the Philippines or anywhere else — that one can determine the quality of the local leadership by a single glance at the state and quality of life as well as of the physical manifestations of progress within a municipality or a city.

In many ways, the problems that appear so ominous in the international front, as I have said, do suggest the character of those cities.

What we have to recognize at the outset is that our cities pose difficult paradoxes and problems in abundance. Ostensibly, they embody the highest levels of attainment in terms of our economic, political, cultural, and communications power.

Yet beneath this primacy, there exist also undeniable conditions suggestive of decay and deterioration. It is here where we find the most compelling image of deprivation and waste, as evidenced by the stark contrasts between slums and commercial districts, or the mansions of the rich, the disappearance of the natural environment, the terrible concentration and congestion of millions, and sometimes the unavoidable eruptions into violence, anarchy and disorder.

Many of these problems have long been identified by our local governments and city executives. You are well aware of them. Yet after years of trying to cope, with these problems, most of us have only found out the real limitations of our programs and the need for radical efforts at reform.

Mayor Fasi informs me that he is surprised at discovering a common denominator in all conferences of mayors. According to him, whether the conference is in the United States or in the Philippines, there is only one principal requirement for the cities — money. That reminds me of Napoleon who once was asked what he needed for a successful war. He said: “I need three things.

The first is money, the second is money, and the third is money.”

It would appear at first that some of the cities of the advanced countries have found real and lasting solutions to their problems: even cities like New York and Paris — long the centers of progress in the planet — totter critically today under difficult and heavy burdens.

It is clear that there is great need today for fresh visions to guide the administration of our local governments, for new approaches to inject new life into our programs.

And this I believe is the real service that your organization can introduce.

There is a great need today to look boldly at the malaise of metropolitan life, to seek out their roots and to start afresh.

For we have found out that simply increasing the quantity of services is no guarantee that the quality of life for our urban populations will improve. We have seen how the very growth of our metropolitan centers has thrust us into difficult problems, such as for instance the difficulties posed by the insufficiency of zoning during the period of growth.

Our own experience in the Philippines may have its own value to those who are similarly situated as we are.

Manila is one of the oldest cities in Asia and the Pacific, and it is, for the Philippines, the primate city. As such it has been the focus of great movements and developments in our country, so much so that in the interval of centuries it was practically transformed into a metropolitan center bursting at the seams. Wave upon wave of migrants from the rural areas flooded into Manila. For a while, up to the middle of this century, the city was able to absorb these millions. But by the onset of the Sixties, the problems faced by our city government became enormous. Slums and ghettos dotted the metropolis especially after the Second World War practically wiped out all of Manila. Garbage alone became a priority problem. Social services, no matter how expanded and extended seemed to fall short of the needs.

In approaching these problems, we saw the need for a new approach to city administration itself. Basically this has consisted of two main points of concern: the need to link under one management the various cities and municipalities constituting Metropolitan Manila: and second, the need to institute a unified approach for developing these areas and for resolving their problems.

In what has since come to be called the Metro Manila Commission, we have established a managerial type of local government that in effect tries to run the problems of urban administration as though it were a business enterprise. Without displacing altogether the traditional political structures of these cities and municipalities, we have introduced fresh approaches to city administration and to the extension of needed services. For we recognized that the problems of housing, slums, environmental decay, social services, health and sanitation were all common and interconnected: and had the constituent cities persisted to act singly, there would have been no hope of a real solution.

There is nothing novel in this approach when viewed in the context of the experience of the developed cities of the West, but what is very clear here is the fact that a solution begins to take shape from the will to radicalize government administration.

The experiences of the great cities — encouraging or saddening as the case may be — show us what we can do in resolving the problems.

There is undeniably something to be gained by the new and rising urban centers in the developing nations in having before them the problems of the old cities and governments. The Philippines, learning from the lessons of other countries and other cities is probably one of the first countries to organize and set up a really effective Human Settlements Commission that plans out and prepares the organization, if not the upgrading, of satellite towns and cities to decongest the primate cities. The Human Settlements Commission also participates in the solution of some

of the primary problems of the various cities. For instance, it does participate in the planning of all the cities and principal towns of the Philippines. And thus the developing countries like the Philippines posted on such problems can plan with greater insight — and well ahead of time — on the problems that growth engenders; and they are able to find recourse to every corrective measure during their very march to growth and progress. In the Philippines again, if I may point out, we have discovered that one of the principal obstacles to low-cost housing for our lower classes is the high cost of realty, of land. The Government therefore has stepped in. It has now set aside and reserved certain lands close to Manila and close to other cities and big towns of the Philippines to be utilized for housing of the lower as well as the higher classes. There is a long-range plan under which we reserve such land in order that the prices would be manageable even five or 10 years from now on.

Here in this Conference you have, I hope, availed yourselves of the unique opportunity of sharing experiences and vital information that will greatly aid us in the tasks of local administration. Many local governments have had some success in the implementation of new programs, which if shared with other local governments are likely to be useful in their own case.

And beyond such exchange, I trust you have had the opportunity to explore the possibilities of coordinating research and study of the problems we share in common: in the development of new techniques in the administration of services; and in the organization of a pool of expertise and technological know-how.

There is practically no limit to the kind of cooperation that will prove useful to the management and administration of our cities and municipalities. For the problems we face are such that they continue to grow everyday, to ramify and radiate in various ways. Within the developing world, this is a crisis that is likely to prove more and more demanding.

Many economists have spoken of the Asia and Pacific Basin as the likely center of prodigious growth and development during the next ten years. They have spoken of our countries as forming a chain in which geographical position and the shape of recent developments are auguries of progress.

As the habitat of many of the poor peoples in this part of the world, our communities can benefit from a common view on what kind of rural and urban life they should develop, at what rate of growth they should develop, and how in general they should cope with problems of modernization.

We are linked together in this optimistic vision of the future. Yet just as likely, we shall continue to be linked together, as we are now linked, by the reality of shared problems.

The fulfillment of our goals during this decade will rest upon the degree of cooperation and interaction we are capable of carrying out among our countries. And such cooperation, I believe, must fully seep down to every sector of our societies, to the very level of local governments and municipalities if our actions are to match the problems and the prospects we face.

Once again, allow me to commend the initiative taken by this Congress, most especially its leader, Mayor Fasi. I also commend those who participated in the organization and holding of this Congress, especially Mayor Bagatsing, who I understand, has been chosen to take over the leadership. I am certainly happy that there is a conference that has been called on urban problems. Now, the city administrators do not necessarily have to run to the President every time they hit on obstacle. They can go and see Mayor Bagatsing. Of course, I took care of that at the start of my administration. I created the Department of Local Governments and Community Development and appointed its Secretary. He took over that headache, but he is an old politician. So he merely transfers all the headaches back to me.

But it is my hope that our guests from across the seas will find their stay in the Philippines both fulfilling and pleasant. I trust you leave Manila with pleasant memories of the last few days and better confidence in what your organization can do to meet the problems that confront our cities and municipalities.

To each and everyone of you, again, congratulations and Mabuhay.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the GSIS 40th anniversary celebration, May 31, 1977

The Measure of Our Concern for Human Welfare

YOU KNOW THESE ceremonies are beginning not to look like the GSIS anniversary. They are beginning to look like a wedding anniversary with all those songs — *Iyong-Iyo* and that new melody by Professor Salas and the members of the GSIS choral group. This is also one of the few times that I have seen the PICC session hall filled to the rafters — standing room only. At nahahalata ko itong si Jun Cruz ay talagang marunong na manager, ano? Unang-una, ibinigay niya ang painting na gawa ni Alcuaz. Alam ninyo maganda ang painting ng First Lady. Wala tayong alinlangan sa bagay na ito. Pero kung pagagandahin mo ang Presidente — sabi ko nga kay Mr. Alcuaz: the painting of the First Lady is beautiful, but the painting of the President is a little idealized. But I think they are one of the best paintings ever made of the President and the First Lady. Congratulations, Mr. Alcuaz.

Now, if only we could make the person as young as the painting. This reminds me of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. When he was 19 years old, he met a lovely young lady while walking down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. And he said to himself: Ah, to be 70 years old all over again.

That painting, of course, makes me look like I was a guerrilla leader all over again. The painting has the posture of a bantam cock, confident and sure of himself. He looks imperishable. May it always be so.

I am always stunned by the fact that Government has 820,000 members. The General Manager has explained to you the operations of GSIS. He failed to explain to you that out of the P27.5 billion that we spend every year, almost one-half of it goes to you in the form of salaries. And that is why not a small part of the operation of government has to do with the Government Service Insurance System. No wonder GSIS has so much money.

But actually it has been handled so well and the investments so wisely made that some day the Government will be borrowing more from the GSIS. Actually, it has been borrowing occasionally in the past, not under my administration. We have put our foot down. We do not borrow for ordinary expenditures of Government. We borrow only for what is known as capital funding, the long-term and self-liquidating investments.

Well, this day has been a day of surprises. I must say that I was also surprised to note that the GSIS coverage now includes the Metro Aide, the favorite of the Governor of Metro Manila. She actually would not allow me to stand up until I promised that I would mention the Metro Aide in my speech. This coverage of the Metro Aide indicates the solicitude and compassion which Government has shown for all its workers. I am certain that if the Governor of Metropolitan Manila had been permitted to deliver a speech here, she would have said the same thing. And probably, she would have spent more time on the Metro Aide than I was prepared to do.

Every anniversary deserves some kind of ceremony, some kind of celebration, both sentimental and pragmatic, but there are many reasons for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Government Service Insurance System. The first is the institution itself. You are the labor group on the part of the public sector. We celebrate May 1 as Labor Day. Today, it is perhaps Employees' Day for the entire Government framework and organization of the Republic of the Philippines. This is the first reason for celebrating. The second is the impact of this organization upon the social and economic life of our nation.

The GSIS is the third largest financial institution in the country, one of the largest in Southeast Asia, and one of the oldest social security and insurance agencies in this part of the world. It is one of the two major social security institutions in the Philippines, both of which embody the high commitment of our Government and of our people to the improvement of human welfare.

It has, as the General Manager pointed out in his report, historically played a dual role: that of a social security and insurance agency, and that of a development finance institution. In this, it has confirmed the link between economic development and social security.

As a social security agency, the GSIS has been an effective instrument for mobilizing savings and capital formation. Its funds have been invested indirectly through such institutions as the DBP, PNB, Central Bank and the productive projects in food manufacturing, drug manufacturing, housing, schools and hospitals, commercial real estate, tourism facilities and many others. These investments have been beneficial both to the nation and to the individual GSIS members, including the President. You know, I periodically receive all those dividends that are sent to me. Don't think that I don't take note of this, I do. I always take note of this because my salary as all the other benefits coming from the Government work goes into a fund for the scholarship of poor and deserving students. But the General Manager speaks of some of the benefits that we may be entitled to. Don't joke about it. We might just apply for a salary loan, you know.

From its very humble beginnings in 1937, the GSIS has since become a custodian of the Government employee's welfare and in this sense has been a valued participant in the effort to connect the distribution of equity among the entire Filipino people.

Assigned to perform a sensitive task, this institution has demonstrated its competence to interpret correctly its role in a changing social environment, and to help bring about change, to the advantage of the greater number of Filipinos. Through its mature and far-sighted policies, it has helped to validate the conviction and faith of the New Society that social security goes hand in hand with economic development, that unless these twin concerns are joined, an otherwise prosperous economy could produce impressive statistics on the one hand, only to be negated by a neglected and unhappy, perhaps restless, population on the other.

For it is no secret that there are some in our midst — in business, in academe, and even in Government — who maintain that social security must take a back seat to economic development, that there can be no simultaneous relationship between these two concerns. This is to suggest that economic development must reward people only when they are productive, and ignore them when their need temporarily or permanently offsets their capacity to produce.

The proposition is downright inhuman, and unacceptable to our administration and the New Society. It offends anyone who would consider society to be the sum total of the opportunities and hardships, of the various polarities of human existence, of all its members. No man who truly looks forward to living a full life in an environment where his needs will be met, and his wants reasonably satisfied, can think of enjoying himself at the expense of neglected needy members of the community; he must expect that his needs will be met and his wants reasonably satisfied only if there is something alive in the society that seeks to ensure the equitable distribution of the care and respect of that society. Without that, with each man to himself, the chord that links the individual to the society is forever frayed, if not altogether broken.

To be sure, economic development is one of the most compelling commitments of Government. For this reason, the New Society has placed top priority in increasing and rationalizing the Government's own direct capital expenditures program, and in redesigning its policies to make the entire economic climate more conducive to productive investments. In the last four years and so many months of the New Society, we have seen the combined effort of Government and the private sector to increase the country's productive capacity, with Government providing the policies to stimulate activity and the basic infrastructure support, and the private sector investing in the factories, in agricultural and industrial technology, and the related services that would ensure a balanced, integrated and highly productive Philippine economy.

Yet the bustle of economic life and the physical change in the landscape of our cities and countryside — even the impressive networks of roads and highways, hydroelectric plants and irrigation dams, whole industrial complexes that boast of the latest advances in industrial technology — are likely to be of little consequence, if they do not enhance the welfare of individual who stands at the very center of society. For as someone long ago has written, "with all our prejudices and passions, and all our 'business instinct', we have also a sense of what is dignified. On that we must build, if we wish to leave to those who come after us the foundation. ., if we wish to leave our successors in mood and heart to continue our work, so that. . years from now, human life may really be dignified and beautiful, not just a breathless, grudging, visionless scramble from birth to death.

It is our total concern for man that inspires, governs and finally validates our economic development programs. Our aim is to afford every man a gainful occupation to provide himself and his family a standard of living that is not only adequate but dignified. This will give him the basic necessities of life, as well as the sense and substance of participation as a genuinely free individual. This sense of freedom will come to him when he no longer has to contend every day with the problem of sheer survival, when at the end of the day he could come home to a family and a home and look forward to having his share of the pleasures of learning and of leisure, the civilizing effect of art and culture, and some inward growth as a human being.

But the beneficiaries of development should also be protected from its potential ravages. This is a principle we hold inviolate: that progress shall not be won at the cost of the fragile environment in which the human community lives. Any program that is mindless of the damage done on the environment will ultimately be self-destructive.

And if economic development cannot run roughshod over the natural environment, neither can it ignore the so-called social accidents that are an inevitable companion of progress and indeed of human life itself. While our goal is to give every man and woman an opportunity to work and provide for his or her own existence, there is no guarantee that any single person who is blessed with a job will find permanent security in it. There are a wide range of contingencies, choosing their victims at random, that strike and render people incapable, whether temporarily or permanently, of continuing to earn an income and supporting themselves and their dependents. These contingencies are part of the human condition and wear a variety of grim disguises: sickness, whether at work or out of it; disability or invalidity, which can be partial or total, temporary or permanent; old age; and even, death.

These contingencies are referred to as “social accidents” by academics in a futile effort to soften their grimness. But no matter how we try, they are grim nevertheless. They rob their victims — temporarily for those who are lucky, permanently for those who are not — of the capacity to stay in the productive ranks of society; to enjoy the fruits of employment which economic progress provides them; and to continue to earn the wherewithal with which to support their families. And if they fall out of the ranks of the productive, normal and healthy sectors of society — not by choice but as victims of these contingencies, as the casualties in an idealistic war for the defense and security of our people and our country — neither they nor their families should be left and abandoned by the wayside while the rest moves on. Their loss of income must somehow be compensated; and if the damage is not permanent, they must be helped to re-integrate themselves into the normal ranks of society; to reclaim their place among the healthy and the productive; and to continue contributing their efforts to the gross national welfare.

This is the task not only of social security. This is the task of the entire Government and all the policies that are dedicated to the ideals of the New Society. It is the task of social security, however, to provide them with an income while they are incapacitated, and to rehabilitate and reintegrate them as soon as possible into normal life.

In our country, the need for allocating some fruits of economic development is dictated not only by sound development policy but by our culture as a people and a race. The alluring call of progress induces an individual to leave the built-in protection of the Filipino extended-family system, and to join an urban, impersonal, and alien environment where his only means of defense is his individual earning capability. The security of a social unit—the family — is replaced by the security of an economic unit — the working place. With one vast difference. The family continues to care for its own sick and disabled and dependents. The working place does not, unless motivated by an enlightened company policy or compelled by social legislation from Government. As we industrialize, the protective role of the family recedes and social security must take its place. Social security, in a way, combines all employers and employees into one large family. It humanizes organized industry.

Thus the link between economic development and social security is a concern for man. Progress must benefit him, not run him over. It must be beneficent, not alienating. Those who wish to participate in the country's total productive efforts and earn an income should be given every opportunity to do so this is the goal of economic development. But those who drop out from the parade from either sickness, disability, old age or death or casualty and injury arising out of the performance of one's duty either as a soldier, a teacher, or employee must be provided with some help for themselves and for their dependents: this is the goal of social security. And it is the goal of the New Society. A society that single-mindedly pursues economic development but ignores the needs of its unwilling victims is a society that is programmed to self-destruct. It cannot be defended; in the end, it cannot be preserved.

We in the Philippines have reason to be proud that we have one of the most visionary, comprehensive and compassionate social security programs in existence within the developing world. It is a program that has grown steadily during the last half century, defying first of all the false notion that only the rich can afford to have a forward-looking social security for the future. We owe this to the consistency of our social legislation, and the determination of succeeding administrations to innovate and contribute something new to existing policy.

Our program had its modest beginnings, you will recall, in 1907. That year, a Constabulary Pension and Retirement Fund was created, followed by a Teacher's Retirement and Disability Fund in 1922, and a Health Pension and Retirement Fund in 1924. All of these were liquidated in 1936 when the Philippine Legislature enacted one of the most important pieces of social legislation in this country. This was Commonwealth Act No. 186, which had for its aim, the promotion of the efficiency and welfare of the employees of the Government of the Philippines. It was this Act that created the Government Service Insurance System, which started operations on May 31, 1937, 40 years ago to this day.

The GSIS started by administering a Life-insurance Program for all permanent Government employees. In 1951, Republic Act No. 660 expanded the GSIS's benefit programs to include retirement benefits and total and permanent disability benefits. I still remember participating in the framing of this legislation as a young member of Congress. In 1957, Congress passed Republic Act No. 1616 which provided for new optional retirement schemes. In 1967, Republic Act No. 4968 further increased retirement benefits, in pension or in gratuity, of government employees. All of these were amended and refined by other laws.

In the meantime, in 1954, to encompass not only government but also private employees within the scope of social security, another significant piece of legislation was passed: Republic Act No. 1161, creating the Social Security System and providing for sickness, retirement, disability, and death benefits for private employees. Republic Act No. 1972 signalled the actual implementation of Social Security Law in 1957.

But we cannot rest on past accomplishments. We must be sensitive to changing conditions and changing needs. We must move on. The greatness of the New Society lies, among others, in its ability to provide a dynamic response to change, and indeed to manage change itself.

Over the years, the cost of living has moved upwards, and profound developments in the Philippines as well as in the global economy have affected the lives and welfare of the working man. The economy, which has stood well the crisis and seen a period of impressive growth, must now perhaps allocate part of that growth to the care of our working people in their hour of need.

Accordingly, I would like to take this occasion to issue a number of decrees and proclaim a number of policies all designed to enhance the welfare of everyone working in the service of government.

The first is a major decree "amending, expanding, increasing, and integrating the social security and insurance benefits of government employees and facilitating the payment thereof under Commonwealth Act No. 186, Republic Act No. 6111, and Presidential Decree No. 442, all as amended, and for other purposes."

This decree will fundamentally amend the GSIS charter. In the light of existing economic conditions affecting the welfare of government employees, this decree will expand and improve the social security and insurance programs administered by the GSIS. Among others, the decree will increase pension benefits, expand disability benefits, increase medical-care benefits, introduce survivorships benefits, introduce sickness-income benefits, and provide for universal coverage of all government employees by these programs.

This decree shall increase the monthly pension of future retirees by 12 per cent on the average for those earning less than P1,000 a month and by 10 per cent on the average for those earning more. In other words, the lower-income members will enjoy proportionately larger increases in their pensions than higher-income members.

Under present laws, the five-year lump sum is available to employees or officers who retire at age 63 after completing at least 18 years of service, the last three years of which need not be continuous. I wish to emphasize that contrary to rumors, the lump sum benefits will not only stay but will be liberalized.

I also wish to emphasize that contrary to another rumor, the gratuity benefits under Republic Act No. 1616 will not be abolished.

Under present laws, upon the death of a pensioner, their survivors do not receive any income benefit. Under this decree, when the pensioner dies, the widow and the orphans will receive a pension under certain conditions. This survivorship benefit is also made available to the current pensioners of the Government Service Insurance System.

Under present laws, when a retirable member dies, the legal heirs are entitled to a five-year lump sum of the pension due the deceased and thereafter the heirs do not receive any other benefits. Under this new decree, when a member dies, the beneficiaries will not only be entitled to a five-year lump sum of the pension due the deceased but thereafter the widow and the orphans will also receive a pension under certain conditions.

Under present laws, when a non-retirable member dies, the heirs do not receive any income benefits. Under this new decree, when a non-retirable member dies, the heirs are entitled to a pension or cash payment under certain conditions.

Under present laws, government officers and employees are entitled to income benefits due to work-connected sickness or injury only. Under this decree, even non-work-connected sickness or injury will be compensable under certain conditions.

Under this decree, the medical-care benefits are significantly increased for members and their dependents, a major expansion of the present Medicare Program.

The benefits granted by this decree for work-connected disability are substantially increased compared with the benefits granted under present laws. Furthermore, they are payable for the duration of the contingency, whereas present laws limit them to a period of five years or P12,200 whichever comes first.

Under this decree, an employee with only three years of service who becomes disabled due to nonwork-connected sickness or injury will be entitled to a pension, whereas they are entitled to none under existing laws.

Under this decree, life insurance of all government employees is automatic without need of medical examination and regardless of employment status, thereby rectifying the odd situation under present laws where employees not covered by any life insurance leave their dependents helpless in case of death or accident.

Under present laws, only members of the GSIS may apply for Optional Life Insurance. Under this decree, Optional Life Insurance is made available to dependents of members, thus enabling them to take advantage of the low premium rates enjoyed only by GSIS members.

This decree will also increase funeral benefits and will provide for their expeditious payment.

Under this decree, government employees will have the option to choose which Retirement Law (old or new) to avail of, thereby preserving any vested rights. I also wish to emphasize that no existing benefits, rights, or privileges at present available to government employees will be repealed, modified, or reduced by this decree. All existing benefits are preserved and improved.

In your presence, therefore, I hereby sign this Presidential Decree which grants all these new benefits to GSIS members.

My attention has been called to the discrimination against some of the officers and employees of government. I refer more specifically to the members of the various Sanggunian, who have proven themselves to be strong pillars in the workings of the democratic process under the New Society. And yet, they have no insurance coverage,

I now therefore sign another decree extending to them the same insurance coverage now enjoyed by barangay officials and by the chairman of the Kabataang Barangay under Republic Act No. 4898. All members of the Sangguniang Bayan, Sangguniang Panlalawigan, and Sangguniang Pampook will now enjoy the insurance coverage of their barangay colleagues.

I sign this decree again in your presence.

I now turn to the living retirees receiving pensions from the GSIS. I am aware that the cost of living has been going up. This is why sometime ago, I issued Presidential Decree No. 712 converting the fixed monthly pension system administered by the GSIS into an index-linked pension system. Under that decree, adjustment of monthly pensions may be made in the light of changes in price levels if recommended by the General Manager of the GSIS and approved by the President of the Philippines. I now hereby approve the recommendation by the GSIS General Manager to increase retirees' monthly pensions by five percent effective January 1, 1977, and hereby direct the GSIS to release the retroactive increase immediately as soon as the amounts can be computed.

I understand there are still about 300 teachers and more than 100 other beneficiaries who are receiving pensions under Act No. 3050 passed in 1922, otherwise known as the Teachers' Pension and Disability Fund. This Fund was phased out when the GSIS was created, but there is still a small number of living beneficiaries of this fund. These are the full-time teachers, supervisors, inspectors, superintendents, and other officials who retired before World War II. As a tribute to these old unsung public school teachers and officials who are now in the twilight of their lives, I hereby sign this Presidential Decree that will increase their monthly pension by P100.00 for the pensioners and by P50.00 for the other beneficiaries.

I also hereby approve the recommendation of the General Manager of the GSIS to reorient the loans-and-investments policies of the System to make them directly supportive of its social-security and insurance operations. The GSIS has performed a pervasive role in the economic development of the country. It can now concentrate on its mission of providing social security and insurance benefits to its members and reduce its development-banking role. The GSIS can now de-emphasize its business loans, and devote its investments to service loans to members and to the purchase of Government and private securities from the capital market. This recommendation of the GSIS General Manager has been endorsed by the Monetary Board and the Secretary of Finance. Today in your presence, I approve it.

This does not mean that the GSIS will withdraw its financial resources from development projects completely. It will merely mean that it will insulate itself from developmental risks. One area that should not be adversely affected by the GSIS's reorientation of its loans and investments policies is housing. The magnitude of our housing requirements is such that the resources of the GSIS and the SSS are no longer sufficient to support the housing program and should therefore be augmented. This can be done by raising funds in the capital market here and abroad. What we need is a steady and reliable cash inflow for the Government's housing efforts.

Accordingly, in order to be able to tap the funds not only of the GSIS and the SSS but also those available in the local and foreign capital markets, I will now sign before you a decree establishing an Integrated Program for Home Mortgage Financing. It will create a National Home Mortgage Finance Corporation. It also establishes a package of sources from which this new Mortgage Corporation will draw a steady and reliable stream of cash inflow to support what will now be an unprecedented massive housing program throughout the entire Philippines.

Capital contributions to the new Corporation will come from the GSIS, the SSS, the DBP, the PNB, and the Land Bank. It will raise funds through the issuance, sale, and flotation of bonds which will carry features that will make them attractive for investments by banks and insurance companies. We will also call on the financial institutions, both Government and private, to recognize their social obligations to the community by devoting a certain portion of their portfolios to investments in these bonds.

The Mortgage Corporation is also empowered to negotiate for loans from all sources, local and foreign. To augment the housing fund further, the decree imposes an additional residence tax, as well as a tax on high-cost dwellings, in order that the rich will subsidize the housing needs of the poor. The government will from time to time appropriate funds to augment the resources of the Corporation.

The decree will also impose incremental SSS and GSIS premiums on their high-income members to constitute one of the regular sources of housing funds. These additional premiums are not a straight tax but will purchase additional social security benefits from these systems. However, the proceeds of these additional premiums shall be reserved by both systems for lending to the Mortgage Corporation either directly or through the purchase of its bonds.

The Mortgage Corporation can then use its vast assets for leverage purposes, to raise even more funds from the local and foreign capital markets.

These corporations will also assist in establishing a secondary-mortgage market in this country, one of the requirements of an effective program for financing home construction and ownership for an increasing number of Filipinos.

I would like to state that the two problems on housing have always been the high cost of lands, and the absence of end-user financing. The second problem I hope will be met by the second-mortgage financing set up by this mortgage corporation. On the high cost of lands, I have adopted a policy to reserve public lands and expropriate private lands for housing and other purposes wherein Government will advance the necessary funds and hold the land in trust for (1) the members of the GSIS and the SSS who up to now have no homes; (2) those who are not members of these systems who may want to own homes themselves. These two problems will therefore be met frontally by Government. The second problem we meet today. In your presence, I sign this all-important decree establishing an integrated program for home mortgage financing; creating a nationwide home-mortgage finance corporation, and defining its powers and functions, and providing funds therefore as well as for other purposes.

To complement this measure and to mobilize additional resources for the housing program, I propose the adoption of a system of voluntary savings by Government personnel. Accordingly, I hereby direct the General Manager to devise the mechanics of the system and to recommend immediately the incentives necessary to encourage members of the civil service to voluntarily set aside a portion of their salary, say, five per cent, for housing finance. It will be the duty and obligation of the GSIS, starting today, to survey all its members to find out who will voluntarily participate in this effort because they are in need of homes. I appeal to all those who still have no homes to now immediately come and enlist themselves in this effort to provide homes for all those who are in need of them.

Again, my congratulations to the Government Service Insurance System and to its General Manager. I think I have given enough gifts on your birthday. I would like to say that you have actually given me more not only on this day, but each day that you work for our people.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the National Conference on Environmental Management in commemoration of World Environment Day, June 6, 1977

Progress and the Human Environment

MY PRESENCE HERE today is an official indication of the importance of the work of environmental control. I am the chairman of three councils. The first is the National Economic Development Authority, a constitutional body. It is the single national body engaged in economic planning. The second is the National Security Council. The General Military Council is a contributing body of the National Security Council, both of which I chair. These are the two councils in Government which I head. On April 18, as a part of the initial inter-agency committee on environmental protection, we organized the National Environmental Council of which I am also chairman. This emphasizes the need for the entire citizenry to participate in this effort.

I came here today to call the attention of the entire nation to the urgency of the task on this matter. Yesterday was supposed to be Environmental Day under the United Nations' resolution. We celebrate it today because today is Monday.

As we open this Conference this morning, on this international observance of World Environment Day, it is indeed gratifying to note that so many nations around the world are also holding their own commemoration of this important day, and so many among our countrymen are here to join in this observance.

This is a phenomenon suggestive of the worldwide concern that has followed the historic Stockholm Declaration in 1972 which for the first time noted the pervasive decay of the human environment and asserted the fundamental right of man to live in an environment worthy of his dignity and well-being. And if anything is truly new about the situation today, it is no doubt the fact that we are beginning to see the problem of environment as a whole, and many propitious initiatives are now being taken by the nations, separately and together, towards its full resolution.

We have grown, I think, not only in our anxiety about the problems; more important, we have grown in our understanding of them, and in our capacity to cope with them and to resolve them.

One measure of the change that has taken place is the spirit in which we respond to the so-called environmental crisis. At the time of the historic Stockholm Conference, it was fashionable to speak of the crisis as the inevitable result of a world gone berserk with technology and industry, and portents were everywhere sounded in advanced countries that progress had made of the earth a vast wasteland.

After five years, we know a little bit better than this. The decay of the global environment affects all the nations in common — those that have reached the very heights of technological progress, and those that have barely touched its slopes, in nation after nation, the symptoms of environmental decay have been revealed to us, and it is now no more possible for the developing country to imagine itself spared of the onslaughts of the crisis, than for the advanced country to imagine that the problem would disappear in the course of time.

And side by side with this perception, we now experience after five years a considerably more optimistic outlook about the situation to match the doomsday proclamations that greeted the crisis of the Sixties.

Incidentally, this doomsday attitude is still in the media. I would like to note that media, being as they are, tend to paint the darkest side of the picture. Our media here apparently are still in the Sixties on this particular subject. This is an objective appraisal of the situation, as the media are wont to say. They say they are objective about this, but you can see the tendency. They never print what we are doing but they print what is decaying and what is happening to our environment. However, it is our hope that after this conference they will know better. In nation after nation too, anxiety has been followed with earnest efforts to grasp the nature of the crisis. And from knowledge, have come the beginnings of resolution and of response.

One cannot emphasize enough the object lesson of this development in terms of the plight of the developing nations. At the very start, the environmental crisis seemed to pose one of the most perplexing predicaments to the developing nations. For what they had before them then was the example of the developed nation marshalling the will to produce abundance with the aid of modern technology, but loudly proclaiming at the same time their despair with their industrial technology — the same technology from which arose all their affluence and all their wealth. To make progress — which we desperately needed then and need now — we would have, it seemed then, to pay the inevitable costs of industrial progress, in terms of the pollution of our air, our rivers, our streams, our seas, our natural environment itself. And the example of the developed nations only served to magnify the grim dilemma. In our innocence, in our naivete, and in our ignorance, we appeared condemned to make an impossible choice. Today we know better.

We know now and we believe that we can make progress, without inflicting irreparable harm upon the environment.

We know now, and we believe, that industrial progress and environmental protection are complementary goals that reinforce rather than exclude each other.

And we know this to be a challenge we are fully capable of resolving, according to our special circumstances as a developing country with a will to achieve, and within the limits that our wisdom and our knowledge will allow.

For me, there is much to fear from a sentimental view of the natural environment and a distrusting attitude towards the possibilities of science and technology. If it be true that the science of abundance has indeed sired the malaise of the advanced societies in our time, then that same science, too, abetted by the will and wisdom of human institutions, can be the instrument whereby our struggling nations can bypass the experience of those who have developed ahead of us, and create the harmony between progress and the human environment, between social advancement and human welfare.

But this is not the measure of our commitment to the environment. For I must tell you that whenever there shall be any choice now or in the future between maintaining our environment and progress, I would rather that for the moment we maintain our environment. This is the measure of our commitment for the cause of environmental protection. This is the meaning of this First National Conference on Environmental Management.

We are a country justly famed for its vast and varied natural inheritance. Geography has endowed this nation the blessings of the resources of mountains, land masses, rivers and oceans, of a climate that allows for year-round agriculture, and of a homogeneity among its islands. For it to develop, we have to draw greatly from this vast capital of natural resources to support the modernization effort. We have to exploit our forests, mountains and seas for their wealth. And we must process them in order to derive the greatest benefits from this wealth.

But let me restate all over again that our objective will be to reach the point where we don't need to cut our trees in order to develop economically.

In such a great effort, it is no doubt inevitable that the natural environment will yield part of its pristine bounty and beauty. To turn vast tracts of idle land into farms, to dig for minerals in the mountains, to direct the flow of rivers towards human cultivation, to explore the seas for marine deposits — all these are timeless activities of man in order to live by the fruits of nature.

But if this push to create wealth is creative of tensions with the natural environment, that is not to say that such tensions cannot be managed and controlled. Except for a few resources, all natural resources can be replenished and even developed to confer more human benefits.

This is not a situation in which man is deemed to rape, and nature to perish. We start from this basic assumption.

The key is to strike the proper balance between the human need to harness and develop the bounty of the environment and his equally consuming need for natural beauty and sustenance. They are reinforcing needs, just as

nature and man are meant to sustain each other, and this has always marked the human journey on the planet, captured vividly in the timeless image of man and nature being “the salt of the earth.”

To find and maintain this balance is the first and most fundamental task of national policy. It is your task and it is my task. This must be the cornerstone of such a wide-ranging effort as a national development program.

What then is our policy?

Basically, it narrows down to this: to create and develop those conditions under which man and nature can thrive in harmony; to fulfill the economic and other needs of generations of Filipinos; to attain an environment conducive to the dignity and well-being of our people; and to make of these harmonies a resource in itself that will serve both those who live today and posterity.

These goals, broadly conceived, find their life in practice in an entire series of programs, the central objective of which is the creation of wealth and the protection of the natural environment. There are innumerable routes open to a nation in its pursuit of progress; man alone defines and sets the boundaries for his quest. At an earlier time, he carved those boundaries pretty much at will, for in a sense he had the whole of world and of all nature to explore, and he was too infinitesimal to exhaust it. Today, he is not so puny, either in his numbers or in his means to master his environment.

The way of development must have today very clear guidelines for the harmonious balance that we speak of. In our case, we have defined those guidelines in these terms.

First, that development must be planned, with central emphasis placed on the particular endowments of the environment. Until the arrival of industrialization and advanced technology, there was in a sense natural guidance provided by the natural contours of land and sea to the quest of man for progress. Cities arose on the banks of rivers and the shores of embankments. Farm settlements emerged on the plains and slopes of mountains, naturally and instinctively.

But this ecological balance was made impossible by the very thrust of modern industry, as the cities spilled to the countryside, and the countryside itself began to emerge as urban communities.

To plan development according to these instruments for progress, a nation not only pays attention to the economic factor of labor, technology and capital, it must also plan out the physical shape of the emerging society. It cannot avoid zoning the landscape for effective land utilization and for creating livable communities out of what was once only vast spaces of land.

In this, the example of the developed nations and the early experiences with industrialization of the developing countries provide compelling lessons in planning. Modern industry, with its unique capacity for creating waste and for polluting the environment, sooner or later, rapes the environment and makes it impossible for man literally to live, when allowed to grow and develop at will without some kind of orientation and limitation.

Today, we cannot avoid, in short, planning specifically the shape of our cities and urban centers, not in the framework of years, but of decades, and perhaps of centuries. We have to imagine the shape of the human environment, making provisions for the forces of production, for the needs of communities for services, for the needs for housing and recreation, and for the needs for commerce and social life.

Our attention must be placed secondly on creating a proper balance between the exploitation and not merely the protection but regeneration of natural resources. The great lesson of the environmental crisis is that man must constantly restore to nature what he extracts, if he is to have something to claim at all tomorrow.

The so-called culture of poverty is precisely detrimental to the environment, because the very struggle against want, the very struggle for survival, sometimes dictates possession on any terms and by whatever means of the resources

available. To the poor the most important is survival, not protection of the environment. It is dramatically illustrated in our case by the work of the kaingero, who ravages every patch of ground he can lay his hands on, to extract some food for his family. It may be uneconomic, but it is the only available source of life for him. Poverty does not provide any pattern for human fulfillment, except the monotony of want and misery and continuous destruction of the environment.

But precisely for this misery, a developing country must exert every effort to protect its resources against this natural tendency to pillage. Therefore, the first attack must be against poverty. For its wages are not only told in vanished resources, but also in terms of natural catastrophes— the catastrophe of floods, earthquakes, landslides and droughts. And so you see the sustenance and protection of the natural environment is a much faster task than you and I would care to meet. It is the very essence of social engineering. It is the task of the political leader as well as the natural scientist. And therefore, it is the task of the whole nation.

In the jargon of environmentalists and technocrats, this is fundamentally the problem of maintaining the ecosystem, whereby nature regenerates. As far back as the Thirties, our concern for this evolved into various forest and fishing laws. Today, it finds expression in crash programs of reforestation. But more important it has brought us into such unprecedented programs as the conservation of water resources, the zoning of the seas, the declaration of certain areas as prohibited for human habitation.

Indeed, if we measure our efforts against our problems, the total effort is wanting, and you have a feeling of frustration. In forestry alone, we are still engaged in a struggle to bring the level of forest renewal to the same level as forest denudation. While forest denudation today runs at the rate of 80,000 hectares per year, the renewal rate is only 30,000 hectares. Certainly the statistics are an improvement on the record of the previous years, but let us not delude ourselves into thinking that the problem is now solved just because the deficit is 50,000 and not 80,000.

Forest protection, to focus on one aspect of the problem, is still inadequate and nobody knows this more than I do, considering that in 1977, an area of 1,095 hectares was deforested due to fires which hit the 145,900 hectares of watersheds in Mountain Province. There have been reports from the military to the effect that there may be mischievous parties engaged in actual destruction. But that is neither here nor there. Fires occur at a frequency of one in every four days in this all important and critical watershed. And we have only one forest guard for every 20,000 hectares. Now, what can one forest guard do in 20,000 hectares? Do you expect him to run around the 20,000 hectares every 24 hours? Plainly, we must strive to increase the ratio, and this comes from the Secretary of Natural Resources. He says: "We must increase the ratio from 1:20,000 to 1: 3,000." Laudable, but what will one guard in 3,000 hectares be doing? The situation will be alleviated but certainly not solved. We are now engaged in alleviating similar disproportions in other aspects and other dimensions of our society. For instance, we are trying to increase the number of medical professionals in relation to the number of patients. And that same protection must surely extend to the problem of protecting our marine and riverine resources.

And this is why we are met today, and this is why we are engaged in this effort.

A third priority area of concern must be the development of appropriate technologies for resource utilization, and for improving environmental protection and resource regeneration.

This is the key problem area in our country, because we are poor precisely in the fact that our level of technology, has no strong indigenous ground to support it. Except in its rudimentary stages, our production technology is mostly imported from the developed world of the West, which means, among others, that it carries with it the potential for havoc and environmental degradation.

Development in the advanced nations along the lines of reducing pollutant effects of machines offer possibilities for similar technology transfer. But we must face the fact that this is an effort only now beginning in the world of modern science and technology.

We must exert every effort, yes, to bring in these new technological innovations, but we must also learn to develop our own environmental devices, particularly in those processing activities which are traditional or indigenous. We should have the vision to invest in Filipino ingenuity and capacity for invention and research.

The same importance must likewise be given to the development of technology for non-traditional resource utilization. This involves a diverse field of activities including the establishment of a pilot processing plant for *euchema* processing, the development of suitable processes of nitrogen for explosives, the utilization of sulphur by-products in the manufacture of fertilizer, the recovery of iron from nickel, tailings, and the processing of refractory bricks.

On the way here, I rode with Dr. Magno of the National Science Development Board. And of course, I have always been asking all who are engaged in science that we now utilize our own efforts, ingenuity, and inventiveness, in say, the coconut products. Immediately after I became President, I ordered that some kind of research be done on coconut products. Well, I have been President for sometime now, and they are still engaged in experimentation. Now, I would like to see this finally brought to at least a pilot stage so we can utilize our products instead of importing them or throwing away all these by-products of the coconut resulting in pollution.

Anyway, that is an example of what we are trying to do. I am due to meet with the scientists on Thursday this week.

The point here is that we must make optimum use of our natural resources. I am far from happy with the waste that results from the incomplete utilization of natural resources. For every tree that is cut, we throw away 60 percent and utilize only 40 percent. Did you know that? Now, why? I have asked this question since I became President. Why are we throwing away 60 percent of the tree? Some have come up with an answer: we don't have the technology. Well, let's have the technology. Of course, this is easier said than done.

I notice that Dr. Roque is here, and I am very glad to see that he is engaged in some of this experimentation. I visited the Technological Center during the inauguration of the department and I saw the solar-power-assisted ice plant.

Well, anyway, I was very proud to see that it was made possible by a team of Filipino scientists. You know, many of these traders come to me because they know I am interested in solar power. There is Ronnie there who is sometimes more interested in buying oil than in anything else. I don't blame him because he is criticized every time there is any danger of deficiency. But I have been told that several countries in the world are a little more advanced than the others on solar power. I am proud to say that this project on the solar power assisted ice plant is made possible by a team of Filipino scientists, both from the University of the Philippines and the Department. But I hope that the other universities will take note about these experiments. We encourage the participation of academe in all these efforts. I hope that we will now be able to apply this model all over the world, and that these ice plants will no longer make any demand on the PNOC. Someday it will provide at least 50 percent of the power required for these ice plants.

I also note the gains being made in the area of recycling technology being undertaken by a number of research centers in the country — bio-gas, etc. We are now in the process of organizing the recycling of lubrication oil and the like.

In each of these areas, we have moved with the requisite policy tools, programs, and laws to make the problems respond to effort. Taken all together, this action program constitutes an intensive effort to merge national development goals with environmental protection. And we take heart in the verdict handed by the United Nations Environmental Programme that we have today in the Philippines the most advanced environmental program among the developing nations.

I have kidded all the people engaged in this program. Yes, we have got a program, it's in writing. And I am going to announce a code today. I hope it doesn't just end up as a code.

In sum that verdict has commended the sophistication of our organizational structures, the quality of our expertise, and the relevance of our research program, laws and policies. I am encouraged to think that this is so because we have introduced into our environmental planning and protection program a positive philosophy about the

development process itself. It is not a retreat from technology, but an affirmative effort to make industrial progress exist side by side with environmental conservation. Now this is a matter that is the dream of every visionary, I suppose. It is not inspired by fear of exploring our natural environment, but by the belief that knowledge and science are the means to master the dilemma posed by economic change.

The fluidity of the environmental situation in our country, under the stresses of change in our economic and social life, especially brought about by the New Society, poses however a problem to which these early initiatives will not be adequate in the near future. This is made evident by the fact that we are daily being exercised by new developments and problems that require us to act not just as change agents *per se* for the purpose of change but as environmentalists.

To cite an instance, the recent water shortage crisis besides being a formidable economic challenge was also in the final analysis a challenge to our environmental policies. Along with the actions we took to remedy the crisis and to plan for the future, we decided to write a new water code, unprecedented in our history and setting water as an invaluable water resource.

This highlights the importance of our decision to create the National Environmental Protection Council, which was charged with the task of making a continuous study of the environmental situation in the country, and of making policy and program recommendations to the President.

Incidentally, we have taken various steps in phases — the inter-agency groupings, the special committee created under the Department of Natural Resources, and now this Council. And, if after a while, we discover that there is need for the creation of a separate department for environmental control, I wish to announce now that it is my intention to create such a department as a separate department for the enforcement of such policies.

Today, I will sign this enabling decree for the purpose of raising the many strands of our concerns. This objective is on the level of national attention. We must secure for it the support that it deserves from everyone.

I will sign the enabling decrees for this purpose; first, a decree defining the national environmental policy, which sets as an inalienable right of generations of Filipinos the right to a healthy environment; and second, a decree establishing an Environment Code for the Philippines.

The first Decree gathers together into a single document the various policy approaches that underline our programs for environmental protection and planning. This is the first time in the Philippines that we have ever put a policy into a decree because policies are usually established as the preamble or the whereas of a decree. But now we have segregated this as a mechanism to emphasize the fact that this particular policy has the force of law and will be utilized as a basis for implementing laws. It defines in a law the measure of our commitment to this objective.

The same declaration of policy finds meaning and substance in the management policies and quality standards for every specific area of environmental concern in the Philippine Environment Code. The Code for the first time sets these standards and guidelines on all aspects of the national environment — air quality management, water quality management, land use management, natural resources management and conservation, conservation and utilization of surface and ground waters, waste management, and the maintenance of population-environment balance. In addition, the Code integrates environmental education into the school curriculum and encourages continuing research on environmental management, with provisions for tax incentives on the importation and manufacture of anti-pollution equipment.

The promulgation of these decrees will be followed immediately by various laws which will attack specific environmental problems. So in your presence, I hereby sign the Presidential Decree on environmental policy. It is actually embodied in only three pages of basic policy. I now sign in your presence the implementing code, the Philippine Environment Code. I cannot now go into the details of this Code which I have outlined to you. But I will ask that this be published in full because it is due to affect the life of every citizen in the Philippines.

There are some implementing laws. First, I would like to announce that as a basic policy the forest cover in the entire Philippines in its entire land area will not be less than 40 percent of such land area. Second, the present agricultural land shall by no means ever be converted into industrial or residential estates. Third, I hereby direct as a matter of policy that all governments — national, provincial, city and municipal — are empowered now to reserve with the participation of the corresponding government agency all public and private lands — and if private, subject to expropriation — required for future expansion of the municipality, province, or city. Guidelines for the expropriation of the land for ecological purposes such as parks, forest reserves, public beaches shall be that they fall under existing expropriation laws of the land. I hereby sign the Letter of Instructions which I consider of the utmost importance. As I said before, the weakness of our present efforts is the lack of an implementing agency. And even if I appoint more commissioners in the National Pollution Control Commission, as I intend to do, they may not have the means to enforce the policies.

I hereby, as of today, implement Residential Decree 984 commonly known as the Pollution Control Law, and hereby deputize all members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the various police law enforcement agencies under the Department of National Defense to extend assistance to the National Pollution Control Commission in the enforcement of environmental laws as well as the decisions and orders for this Commission. Reports will be made of the action they have taken to the National Environmental Protection Council as well as to the President directly.

In addition to the police, of course, we shall include the barangay leaders in the enforcement. And I sign this in your presence.

The executive director of the National Environmental Protection Council Secretariat under Dr. Roque is the Secretary. You can see he is a good executive. He transferred responsibility immediately to the secretariat. The secretariat is hereby ordered to establish an administrative system for the evaluation of the environmental impact of the projects being undertaken by government agencies. And the reports should be submitted to the Council as well as to me.

One, I hereby announce that within one year from today all cars, trucks, buses, and motor vehicles shall be compelled to utilize anti-pollutant devices or anti-emission devices. Otherwise, they will not be allowed for registration.

Two, I hereby give all factories situated in urban population centers, especially Metro Manila, to relocate themselves within ten years. And as an alternative, to utilize anti-pollution devices that shall be acceptable to the National Pollution Control Commission.

Now, on dynamite blast fishing. I understand there are still provinces infested with people using explosives, chemicals, electrical devices, and other illegal means. I hereby make responsible the barangay captains and barangay councils. If there is anyone caught in their respective barangays without their reporting it, they shall be immediately suspended from public office and the proper criminal action filed against them.

You know I have utilized almost every means, including the Constabulary, on this. But I understand that this is still continuing. Barely a few days ago, I went up to the North. They pointed out to me an area of coral reefs that have been destroyed. I am not a fashionable skin diver. I don't go very deep anymore, but I occasionally do. And I like to see the growth of underwater resources. Anybody who can go down, say, 10 feet or 20 feet can see the destruction. So I think we should be more strict about this. I sign this decree in your presence.

Now, the planting of trees. You know this has caused some consternation among some people. For instance, I was asked: how about us who live in condominiums? Where do we plant a tree? And I said: if you don't have enough ingenuity to look for land on which to plant a tree, you have no business living in the Philippines. You better look for another country in which to live. Of course, it was asked in levity, and I also answered in levity.

But anyway, I hereby approve the implementing rules as well as some amendments to this decree making the requirement much clearer. Yes, we found some loopholes in the original decree. And so I immediately amended it. Well, the director is responsible for the people under him. For instance, people under the Director of Mines are

notorious in not planting trees. No, I'm kidding, of course. But you know that in this open pit mining, they just keep on raking in and raking in not just the soil but money. And they forget about the trees. Of course, some of these big miners keep repeating that if I would only give them the power, they will forest all the barren hills of the country. What power? I must give them the power so that these will become leases not only for 50 years but for 100 years. I said: Do you know what you are asking for? You are asking me to violate the Constitution. The Constitution is very clear. The leases are limited to 25 plus 25. How can we do that? Well, let's amend the Constitution.

Anyway, I think that this will clarify everything. I will order that this amendment be now printed in full for the information of everybody. And there will be no doubt as to the responsibilities of each one. The implementing regulations of this Presidential Decree require the planting of one tree every month for five consecutive years by every citizen in the Philippines. Probably, we will be remembered in other parts of the world only for this particular decree. I understand that some of the newspapers in Europe and the United States printed this decree in full, the only thing that they ever bothered to mention about the Philippines. Of course, with the exception of our problems with the MNLF. We will be known for the tree planting decree and the MNLF.

I think this is a good decree. And we smile and think that it's one of those brainstorm of the President. He will forget about it in a week. So let's go along with him. Well, I can tell you that there are some penalties that I have added to the decree. And I may forget about it. But the fellows who are enforcing it will not. And every month I am going to ask for a report. And if these people who are enforcing it do not see that it is enforced, they will get punished.

And so, I appeal to everybody to now participate in this general effort. Today, as we talk about environmental protection, even if we don't do anything except to convince people to plant trees, we will have done a lot to protect the environment. I know that all of you, especially the traders on anti-pollution devices, are listening to this speech because I think somebody leaked out the fact that I was going to compel every car owner to put in an anti-pollutant or anti-emission device. I would like to tell you that there is going to be no particular brand specified and any brand, any make, any device provided it is acceptable to the National Pollution Control Commission, not the Land Transportation Commission, will be allowed.

I therefore approve these rules and regulations.

Anyway, allow me to congratulate all those who are devoting their time, their talents, and their energies to this effort. This is an effort for which we probably will not be thanked today, but our children will know that at least there were a few men and women of foresight who thought of taking these steps now before the decay of our environment had advanced irreversibly. I pray that these deliberations will contribute counsel and assistance necessary for the fulfillment of these national initiatives. And I am certain that with the guidelines that we have established, we will be able to accomplish such objectives.

Again, to each and everyone of you, to the National Environmental Protection Council, to the secretariat headed by Dr. Roque, my congratulations on this day. And tomorrow I intend to make appointments to the National Pollution Control Commission who can start working on the specific cases of pollution of our environment.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the 79th Independence Day celebration, June 12, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 79th Independence Day celebration

[Delivered on June 12, 1977]

One Nation, One Spirit

ON THIS OCCASION marking the 79th anniversary of our independence we join once again in thanksgiving and prayer for the continued vitality and strength of our republic.

Though many of you will probably find our observance today too simple and austere, there is nothing to dim our sense of pride and achievement as we enter our 80th year.

Seventy-nine years is but a brief interlude in the life of a nation. But for us, each of those years has mirrored much more than our trials, the courage; resourcefulness and indomitable spirit with which we have faced the most exacting challenge to the nation. With these qualities we have overcome the painful experience of colonization, the nightmare of war and occupation, the frustrations of post-war reconstruction.

It took all for Our government and our people to sense finally, in 1972, that the Society was beginning to break up as the political will had begun to breakdown. Our response to this peril was to arrest the drift to decay and anarchy. Regaining the political will, we launched our nation on a program of development and reform so unlike any program we ever had the means of the imagination to launch before. Today, we stand on the threshold of a new peril in our history, in which everything seems so different in quality from was once before.

After 79 years of dedicated labor, our sovereignty is no longer an illusion but a fact. Without forgetting our own limitations, our external relations today stretch across all the centers of power, communication, commerce and trade the globe, which means that we have begun to play the game of nation in a multipolar world, a fact that we must attribute to the increasing vigor of our domestic policy. For after an interval of a quarter century since the second world war, the complexion of global affairs profoundly changed and there came with it a new challenge to the nations of Asia and Africa — the challenge of self-reliance, the challenge to examine and nurse afresh the meaning of national independence as the guide towards the future.

On this principle of self-reliance, we anchored our bid for national regeneration.

From it has issued the will to transform our political system and to strengthen our government; to plan and set priorities for the national economy; to institute basic social and economic reform; and to change the entire pattern of our relations with the rest of the world.

Progress towards these goals for national transformation has been steady and continuing, and it finds its fullest measure in the tone and substance we have attained in our social life, the purpose and leadership of our government today, the new vigor and productivity of the national economy, and the thrust of our social and welfare programs. These internal changes are also reflected in the new ties of friendship we have built with all nations as witness our active role in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, our new perspectives on the United States, Western Europe and Japan, our newly established ties with the socialist countries, and our vigorous participation in the policies and pursuits of the Third World.

Yet we cannot look upon these gains as having exhausted the limits of our capacities nor do they constitute a full response to the challenges and the perils that lie ahead.

It is imperative that we realize this, for the years ahead will continue to be years of crisis. There are too many uncertainties for over-confident projections.

For the dangers that confronted our country five years ago are still with us although their manifestations are less intense. And the economic energy and Environmental crisis are now urgent problems of survival to meet them adequately, the country needs the cooperation of every man, woman and child.

The continuing need to husband our resources harden our will and sharpen our competence to unite and endure in the face of varied problems still looming, large, urges us to be sober and austere in our celebration of independence day today.

In the area of security, for instance, there may clearly be no immediate danger of external aggression upon our country. But we continue to be beset by insurgency.

We must continue to seek effective arrangements to stabilize the work of individual governments and regional undertaking in Asia.

And we must persist in the intensive effort at maintaining the sovereignty and authority of the republic as well as assuring its territorial integrity. The coming year will be crucial to our survival.

Peace in our view can best be fostered by the development of closer relations among all nations regardless of ideology and social systems, and by the maintenance of a stable equilibrium of influence among the major powers of Asia.

It is in keeping with this view that we have sought to renegotiate our defense arrangements with the United States. The US decision to reduce its troops in Korea while maintaining its presence in Asia conforms fully with the new realities, and we foresee other adjustments being made in other parts of Asia. Whatever direction American policy finally takes in the area of regional security and defense, we are anxious that it does not find us too ill-prepared to assume our own burdens. And this is the time to prepare.

This is one of the big question marks of our future. But barring outright war among the great powers or massive infiltration into our country, we should be able to maintain our security.

The development of our ties with our Asian neighbors as well as with the communist countries and the rest of the Third World has an important bearing on our efforts for peace, just as much as it has on the future of economic cooperation.

In the last two years, our celebration of Independence Day coincided with the conclusion of major initiatives on our part to strengthen the pattern of our foreign relations. In June 1975, we established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China; and in June 1976, we formalized ties with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This effort to build links with the communist countries has today been strengthened by the opening of ties with the new communist regime of mainland Southeast Asia.

These fully complement and enhance the high objectives of our ASEAN community, which in February 1976 in Bali issued a dramatic declaration for ASEAN cooperation. Both its recent landmark declarations and its map of cooperative projects that are on the way to implementation, make of ASEAN potentially the strongest force for stability and progress in Southeast Asia.

This is so because the ASEAN effort is directed at the principal source of tension and conflict in our region — the continued poverty and deprivation of Southeast Asian peoples.

On the domestic front, this outlook finds its clearest expression in the thrust of our development programs towards the rural areas. The case of Mindanao provides a vivid example because it provides both an instance of civil strife arising from social and economic causes, and an example of how effectively the problem of rebellion can be met by development programs.

It is also in Mindanao that the sense of unity, which is fundamental to survival and growth, is being tested and its value dramatized. The essentialness of our people, dimmed at times by circumstances and events in our history, must now be fully integrated into the national subconscious.

The rest of the nation must identify itself with our southern communities, so that our southern communities in turn will more easily now identify themselves with the rest. Towards this goal of lasting and deeply ingrained harmony, we have committed an unprecedented amount of resources to Mindanao, in a wide number of programs ranging from infrastructure to industrial development and social services.

Over the four-year period from 1972 to 1976, a total of P2.128 billion was committed to the development of infrastructure and utilities alone with yearly allocations substantially increasing every year.

More revealing than government expenditures in this sector is the extent of lending for Mindanao development. As of the end of 1976, total DBP loans amounted to P583.78 million and PNB loans reached P444.843 million.

Occupying similar priority in our national program are social services and community development; housing and resettlement; health care and education.

As important as peace in Mindanao is our second crucial domestic concern — energy, which has become today the most pivotal factor in the development effort of almost all countries.

As in other sectors of the national life, the motive force in our efforts to confront the energy problem is self-reliance.

Ninety-five percent of our total energy requirements is supplied by imported crude oil, while hydropower accounts for the balance of five percent. To pay for these imported resources, for the imported crude oil, we commit and pay 800 million to one billion US dollars of national funds annually.

Our present dependence on other countries in this field — the Middle East for 75 percent of our energy needs, and China, Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei for the remaining 25 percent (probably we should add there Iran and Iraq) — will be aggravated day by day as our populations grows and our national development program is accelerated. By 1987, our total energy requirement is expected to reach 190.0 MMB, of oil, representing more than a two-fold increase over present levels.

Our response to this problem has been to develop a national energy program directed towards two main objectives: the reduction of national dependence on foreign sources of energy through the accelerated development of indigenous oil and non-oil energy resources, and second, the reduction of energy consumption through energy conservation measures.

The ten year program for the development of alternative energy sources projects that by 1987 we shall achieve a much needed redistribution of our energy supply structure cutting down the share of oil to only 69 percent with the balance of 31 percent being accounted for by hydropower, coal, geothermal nuclear and non-conventional resources.

This total effort to achieve national self-reliance is fully matched by an intensive energy conservation campaign. This campaign has effectively tempered growth in demand from a historical average of 7.5 percent to only 2.5 percent. Current actual consumption level of 194.6 thousand barrels per day of petroleum products represents 10,000 barrels less than forecast, a saving of \$44 million dollars in foreign exchange for one whole year.

In line with this crucial national objective I announce today the creation of a Department of Energy to take charge of implementing and overseeing the national energy program.

Crucial to the success of our strivings to generate more power on the basis of self-reliance will be our ability to utilize all available water resources to produce power, or electric energy to control floods and serve the needs of irrigation, and potable water. Failure in this respect is not permissible, for the survival of our whole nation in the years to come will depend upon our ability, and the speed of our efforts to convert our water resources into electrical energy.

We must at the same time, with equal diligence and constancy of purpose strive to preserve and rehabilitate our portion of mankind's only habitat, the earth and its resources.

The drive to develop can, and must, harmonize with the requirements of a habitable natural environment. The program of modernization must be imbued with a sense of harmony and balance between the need to harness our vast natural resources in order to create wealth, and the need to protect and sustain our natural environment so that it will continue to nourish all forms of life including man.

It was the realization of this need that prompted, only recently, the passage of a number of major decrees. One of these defined as environmental policy built upon the fundamental right of our people to a healthy environment. Another, the Environment Code, promulgated quality standards and policy, guidelines for every area of environmental concern— from resources use and management to environmental education. To accelerate application of these standards upon day-to-day life, I also issued a letter of instruction requiring the installation of anti-pollution devices within three months in public utility and government vehicles as well as in factories and, within one year, in private, vehicles.

To oversee and manage this vastly expanded program of action, we shall soon create a Department of Environment.

To find these new program, as well as to meet the growing requirements of our national development program, we have embarked upon major reforms of the national tax system. Underlying this reform is the need to administer taxation more and more on the basis of the taxpayer's ability to pay. A number of the other new tax laws specifically raise certain taxes, while lowering others.

The new National International Revenue Code of 1977, which is the first codification of our tax laws since 1939, consolidates all new revenue laws, as well as amendatory laws and decrees, and harmonizes their provisions not only for the proper guidance of the taxpayer but also for the efficient administration of such revenue laws.

We have also written new tax decrees designed to increase government revenues, principally through the improvement of tax collection methods.

In the last few days since I announced the new tax measures, certain statements have been made in the business sector to me effect that the measures would be inflationary. There is now also some reported confusion as to the effectivity of certain measures. Particularly the tax on money market operations.

This tax on the money market is not inflationary because it taxes the high profits of idle capital. That is one. Two, it is not as high as the corporate income tax which could reach 40 percent. For the individual income tax, which at the level of an income of P32,000 to P36,000, is 36 percent, the individual pays 36 percent on a P32,000 to 36,000 income. And it could reach 70 percent, which is the highest percentage that is paid by an individual as income tax. Three, the law imposes the tax on the earnings of the money market because in the past, before June 3rd, very few of the people who made money on money market operations paid income tax on the income in the money market. We have a list of most of those who made money. But as a matter of compromise I decided that instead of filing criminal cases we imposed this compromise tax of 35 percent.

There is some fear that the tax on the money market operations will increase the interest on loans on the money market. This is not so because the interest that is paid includes the tax to be paid, and the amount of 35 percent which is merely withheld by the borrower from the interest that he would pay to the lender.

To obviate further confusion as to the effectivity of this law, I hereby announce that the law is effective as of the date I signed the decree which is June 3rd of this year.

Now to continue on revenue laws, none of our laws adds new burdens on the low-income families, whether in the form of direct or indirect taxes. Where the tax burden has been raised to conform to income — as in the case of the affluent — the increase has been reasonable.

We retain today the lowest tax ratio to gross national product in all of Southeast Asia. The per capita tax burden is likewise the lowest in the region.

At the other side of the ledger, national government expenditures have been definitely directed more and more to servicing the national economy. From a 33.3 percent share of total expenditures in 1972, expenditures for economic services had risen to 55.69 percent by 1975 or P10.22 billion. In 1976, it rose further, and this year, we expect the percentage share to rise to about 60 percent.

In the last five years, we have gained an increasing awareness of the interdependence of nations. Under present circumstances, this is perhaps truer in the economic field than in any other. Thus our economy, in the national perception of the world economy, continues to depend upon its alterations and changes on such a world economy. Consequently, we have come to sense the pessimism, the malaise of the world beyond our shores as well as its own interludes of hope and confidence.

For our part, our growth has been vigorous and unless there is a serious dislocation of our economy, we will attain our objectives.

However, we must now realize the erratic behavior of the present world economic order.

The heavy stress on economic development in the pattern of national expenditures is to be judged by the vigor of the national economy today.

From a gross national product of P56.4 billion in 1972, we attained a GNP of P72.6 billion in 1976. Measured at constant 1972 prices, this is an average growth rate of 7 percent annually. This year, the national product is expected to reach P77.7 billion.

It goes without saying that we must align our sights to higher targets. To attain these for this year and beyond, new policies and measures are required in addition to those that have already been enshrined in the national development.

Especially, we must fully attend to the crucial problems of Philippine transportation, which today is hardly able to keep up with the demands of the growing economy.

I intend to create a Department of Transportation and Communication, which shall implement our national transportation program.

Along with this, we are taking the following measures to provide incentives for public transportation companies to reduce operating costs:

First, we shall now require Petrophil and all Petron outlets to sell to public transportation companies that belong to cooperatives or the consortia that are being organized in the Metro Manila area, rubber tires and batteries at barely the cost of procurement abroad or locally.

Second, we are directing truck manufacturers to keep an inventory of spare parts and to sell such spare parts at lower costs, even as we ensure that they get reasonable profits.

Third, we shall ease financing burdens by requiring Petrophil to give a 180-day grace period for the payment of rubber tires and batteries and other products to transport companies that are members of the cooperative and consortia to be created among the bus operators of Metro Manila.

In the food sector, we must now turn our attention from production to the distribution system in the country. We have already begun a sweeping review of the entire marketing situation for producers' cooperatives, market cooperatives and the food terminal market itself.

It is the human person that is finally the object of all our efforts to achieve national development.

We have enshrined this principle in our laws and national policies, we must continue to reaffirm it in everything we do to improve the citizen's personal well-being, his opportunities for work, for education, for a life of dignity.

To be sure, we have not achieved for all of our citizens a life of comfort and abundance, but he who would judge our lives today must take into consideration his own personal and social circumstances of half a decade ago.

Today, we have the laws and the programs, and what is more the relentless purpose, to really make unrelenting war on human poverty and income inequalities. Never so total a commitment to the cause of human welfare. It was not until 1972 that we dared to storm the feudal land system in this country. It was not until 1972 that we dare to dismantle the network of privilege and exploitation in our society, And it was not until 1972 that we dared to undertake a nationwide program to improve the real living conditions of every depressed community in the country.

Accordingly, we have initiated the most forward-looking measures to improve the social and economic capability of the individual, particularly the farmer and the working man. In our effort to feed him better, we have given him title to his land; to clothe him and provide for the needs of his children, we have seen to a just and progressive increase of his wages and social security; and to shelter him against the elements and the blight of modern living, we have launched a program of low-cost Housing for the poor. This program has made some advances, but has equally been set back by the economics of housing; local producers of construction materials as well as importers and middlemen have progressively increased their prices, making it unduly difficult for government and even the private sector to proceed with their plans for low-cost housing.

Because of this, I intend to authorize the National Housing Authority to import directly all the construction materials and heavy equipment required to carry out the massive low-cost building program of the government. If necessary, a new procurement office will be organized solely for the purpose of importing heavy equipment as well as construction materials. We should ultimately liberalize the importation of such heavy equipment and construction materials, not only by private sector so as to be able to bring down costs.

Our sugar industry is threatened with annihilation by continued low prices of sugar in the world market. The efforts, in Geneva for an international sugar agreement have just failed notwithstanding the participation for the first time in such an international conference of the United States of America, Our government this year stands to lose about P700 million in the handling of sugar. Our government however, has continued to subsidize domestic sugar at prices below the cost of production. It is now necessary to reverse the policy and eliminate the subsidy, increase the price paid to the producer and reduce the tax paid to the government. This may save the sugar industry.

It is my intention to take these steps immediately.

In the area of political reform, it bears nothing that we have in four and a half years, laid the basis for citizens participating in political life, not merely in seasonal expression of opinion, but in the daily exercise of power and initiative.

We have enfranchised not only those who have been traditionally allowed the vote, but also the members of our rising young generations.

From organization at village and district level by means of the barangay, we have steadily pushed for more effective forms of organizing the power of the citizenry all the way up to the level of national life in our Batasang Bayan. These are the essential prerequisites of political order. We are moving decisively towards a genuine and effective representative democracy.

It is my intention to call elections for the Batasang Pambansa as soon as possible.

But as a further step to afford the citizenry greater control over their government, I intend to activate the Tanodbayan and the Sandiganbayan, both of which are provided for in our Constitution.

In keeping with the constitutional provisions, the Tanodbayan shall serve as an office to receive and investigate complaints relative to public office, including those in government-owned and-controlled corporations, and make appropriate recommendation for the filing and prosecution of the corresponding criminal civil or administrative cases before the proper courts or bodies.

The Sandiganbayan shall have jurisdiction over criminal and civil cases, involving graft and corrupt practices and other offenses committed by public officers and employees, including those in government corporations in relation to their office as may be determined by law.

The spirit behind the creation of these two bodies is that public office is a public trust. All public officials and employees must be finally accountable to the people.

In all these initiatives that we have taken — in foreign policy, in national security, in Mindanao, in energy, in the economy, in environmental protection, in fiscal reform, in human development, and in political reform — the real test is our ability to organize to provide leadership, and to act as one people, one nation.

In a sense we have never lacked ideals — native or borrowed alike.

What we have often lacked is the energy of will — the will to work steadfastly together, to bring a task from a united start to a shared end.

Chroniclers of important events in our history have remarked upon this sorrowful lack of unison among our people in their labors, in their pursuits.

To quote Casimiro Diaz once more, whose lament is inscribed on the title page of my history book *Tadhana*:

“Some of them could not unite with others, and, although all desired liberty, they did not work together to secure the means for attaining it, and therefore they experienced a heavier (yoke of) subjection.”

This disunity would recur in other periods of the nation's life through the era of Bonifacio and Aguinaldo, at the very height of national awakening, and afterwards in the death of Gen. Antonio Luna, throughout the American period when nationalists and pro-Americans battled for political ascendancy and on to the period after our independence was regained, when our national leaders quibbled on what had to be done to raise a war-stricken nation. So it has been in our own time, until we took the supreme decision of taking the road of crisis government.

Historians and anthropologists have traditionally explained this tendency of the Filipinos as deriving from a past that had always seen them as fragmented societies and communities. And our ancestors were always pictured as capable only of the most rudimentary type of political integration.

Fortunately for our own future new discoveries about our past may yet prove that assumption false. Only this year, megalithic structures have been verified in an area in Zamboanga del Sur that may suggest a clearer picture of our beginnings.

Preliminary findings in Canunan, Balungating, Pagadian, Zamboanga del Sur, date these megaliths or these stones prior, to the period of contact with the introduction of Islam into the Philippines. The nature of the stones, their great number and their distribution, suggest a large population concentrated in one area, and a tremendous effort at organization for construction.

Whatever be the final message of these stones, the meaning is clear that even in pre-history, the earliest figures on our landscape were capable of a complex and integrated type of organization. This is an image that reinforces our vision of the Filipino future, and strengthens our conviction that instances of factionalism and disunity in our history are lapses that are far from irremediable.

And today, at this celebration of the 79th year of national independence, let it be a pledge of our generation to mold, to balance and to integrate all the variant energies and aspirations of our communities into a single nation.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1979). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 7). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos on the 32nd anniversary of Bessang Pass, June 14, 1977

A Roll of Honor

I AM SORRY if the arrangements have kept me away from you. It would have been preferable for me if I had stayed closer to the audience. But unfortunately, the Philippine Air Force is used to operating higher than above ground level.

I greet General Sarmiento, Commanding General of the Philippine Air Force, and the officers and men of the Philippine Air Force. General Sarmiento Said at the beginning of his welcome speech that we should imagine that we are in the Philippine International Convention Center, which is centrally air-conditioned. Perhaps, we need a little imagination for that. I remember June was very rainy in Bessang Pass.

I notice that the noisiest group among the various regiments seems to be the smallest in number — the 66th Infantry, the host Infantry. I would like to say that the 66th Infantry has indeed prepared well for this year's gathering, and succeeded in inviting not only the local veterans but also the veterans from abroad.

We have here with us one of our most outstanding heroes of the North who lived to tell the tale, and who commanded the 15th Infantry, Lt. Col. Robert Arnold. Very few people remember that Bob was way ahead of the others in organizing resistance. He started resistance by massing together regular and irregular troops even before the organization for resistance of the units under Colonel Horan and later Colonel Noble and Colonel Moses, and the units of the 14th US under Colonel Nakar, and the irregular troops under Governor Ablan in Ilocos Norte and Governor Adduru in Cagayan.

We have given due recognition to some of the original organizers of the irregular troops. Before they were gathered into the unit known as USAFIP-NL, there were many guerrilla units organized in almost every province in the North. And perhaps, this year, on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the fall of Bessang Pass and in the presence of the representatives of all the units, we should remember these men who are seldom mentioned in the various histories. For many of them, if not all of them, disappeared and died before even the rosters could be organized after the American troops landed in Lingayen on January 1945.

The landing in Leyte occurred on October 20, 1944. And the orders were issued that only those men and women who were listed in the rosters as of January 9, 1945 were recognized. And thus, many of those who died before January 9, 1945 were never included in the rosters which were ultimately recognized by either the United States government or the Philippine government. I think that it is time for us and for the Philippine government at least — represented here by the highest ranking officers of the civilian and military organizations — to now give due credit and recognition to these men.

I would like to mention their names to you. This is not a complete list by all means. We may not have here the names of the young officers who died in battle and in combat. And it shall be our mission after this day to complete this list which I hereby start with the mention of their names in solemn recognition of their participation in the guerrilla organizations in the North.

This is in grateful recognition and appreciation of their outstanding leadership. They showed indomitable courage and exerted heroic efforts in organizing the resistance movement against the Japanese Imperial Forces in Northern Luzon. They bolstered the morale of the people during the early days of enemy occupation. And without waiting for orders from the headquarters of the USAFFE or the Philippine Army or any of their regular units, they organized other units and integrated them by all available communication into the United States Armed Forces in the Philippines.

It is one of the projects of USAFIP-NL to extend to all the heirs of these men certificates of appreciation and recognition. I shall mention some of them alphabetically.

But first, let me say that the order in which they are mentioned does not determine the order of prestige or honor that is granted to them.

We start out with Captain Vicente Abaya, Philippine Army, posthumous, 1941 to 1945, Ilocos provinces, Mountain Province, and Rizal. Next, Governor Roque P. Ablan, posthumous, 1941 to 1943, Ilocos Norte and Mountain Province. Next, Governor Marcelo Adduru, posthumous 1941 to 1945, Cagayan and Mountain Province. Of course, I have already mentioned the man who started out in the northernmost islands of Northern Luzon and was heard from on the ambush of Japanese troops in Candon on February 24, 1942, Lt. Col. Robert Arnold, US, Army, 1941 to 1945, Ilocos Provinces, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya. We also have the two Cushings. One, Major Walter Cushing, US Army, posthumous. It is said that he shot himself in Jones, Isabela when the destruction of his unit was imminent. He was the last to die, I understand. After being surrounded and seeing all his men killed in action, he shot himself with his last bullet. Two, Major Charles Cushing, US Army, also posthumous. He operated from a base in San Nicolas, Pangasinan and which base was reached by Colonel Arthur Noble and Martin Moses when escaping from Bataan and, ultimately, reaching Mountain Provinces to take over the various units left by the other officers.

I also wish to give credit to Colonel John P. Horan, US Army, posthumous. He died in 1952 after his capture in Mountain Province and after operations in the Ilocos provinces and Isabela.

And now we come to the organizer of the 14th Infantry, Lt. Col. Guillermo Nakar, posthumous. He was captured in Palanan, Isabela where Aguinaldo was captured earlier in 1902. He operated in the Mountain Provinces, Nueva Vizcaya, and Isabela. We also have here Captain William Peryam, posthumous. He operated in the Mountain Provinces and in the Ilocos provinces from 1941 to 1943. Major Ralph P. Fraeger, posthumous. He operated in Cagayan and the Mountain Provinces. He was also killed after his unit was surrounded in 1943, supposedly in Isabela. We have here with us one of the old miners. I should not say old for he looks young enough. He is still with us operating a copper mine in the Mountain Provinces and I refer to Major George T. Schulle, Sr. There are any number of original organizers like Madamba of Ilocos Norte and Gaerlan of La Union. And there are in Pangasinan any number of the original guerrilla leaders who might have been with some of the Lapham units and, later on, taken over by General Russell W. Volckmann who obtained command of all the operational units from Pangasinan and part of Nueva Ecija up to the northern provinces.

All these men are seldom heard and written about. But they are actually then men to whom we owe our present opportunities of peace and progress in the Philippines today. I also refer to the members of the bolo units of USAFIP-NL.

You will remember that when I first ran for public office, I started a project which would at least recognize the bolo men if their arrears in pay could not be obtained. Unfortunately, after the payment of some of the bolo men in Ilocos Norte, the project was terminated. The Philippine Government should do justice to the bolo men. You and I know that on many an attack when we could not send the armed men towards the enemy, the first men to be sent out allegedly on intelligence mission were the bolo men. To them, therefore, we owe a great debt of obligation. And the Philippine Government hereby recognizes and appreciates the services of all these bolo men.

I think this is long over due. So I hereby direct our men engaged in preparing these projects, especially Tiago Nuval here, to prepare some kind of a memorial for the bolo men of Northern Luzon. I think we should set aside one of the memorials that we are going to build for these men who have been instrumental for the victories of USAFIP-NL.

Now, it is 32 years since the fateful dawn at Bessang Pass when the only truth that mattered was that the Japanese defenses had fallen and that we could probably reclaim what had always been our own.

I would like to present to you the representatives of Japan whom we invited. We invited General Wachi, the military administrator. But I think he is too old to come here. But we have here with us Major Nagatomi of the staff of General Tomoyuki Yamashita. And we are happy that in accordance with our programs for "Reunion for Peace," we have a representative here of the Japanese Imperial Army. A representative of the Allied Forces, Colonel Lloyd, of the Australian Embassy is representing Australia.

You are aware that so much change has occurred within the life of our nation for the past 32 years. A new generation has been born and has since come to full manhood; a new generation too soon followed by younger successors, to whom we shall never be able to tell the stories of war and or resistance quite in the same voice in which they were told when we were their age, or when we were younger men in the thick of fighting.

This younger generation will probably be not interested in what we did in the last war. But this is not just change. This bears resemblance to one side of progress; one in which young men and women who endured nothing in war have no memory of it, except the general denunciation and distaste for it which every generation, especially the most blooded, shares.

But for us who fought in that battle, the drama of death and survival, of resistance and triumph lives on; and we meet every year to go over our memories. Perhaps, we do not flatter ourselves with the thought that we shall not need to embellish our dead, nor to apologize like this, to find the battle of Bessang Pass worthy of remembrance even long after we are gone and the last survivor of that battle may have passed the scene.

For a nation's memory is infinitely longer than that of her children. The individual personages that compose a nation may forget, but the nation we know will not forget that war that swept the country from 1941 to 1945. There will be no forgetting the trials that tested our spirit and physical endurance as a people.

Like other well-remembered names of that war — Bataan, Corregidor, Lingayen, Leyte, the Battle of the Philippine Sea, the Battle of Leyte Gulf — Bessang Pass is indelibly etched in the nation's past as part of our inheritance for it represents a decisive chapter in our history when the struggle for liberation finally proved triumphant and supreme.

Basically, the operation to capture Bessang Pass from the Japanese was conceived merely as a part of the overall liberation plan for Northern Luzon. On January 9, 1945 — D-Day in Luzon — all the guerrilla units operating from Pangasinan all the way up, including the units that had heretofore not recognized any overall superior, were placed under the umbrella of USAFIP, North Luzon, and under the commanding general of the U.S. Sixth Army General Krueger to coordinate all efforts of Fil-American troops in the liberation of Luzon.

Though plans were laid for the swift destruction of enemy resistance in Northern Luzon, the Japanese proved well-prepared. And thus, Bessang Pass is remembered as a symbol of all battles that were fought by all guerrilla units throughout Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao.

We have here with us some of the well-known guerrilla commanders. I can see two here from this point wherein I stand. We have, first of all, Marking Agustin, who commanded the Marking's Fil-American.

If we celebrate Bessang Pass, he also celebrates the fall of Ipo Dam, with the same type of memories that we have of Bessang Pass. Bessang Pass for us therefore is also a celebration of the victory of the Fil-American irregular troops under Marking Agustin in the Battle of Ipo Dam. The same thing is true with former Secretary of National Defense Alejo Santos who is here. He was in command of the Bulacan military area which was ordered attached to the USAFIP, North Luzon. And I remember that some of his units operated in Balete Pass, probably also with the 32nd US Army division. And some of them operated in Bessang Pass. I do remember meeting some of his men in the last few days of the operation.

When we celebrate Bessang Pass, we also celebrate the victories of the Bulacan military area and of General Santos who commanded that area. I repeat that Bessang Pass is memorable to us, not only to the troops, both regular and irregular of Northern Luzon, but to all the underground and resistance men of the entire Philippines whether in Luzon, the Visayas, or Mindanao.

I shall not go into the details of that battle for you are well aware of them. But I can only say that with the fall of Bessang Pass, the liberation of Luzon reached a pivotal stage leading ultimately to the capture of the inner defense and installations of General Tomoyuki Yamashita in the mountain surrounding Loo Valley. Bessang Pass was his back door. For all intents and purposes, the battle of Luzon was over, and with it the full liberation of the Philippines.

And this is why Bessang Pass is so well remembered.

It is quite true that we lost 1,441 men killed in action in the Battle of Bessang Pass, and that we were fighting not only under our flag but under the American flag. It is also true that while fighting for the American flag, we fought for our terrain, for our soil, and for our country. And as we remember Bessang Pass, perhaps, we should quote General Krueger, commanding general of the Sixth Army. In his after-battle assessment of Bessang Pass, he said: 'The capture of Bessang Pass was one whose magnitude and decisiveness far surpasses the US. Army's 25th and 32nd Infantry Division's battles for Villa Verde Trail and Balet Pass.' This is what Bessang Pass meant to all of us, especially to those in command of the American forces that were supposed to bring about the liberation of Luzon.

It was not just a strategic military victory. For the Filipino forces, which bore so much of the brunt and the terrible cost of the fighting, it was an important moral victory — the sign that they could bring to a conclusion a fight that had raged in the breast of everyone of their countrymen. And this to me is the lesson of Bessang Pass which has relevance to us today — that we can bring to a successful finish any project that you and I start together. For it symbolized the unity of the Filipino fighting men under one command. Before that the guerrilla troops in the North were on the run from the enemy because they were divided, because they could not submit themselves to a single commanding officer. When I asked the historians to go over the records in order to determine the rankings of the men who operated in the underground before the landings on January 9, 1945, we discovered to my dismay that many of the officers would not submit to other officers of higher rank, because they had organized their own units and they wanted their own kingdoms over which they would be supreme. This has been the perennial weakness in the Filipino character. And it has been true in the past and continues to be true today.

But Bessang Pass proves that above all, no matter how noble and worthy one's friends are, no matter what pledges they may make, no matter how ready they are to die for their own idea of freedom, liberation, or achievement, progress is a gift which a people procures with its own blood, with its own sacrifices — never with sacrifice or the blood of another country or another race. Bessang Pass therefore marked the turning point not only in the alteration of the character of the fighting but of the character of the Filipino. It also demonstrated that beside their allies, the Filipinos were not less than the best of their allies in battle.

History should never repeat itself, and it is best that neither the reasons nor the ordeal itself of Bessang Pass are ever again repeated. We have paid a high price for this.

The lives of comrades strewn across the Pass form part of such a price. The injured and fractured lives of many of those who survived form yet another part of that price. But the continuing price we pay lies in the effort which we as a nation make every day to make sure that every Filipino, no matter how different from his forebears, will grow up knowing and never forgetting that someone before him had shed his blood to pay for his freedom now his own.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos before the National Convention of the Confederation of Philippine Exporters, June 16, 1977

The Government and Export Development

WHENEVER I SEE a gathering of businessmen who look unnaturally too pleased with themselves, I begin to worry a little about myself, especially when the awards include the giver of the awards. It sounds too much like whistling in the dark, you know. Of course, General Balao will forgive me this imposition on his dignity, but he and I are old friends, and we understand each other. I have never known him to tremble in the face of any crisis. So when he starts giving awards himself that means trouble. For by definition, businessmen tend to exaggerate their worries and their complaints, especially when they meet the President. You should note that they did not let me take dinner. The brought in all kinds of Decrees and Letters of Instructions hoping that they could, you know, confuse me into signing away the family store. It is not easy, even for a President, to divine the reason, in any given circumstances, why businessmen should suddenly look so cheerful and so confident. And that is exactly what I see here tonight. I see almost everybody. I don't see too many representatives of the sugar industry here, but I see some representatives of the textile and the garment industries. So other than sugar, everything must be working well. This means that I should stop speaking and say: "Well, I am glad to see that you are all happy. The government will extend to you all the help possible. We will see you again next year." But perhaps this cheerfulness is in anticipation of some announcements or some official concession from the government. I can only hope it is for services already rendered by government.

This is not the first time we have been brought together under the auspices of the Confederation of Philippine Exporters. For some years now, this has been for us a regular forum, expressing the increasing partnership between government and the national business community, and dictated even more by the current tide of pressing economic concerns in our country, and of crisis around the world.

Since the start of this dialogue, we have focused much of our attention, and our energies, on the need to sustain export development and contribute to its necessary expansion. We have since come to understand our problems more intimately over the last few years, and we have evolved coordinated policies and strategies — coping mechanisms — which recognize both our limitations and our possibilities. I cannot see an area more important other than perhaps food and power.

I understand the First Lady has arrived. I was wondering how I would apologize for her absence, but now I can see that I must apologize for not knowing her movements. Now, if I can recover your attention once again, a miracle under the circumstances since I myself now don't have my thoughts on this speech of mine.

All our policies, of course, have recognized our limitations and our possibilities. The problem of exports development is of the same weight as food and oil imports.

Because we are united today behind a common export program, we find many of our projects bearing fruit. But despite our modest successes, we remain embattled. No single factor is more critical to our continued stability and growth, in the area of trade, than our ability to promote and diversify our exports.

It is also axiomatic that our progress and modernization efforts, including the industrialization towards the objective of a balanced agro-industrial economy, will continue to be dependent upon the extent of our exports. And, of course, we are presently engaged in the reassessment of the various sectors of our economy. We just finished with sugar. We are now moving into the other sectors.

Now, let me move into export performance in retrospect and give you a few data which I have just acquired.

At the first National Convention of the Philippine Export Council in January of this year, we noted the year 1976 to have posted real and encouraging gains. Paradoxically, we entered 1977 with a tenuous, if not precarious trading position in the world market.

Today, in the middle of the year, we have reason to be optimistic about our exports performance for 1977. Earnings from leading Philippine exports for the first quarter of the year have reached more than \$690 million, 38 percent over last year's first quarter figure of almost half a billion U.S. dollars. If the trend continues, depending principally on the recovery of the major industrial countries, we can expect the early figures for 1977 to follow a steady course for the rest of the year.

The Governor of the Central Bank, one hour before I came to this dinner, reported to me that for the first five months of the year, we have had a favorable balance, of payments position. We expected an unfavorable balance, a deficit of about \$100 million for the first quarter. But, fortunately, the first quarter resulted in a favorable balance of about \$70 million. And for the months of April and May, there was a favorable balance of \$25 million. It is therefore expected that this year, the dire predictions that we ourselves had projected may not come about on the matter of export earnings as well as the balance of payments position.

A look at the longer history of our foreign trade bears out this favorable trend. Over the 26-year-period since we regained independence in 1946, the growth of our exports has steadily outpaced the growth of our Gross National Product, thus contributing a consistently increasing share in the total production of goods and services. In the 1960's for instance, the share of our exports in the aggregate national output average only 13.0 percent. This reached 18 percent during this decade.

Yet, more significant than what simple growth rates and percentage shares of GNP indicate are the changes in the very structure of exports. In 1960, industrial exports, consisting mainly of semi-processed and processed agricultural, forest and mineral products, accounted for only 50 percent of total exports. In 1976, their share increased to about 80 percent, outstripping the quantity of unprocessed export products.

But the single impressive performance is recorded in the area of non-traditional products. Within the last six years prior to 1977, the share of non-traditional export products in our total exports grew from 9.4 percent in 1970 to over 20 percent in 1976. For the first quarter of 1977, leading non-traditional export earned \$102 million, representing a 56 percent increase over the \$65 million earnings for the equivalent period in 1976.

It is noteworthy, though not altogether surprising, that the fastest growing non-traditional exports have been those classified as labor-intensive. For example, during the first quarter of 1977, garment exports amounted to \$11.4 million compared to \$5.6 million during the first quarter of 1976, representing a 105 percent increase; woodcraft exports likewise increased by 20 percent.

Other leading performers in the non-traditional export category include: coffee, which showed a 1,090 percent increase from last year's first quarter figures; bananas and plantains, 13 percent increase; nickel and nickel alloys, 85 percent increase; gold from copper ores and concentrates, 25 percent increase; and cement, 7.7 percent increase.

Hand in hand with the improvements in the composition of our export products, we have also achieved a certain measure of success in diversifying our export markets. During the past 10 years, 80 percent of our exports went to the United States and Japan. By 1975, 66 percent went to these two countries, but in 1976, their share went down to 59.6 percent. This was further reduced during the first quarter of 1977 to 51.7 percent.

On the other hand, exports to the European Economic Community have remained fairly stable at 13-15 percent, while those to the Socialist countries have increased significantly from 1.1 percent in 1975 to 4.8 percent in 1976 and then to a dramatic 15.8 percent during the first quarter of 1977.

Similarly our exports to developing countries have increased. In 1975, exports to our ASEAN partners were only 2.2 percent of our total exports. During the first quarter of this year, this doubled. Another good example is Korea. In

1975, Korea did not even count among the first 15 major trading partners of the Philippines. Today, Korea ranks No. 13.

These developments are remarkable for what they imply in terms of our capability to compete in the world market and in terms of the confidence we now enjoy with respect to our stability and our capacity to meet our commitments at a time when global economic crises have exerted their utmost pressures on the foreign trade of developing countries. In terms of rising prices for key imports and falling prices for their exports, we have managed to show substantial increases in our export trade.

Incidentally, we have been alarmed about a falling tendency in the price of coconut oil for the last five days. You know, it went up to 34, and then it stabilized at 31. In the last five days, it has been falling at one cent per day. It is now somewhere at 25.5. Anyway, that is a side piece of information. I hope it does not give you indigestion.

This is clear proof, if any is needed, not only that we have the capability to steer through crisis, but that we have an enormous potential for advancement and growth. As a newcomer in the field of exports, we enjoy a large base of natural resources which today remains considerably untapped, and which when fully exploited has the capacity to launch us on a well-balanced agro-industrial development.

By year 2000, exports will account for about one-fourth of our GNP. While we do not want to be dependent on exports, beyond this point, an overall favorable trade balance will become evident as our export earnings accelerate over a wider base. This will result from the rapid growth of export oriented, small, medium, and heavy industries which have comparative advantages in terms of our country's human and natural resources.

Eventually, the expansion and diversification of our exports should lead to greater self-reliance. We will then be able to finance our own development with our own resources, instead of mainly through foreign borrowing and export earnings. It should also be possible for us to plan a sustained moderate growth of seven percent annually, which is our target for the next several years.

For us to achieve this, it is necessary for our exports to grow by more than 10 percent annually — 25 percent for non-traditional exports.

One may consider our objectives ambitious, but they are nonetheless realistic. And they find their promise in a fundamentally sound approach to steady growth and development.

That approach is best reflected in our basic policy for the development of our export sector, whose four main strands I would like to re-state.

First, it is our policy to expand and diversify our total export product base.

Second, it is our policy to boost non-traditional exports, to increase the production, and strengthen the marketing of the same.

Third, it is our policy to develop existing markets, as well as to penetrate new ones, so that our products are less susceptible to abrupt, unfavorable and erratic developments in the world market.

Finally—and this is one of the later developments — it is now our policy to emphasize the support not only of Government but of the private sector to the development of export of services.

I need not elaborate on these, for each of them has become so much a part of our economic life. Considering the nature of the audience that I speak to, I am certain that you are well aware of the various aspects of these basic policies. It will be more helpful to review the efforts we have recently taken in pursuit of these objectives and policies, and to pinpoint weaknesses and inadequacies in the process.

Certainly, if our export expansion drive is to succeed, the private sector and Government must move in concert. It would be an illusion for either or both of them to believe that they could separately succeed. If we look around us, we see that the successful exporters of the world require the coordinated action of the public as well as the private sector.

It was precisely on this premise that the Government has since sought to build the support for export development. Among the numerous measures that have been passed, the first worthy of mention is Presidential Decree 930, which I issued last year, to simplify export procedures and documentation. This was in response to the almost unanimous complaint that the rules and regulations then discouraged more than they helped prospective exporters; that there were too many forms to fill, too many signatures to secure, in a word, too much bureaucratic red tape. With that Decree, we reduced the number of documents required to the barest minimum and cut down the time involved in processing export documents by at least 50 percent.

Of course, I am aware of the feet that according to some of you the 50 percent is still too much. And I am certain that the Export Council is working on this, and I expect to receive the recommendations very soon.

The rules and regulations implementing this Decree have now been released by the NEDA, but several amendments are, I understand being formulated. I ask the NEDA to work with the Export Council so that the benefits of this Decree can be more extensively felt. I also direct that a more systematic and vigorous dissemination of procedural information and data be carried out in order to familiarize exporters with the new procedures and documents.

More recently, I issued a Presidential Decree granting a set of incentives for agribusiness. Designed to streamline and accelerate not only our agriculture exports but also our food production campaign, this Decree incorporates all incentives under the Investments and Exports Incentives Acts as well as other incentives specifically geared towards the peculiarities and needs of agricultural undertakings. Accordingly, I have directed the BOI Chairman and the Secretary of Agriculture to come up with an agricultural priorities plan as soon as possible that would identify agribusiness priority areas to be granted incentives. I consider this a landmark Decree in our efforts to encourage and diversify the composition of our agribusiness exports.

Another measure I would like to mention is Central Bank Circular No. 555, which expands the rediscounting window, making it more attractive to both exporters and commercial banks. Subsequent to the promulgation of this Circular, total loans rediscounted from February to April 1977 reached P2.754 billion, of which P942 million or 34percent went to exports. About P567 million of the latter or 60 percent, represents the share of non-traditional exports, principally wearing apparel, textiles, and chemical elements and compounds. The monthly performance here has surpassed any of the corresponding figures for the last three years, and attests to the kind of impact produced by the Circular on the use by non-traditional exporters of the rediscounting window.

I am told, however, that procedures are still slightly cumbersome, and are being refined.

We can also mention that apart from the concessions made available to the export sector under the investment and Export Incentives Act, and those related to operations in the Export Processing Zone, which are many, the two principal tax laws of the Philippines — the Tariff and Customs Code, and the National Internal Revenue Code — have provided tax credits through drawback claims and exemptions from specific and sales taxes. With respect to the former, measures are being devised by the Bureau of Customs to facilitate refund. I hereby direct the Bureau of Customs to speed up the finalization and implementation of these measures.

Another area of support by Government to the private sector is in infrastructure. To facilitate the flow of export goods to and from ports and processing centers, we have continually given stress to the need to improve and expand existing highways, airports, and seaports. Recent reports concerning the poor maintenance of national and local roads in many parts of the country have prompted me to issue special directives to the Department of Public Highways and the local governments to give this matter top priority. There was some dislocation in the coordination between the Department of Public Highways and the local government. As you are aware, we have increased the maintenance cost that the national government hands over to the local government— from P8,000 per kilometer to P11,000 per kilometer. And if after we have released all these funds, there are still some complaints about the non-

maintenance of roads then there is something wrong in the local government. Then it is my intention to see that this is immediately rectified. I appeal to the local government executives now to perform their tasks. In the event that the local government executives, including Metro Manila, do not perform their tasks — actually, the Governor of Metro Manila does not handle any funds. You know, the poor Governor really has no funds at her disposal because the mayors of the four cities and the 13 towns still handle the funds. She is some kind of a *kapatas*, you know. She is the best *kapatas* that I have seen operate.

You are now well aware of the fact that we are releasing funds for the maintenance of these roads. And if these roads are not maintained, I would have to assume that there was corruption and inefficiency in the performance of your duties. And I will take the corresponding action. Being the *pater familias*, I must act as a good *pater familias* by removing the inefficient and the dishonest.

I have already announced in my June 12 speech the creation of a new Department of Transportation and Communications. The work of such a new Department must support all our efforts to ensure a smooth flow of goods and services from the points of origin to the outside.

The highways program in particular has been a major activity in terms of the number of projects undertaken.

Now, talking about roads and the maintenance of roads, it seems that the local governments outside Metro Manila require some supervision. I have directed that the Department of Public Highways should enjoin their technicians and supervisors to participate and help in the maintenance of local roads. Among the major accomplishments here have been the completion of several primary trunkline road networks, linking together major urban and production centers. The most extensive of these projects, as you know, connect the markets and production points in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

We have given equal stress to providing adequate power support for agriculture, industry, and rural development. The Philippine Nuclear Power Plant in Morong, Bataan, on the Pacific side of Bataan peninsula, is our most daring attempt to fill this need to date.

With respect to the country's portworks program, the main thrust has been the upgrading of the country's seaport facilities to meet existing and future demands. Major projects are in the pipeline for the expansion and modernization of the port of Manila and the ports of Davao, Cagayan de Oro and General Santos, among others. Incentives are also being packaged for shipping and shipbuilding.

Another development worth noting is the proposed creation of a shipping corporation under the auspices of the Philippine Shipper's Council (or Shippercon), in response to the continuing spiral of freight rates imposed by the shipping conferences. These high freight rates have made a deep dent on the price structure of export and import commodities, diminishing the proceeds that should otherwise go to producers and traders.

Shippercon has had several confrontations with the powerful shipping conferences, but the battle, to say the least, has been tough. Only about eight percent of our foreign, trade is carried by Philippine vessels. This must be substantially increased.

I am therefore happy to learn that a number of importers have bonded together to put up their own shipping line which will reduce freight rates, rationalize shipping schedules, and accept payment of freight rates in pesos, thus, reducing the outflow of dollars from the country. I trust that all these efforts are fully coordinated with the Export Council and the Maritime Industry Authority.

In the negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), our country has submitted requests for concessions on tropical products, involving products of major interest to us like desiccated coconut, coconut oil, pineapple products, tobacco, sugar, wood, and wood products. Thirty tariff lines, representing a trade value of over \$84 million, have already been granted initial concessions. The concessions of the European Economic Community, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Nordic countries are now in force, while Australia is to implement her own by July 1977.

We are further pursuing various interests under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) of many developed countries, including the expansion of their produce coverages and the removal of restrictive elements. We are proposing, in particular, the more favorable consideration of our major exports, as well as of processed fruits, garments, handicrafts and so on. There are many other forums in which we actively express these interests, in a bilateral negotiations, both with our traditional partners and the Socialist countries, in negotiations on textile quotas, and in trade expansion schemes among developing countries. We can also single out our support for the Integrated Programme for Commodities and its Common Fund, which will hopefully yield for us more stable commodity prices and foreign exchange earnings.

Perhaps, it is at this point that I should announce that in accordance with the recommendations of the Export Council and the various agencies of Government, the Department of Trade and the Department of Foreign Affairs should now jointly organize *ad hoc* negotiating panels for particular textiles and garments negotiations composed of representatives from both the private sector and Government. These panels have to be co-chaired by representatives of the Department of Trade and the Department of Foreign Affairs or by an official from another department of a rank not lower than Undersecretary or Ambassador. The Chairman of the Export Council permanent committee on textiles and garments, who comes from the private sector, should automatically be the Vice Chairman of the negotiating panel. And the duties and functions of the Textile Export Board, under Letter of Instructions No. 325, are expanded to include not only the implementation of the RP-US Textile Agreement, but also all other agreements entered into between the Republic of the Philippines and other countries. I therefore sign in your presence this Letter of Instructions creating these bodies and increasing the number of those who will participate in this general effort.

You will note that I have gone out of my way to attend to the textile and garment industry. As reported by the Export Council, this seems to be one of the industries that is meeting with difficulties today.

We have therefore laid down the basic policy directions, the orientation, and the means of implementation, and formulated the internal measures necessary to guide the development of our export sector.

Its continued growth, however, rests on unflagging endeavor. Various problems in our national export strategy have to be untangled as they arise and the area of further Government assistance must be looked into from time to time.

For instance, we should now consider the merits of giving financial support to a limited number of trading houses that can serve as important conduits for the flow of exports from domestic producers to points of consumption abroad. These companies are particularly helpful to small producers who are in no position to establish their own marketing connections abroad.

The success of many export-oriented economies in the world can also be attributed to a very dynamic private sector organizational mechanism typified by trading companies. We all know of the success of the Japanese *sogo shosa* (the big trading houses) which are present in almost all countries. This approach was followed by Korea whose export development has been quite phenomenal.

While these trading houses have now become big conglomerates, it must be remembered that many of them started small. It would be therefore desirable if we could come up with an approach that is suited to Philippine conditions, employing the principle of "selectivity," providing incentives for export performance, and making it attractive for the slower ones to work harder. In a sense we already have the beginnings of this kind of trading mechanism in the Philippine International Trading Corporation (PITC), and the Philippine Export Trading Corporation (PETCQR), the Philippine Chamber of Industries, and the Export Processing Zone Chamber of Exporters and Manufacturers. Once these corporations acquire the desired capability, they should be able to provide financing to small and medium-scale producers while they at the same time act as their marketing outlet.

I would prefer that this be studied further in order to encourage the establishment of responsive trading houses with the end in view of providing the necessary incentives based on performance. I hereby direct the Export Council to look into this and to submit to me its recommendations as soon as possible.

And I wish to announce that this is the new direction and orientation of Government. I hereby announce that it is the policy of the Philippine Government now to support financially the establishment of such trading houses that shall help the exporters of our country.

I am also directing the Export Council to complete as soon as possible its studies on specific export products to enable us to clearly pinpoint those offering the most promising export potential. Only on this basis can we approach this field with dynamic flexibility as required by the play of market forces throughout the world.

As we improve internal conditions for export production, we must likewise strive to improve and develop the pattern of our trading relations and markets.

Consequently, we must seek a restructuring of our existing trading arrangements with other countries to obtain fair and equitable treatment for our exports. This is our reason for our activity in the Third World effort at seeking a restructuring of the world economic order.

At the same time, we are renegotiating our treaties with our two principal trading partners, Japan and the United States. This must be supported whenever possible with long-term agreements with the rest of our trading partners. This has been one of the main reasons for our normalizing ties with all the Socialist countries and for our increased collaboration with our partners in the ASEAN, and with Western Europe as well as the Middle East.

Over and above all these, we must press for increasing concessions for our exports in various multilateral fronts.

Here at home, we ought to continue the establishment of additional industrial estates, not necessarily only for export processing. It is projected that within the next two to four years, the Bataan Export Processing Zone will have been saturated; planning therefore for new export processing zones will have to be made now — before that day arrives. Mactan has been cited as a possible new site; this is one area where regional diversification can also merge with our targets of expanding industrial exports as well as tourism. The industrial estates in Northern Mindanao and Davao also offer equally exciting prospects.

Finally, there is the area of service exports, specifically overseas labor contracts, an area in which Korea seems to have specialized in the last few years. I understand that Korea has been able to obtain about \$3 billion worth of contracts. It is worth observing that some of our entrepreneurs have landed some lucrative although modest construction contracts in the Middle East, in Africa, and in some ASEAN countries. I look at this as a good start. And as I have in the re-statement of our basic policies, the support of Government for the export of services is assured. I have just made an amendment to the Philippine Export Guarantee and Loan Corporation charter which includes guarantee for contractors who sell their services abroad. I would like to announce that this new policy of Government includes the guarantee for such contracts entered into by Filipino contractors.

I assure all these contractors and all those allied with them that the government is determined to push the gains made in this field, through various measures and incentives to assist those who are blazing the trail in this particular aspect of our export drive.

And I ask all the parties interested in this matter to convey through the Export Council any request for support that they may need in government. I came here tonight to assure you that the Government will have a sympathetic ear to all the contractors of the Philippines who desire Government support.

At this point I would like to say that the field of exports is vast and complicated. But the opportunity is immense, and I hope none of you will lose heart.

At this point I would like to congratulate the Confederation of Philippine Exporters, under the leadership of General Balao, for successfully launching the Five-Year Export Development Drive to Japan, through our participation in the 12th Tokyo International Trade Fair. I visited the Philippine Pavilion with the First Lady and some members of the

Cabinet during my state visit to Japan, and I can say I am not surprised that part of its immediate impact was in the form of more than \$8 million worth of export contracts.

Of course, the First Lady being with me, I did not see much of the exhibits. The security almost panicked, I understand, because the mob who almost ran over me to get close to the First Lady had caused problems of security.

I certainly welcome continued selective participation in such fairs. But in addition to participating in fairs abroad, we should also be able to mount similar undertakings here in the Philippines. The Philcite which has been developed by the Governor of Metro Manila, the imaginative *kapatas*, permits us to hold export trade fairs according to international standards. But after this, the Philippine Export Council and the Department of Trade, together with COPE should now embark upon more imaginative undertakings that will have a decisive impact both on our people, who must develop a sense of pride in what they are able to produce, and on foreign visitors, who must be able to see for themselves the high quality of our products.

None of what we seek to achieve is possible unless we commit ourselves to greater endeavor; unless we assume for ourselves greater responsibilities. Without doubt, the last few years transformed both Government and the private sector in their estimation of their respective roles in carrying out a vigorous export trade drive. We have today less equivocal Government policies, and in the private sector, we have a more active entrepreneur class, better disposed to taking greater risks, better disposed to innovation and consequently able to produce a greater variety of higher quality products. All this spells a constancy of policy direction and thrust, the presence of a climate that should strengthen rather than weaken the partnership between the Government and the private sector, and more expeditiously promote our common advance. On the part of Government, we are committed to strengthening this partnership. But lest it be misconstrued that we believe progress will be attained without involving those who actually bear its social and human costs, we must even take care that our people are always involved in all undertakings of national magnitude.

It must then be our joint concern now — that of the Government and the private sector — to make sure that our people see themselves as truly benefiting from the gains that we attain especially from exports, and the progress we achieve is their progress, not just the progress of a few; that they see themselves fulfilled in both their needs and their wants and their lives; so that ultimately they will not only identify themselves with our gains, but also share our worries and bear the same anxieties that you and I must carry on our shoulders.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos President before the Eighth Conference on the Law of the World, August 21, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Eighth Conference on the Law of the World

[Released on August 21, 1977]

The Challenge of Liberty

IT IS INDEED a pleasure and an honor for me to be able to speak before wise men who have dedicated their lives to the law.

It is with some trepidation of course that all of us approach this gathering. For as the cynics do say, when two lawyers get together one must immediately sense danger, but when three lawyers somehow arrange to meet, then one must start running away as fast as possible. However, when there are more than a hundred of them, then one had better just give up and give them whatever they ask for.

There is probably nothing I can say on law or on human rights that will not be said, and said better, by the legal luminaries assembled here but I am still too much of a lawyer, and still too much of a politician, to let an opportunity like this pass by without saying something.

This brings to mind the story of the Oriental observer watching an English trial. He found it an odd process in which one man was silent, another man talked all the time, and then 12 men condemned the man who had not said a word.

Although I do not expect this to be anybody's trial, I hope you understand if I feel I must contribute more than just my silence to this Conference.

In bestowing upon us the honor of hosting this Eighth Conference on the Law of the World, the World Peace Through Law Center brings this unique forum to a part of the world whose most sublime struggle in this century has been in the field of freedom, law and order, social justice, human dignity and human fulfillment.

Long after the oppressed classes had won their rights in the advanced nations of the West, entire peoples in Asia were yet only beginning to wage their own struggle. Our country preceded all of Asia in this struggle for freedom and though we won it only to lose it to the greatest empire that ever spread its wings across the nations of the globe, that struggle implanted in the Filipino psyche the seed that would become part of our permanent heritage.

From the dark shadows of colonial rule through the labyrinth of decolonization to self-rule and finally to our present program of national transformation, the history of the Filipino nation has been a consistent move towards expanding the limits of freedom.

I have come today to pledge anew that our new society which I have instituted is dedicated to the attainment of the true dignity and freedom of our people under a rule of law.

This is my passion, this is my life, as I know it is the passion and the life of the Filipino people. And as I have sworn allegiance to the Constitution and to our flag, so do I personally resolve and swear that neither time nor tide, neither men nor events shall swerve me from this purpose.

The subject of this Conference calls to mind the historic conflict of liberty and authority. The balancing of liberty and authority has been the object of the search of government since the beginning of time. Some call the resulting balance justice, others call it equity. It also comes under the generic term “public order.”

The Roman codifier has said that the two pillars of public order are law and authority. The unrestrained practice of individual liberty, so it is said, is anarchy. It is also the survival of the strongest irrespective of the claims and rights of the weak. In short, the law of the jungle prevails. The unlimited use of authority, on the other hand, results in tyranny the imposition of power by a few or by one over the many. In either case, force is its life and the degradation of the human being, its ultimate result. Thus, both must be avoided.

A government of laws is in between these two extremes. How far in between is the continuing puzzle of mankind. In every period of ferment and innovation, the question presents itself. All countries must confront it sooner or later, in one form or another. And all countries, all states, all people must formulate their own peculiar, unique answer.

The Philippines has been no exception, and we have given our answer. Rebellion, secessionism, private armies, the extremists of the Left and of the Right, criminal elements fishing in troubled waters, interventionists from foreign lands — corrupters and the corrupted — all these existed in the old society flouting both law and authority. This marked the period behind us before 1972, the proclamation of martial law. They brought about the loss of both political or civil and economic or social rights of the majority of our people. But democracy and the law are not impotent or defenseless organisms. For wisdom and foresight as well as precedent have provided their self-regeneration even after serious injury.

The Commander-in-Chief provision of our Constitution of 1935 as well as the Constitution of 1973 mandated a crisis government or a constitutional authoritarianism under such circumstances. The political leadership had the other option to discard the restraints of the Constitution and the law and to establish a completely new government — in short, a revolutionary government that would more expeditiously deal with opposition and criticism.

But I decided, even against the well-reasoned advice of some, that we needed the anchor of the law. There was need for a rule of conduct especially for the new rulers who had not known how to exercise authority before. We followed the Constitution. And we have never regretted it — this rule of law. What has brought about inquiry was not the exercise of this power to proclaim martial law but its utilization, not merely to return to the *status quo* which was its historical usage, but to bring about a radical restructuring of the entire society and the eradication of the causes of rebellion, whether economic, social or political. For the old society was an unjust and unbearable society, and under it the majority of our people had lost their most elemental rights, including the right to life, liberty, property, happiness and the right to participate in their government.

There was, therefore, the need to re-establish the balance between liberty and authority, and to return the government to the position in between, which had been lost somewhere along the way. The New Society has sought to bring about such a balance not on a temporary basis but on a permanent one. The institutionalization of radical reform shall always raise questions of law as well as of authority. This will be the eternal cycle not only in this part of the world but everywhere else as mankind seeks its perfect society. And no nation, no state, no group of men in whatever part of the world, or endowed with whatever talent, can claim to have reached such an ideal, that no one raises any question anymore.

In the Philippines, too, we have not been content with the law following after the footsteps of change and innovation. Rather the law has been utilized as the cutting edge of innovation and change.

Thus, land reform that restructured agrarian relations and land ownership throughout the country was not brought about by first establishing economic and social relations and then the law following to ratify and confirm. Rather the law mandated this change in such economic and social relations. At the same it made the change mandatory, sanctioned by the force available to the government. The same is true of the reform in labor as well as in monetary, tax, educational and other economic, social or political policies. In the latter, the organization of the barangays or the smallest political unit which is the village as well as the Sanggunian or the council in the villages and municipalities and provinces, the Sangguniang Pambok or Regional Assembly, were directed and ordered by law. The law did

seek to revive an old tradition which used to be a part of Philippine culture now unknown to the new generations of the Philippines. Even the cooperatives, whether in irrigation or in farming, in production as well as in marketing, were brought about directly by law.

The radical transformation of our society has raised the question of the length and duration of martial law. I have no intention of leaving as a legacy to our people the institution of a command society.

There is an impression that no elections have been held under martial law. Nothing is further from the truth. There have been elections for the members of the Batasang Bayan or Legislative Council. We are moving irretrievably towards normalcy as we come closer to a solution of the southern secessionist movement as well as the leftist-rightist rebellion and the economic crisis.

I announce today, therefore, that there will be elections for local officials not later than next year, during which I hope to initiate an inquiry as to when we can hold the other elections for all other positions in the government. The effects of martial law itself will be lifted during the period of campaign and the elections.

I also wish to announce that as of yesterday, in celebration of World Peace Law Day, I have lifted the ban on international travel and terminated curfew. Lest I cause undue alarm among those who have advised me not to do so as yet, I hurry to announce that we will test the effects of these moves on our economy and our situation in the matter of peace and order.

Finally, I wish to announce that as of yesterday, I have issued a decree for the amnesty of those who have been guilty of subversion, which amnesty terminated last year, and which I revived, to extend for the next year. If there be any persons or detention prisoners who have not been tried by military tribunals and come under this decree, as of today, I order their release from detention.

I guess I should have made those announcements at the end of my speech, for these additional discussions may become anticlimactic. But let me proceed.

The world today is going through a new crucible of the spirit in which each nation must account for itself in the area of human rights.

No issue has attached itself so closely to the spirit of our times, and no issue will probably determine more how humanity will march out of this century into the next millennium.

Yet, however inescapable has been the outcry of this issue for universal recognition, consensus on it has not been easy to come by.

While we have made considerable progress in establishing the fundamental rights of humanity as a matter of primary international concern, mankind continues to witness some of the grossest violations of those rights, including certain acts that appear to be unique expressions of the problems of our contemporary world.

In an era that has brought forth undreamed-of advances in the human condition — the possibilities of longer life, the achievement of great wealth and abundance, the flowering of genius in the mastery of nature and the conquest of outer space — we continue to see grim reminders of adversity and suffering, compelling not only for their violence but also for the fact that they are often abetted by our very achievements in science and technology.

And this phenomenon is not easily summarized as a case of authority gone berserk and tyrannical; it is also many times the expression of liberties gone awry and anarchical. There are deplorable cases of state violence upon the citizenry, and there are also deplorable acts of terrorism by individuals and groups which in recent years have grown in brutality and horror. As some societies have struggled to maintain their stability, often to the extent of postponing the full enjoyment of certain rights, so also have there been societies overwhelmed by the tumult of revolution and political upheaval.

And overshadowing these problems in human affairs is the bitterness of the ideological conflict on the planet, which has already claimed the lives of millions — most of whom were not all protagonists or even in conflict but merely the tragic casualties of a world that insists on living on dogmas and doctrines.

Meanwhile, the economic gap between the developed and the developing nations has ripened into new forms of challenge to the security and well-being of mankind. We understand not at all the mounting crisis of rising populations and shortage of resources, if we do not see this as a fundamental denial of the rights of human beings to life, dignity, and individual fulfillment.

These are all symptoms of instability and decay in our contemporary world and we cannot, I think, resolve any of these problems with our eyes glued only to one aspect of the situation, indifferent to the others, or locked as the world appears to me now in a debate about virtues.

It is a situation that should rightly provoke a crisis of conscience, but an appeal to international morality alone will not suffice to deal with the problems we face. It must be matched by an equally dynamic response by the law of nations to deal with the problems and the issues of human rights.

This is why we cannot commend enough the efforts of this private association of men of the law from all over the world to promote the rule of law as a safeguard for the rights of men.

This is why this conference must lend itself to fresh approaches in the promotion and protection of those rights.

We are persuaded by the work that has preceded this conference that the way towards “the enthronement of human rights” in global affairs need not be an impossible goal, in spite of the great differences that divide the nations on its implementation.

From the time of the ancients to the present is a progression in the achievement of human freedom that has not been erased by even the most malignant instances of brutality and oppression in our world today.

Man’s idea of freedom has been decisively transformed by the epoch-making developments of the centuries; at each new turn in human affairs, there has always been an addition to the catalogue of rights that society and the world must win for the human individual.

The struggle for political liberty began as the struggle of subjects against their kings, and it ended in the unique declarations of the French and American revolutions which decisively changed the course of human history. The right of man to work and to the fruits of his labor, to a measure of well-being and social security, arose from the Industrial Revolution, and it changed radically the expectations of millions everywhere. The rights of peoples were won on the anvil of imperialism and colonialism and they continue to dominate the attention of men and nations in our time.

This is a heritage the likes of which no previous generation of men has known in its own time.

Most important, these are rights that have found recognition not only in human consciousness and aspiration but in a full body of laws in human society, not perhaps throughout the world as we would wish but in a good number of societies nonetheless.

Not for nothing will it be said that there is not a single country in the world today that does not swear by the ideals of “democracy” and “freedom.”

Substantial progress in the growth of human rights in international consciousness on the one hand is sometimes obscured by the denial of these rights in a number of societies on the other. This reflects to us what a great liberal spokesman of our time has called the “difficulty of the transition from nationalism to internationalism, and from unilateralism to multilateralism.”

It has been a difficult passage for the United Nations system of international cooperation; it has been more so, it would seem, for the international protection and promotion of human rights.

The international observance of human rights has its roots in a venerable number of treaties dating as far back as the Treaty of Augsburg of 1555, and all the way up to the critical period of the Second World War when the Grand Alliance made “the protection of human rights” one of its peace aims. These provisions in international agreements reflected a much more definitive development: the adoption of many European and American nations of the so-called “rights of man through Bills of Rights in their various constitutions and laws.

But the human rights movement in the modern context of protection on a global scale did not really begin until the signing of the United Nations Charter in 1946, which affirmed “faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.”

Although the Charter enjoins member-states to observe a duty of joint and separate action in the field of human rights, the pertinent provision did not constitute a legal norm. What it did envision was a future international system of human rights, to be implemented by political means within the United Nations.

As conceived by the early signatories of the UN Charter, this system was to be embodied in an International Bill of Rights, to be stamped with the approval of the General Assembly by formal vote of its members.

Already, however, the non-inclusion of the Bill of Rights in the Charter was a reflection of some differences among the member-states concerning the issue. In developing a separate bill, the states would again encounter some differences, and this resulted in the decision to write an International Bill of Rights consisting of various parts: a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and a Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights.

The Declaration passed easily enough the UN General Assembly in 1948, but it took another 18 years to draft the covenants and for the Assembly to adopt them in 1966. And for the covenants to take effect as a convention legally obligating state parties to the observance of their provisions, another ten years were to pass before a sufficient number of states finally ratified them.

Between the signing of the Universal Declaration and the ratification of the Covenants, new difficulties had plainly overtaken international consensus. In the passage of the Universal Declaration, almost total unanimity was achieved, with the Communist countries of Eastern Europe abstaining and not blocking the document. The Declaration, by and large, has represented a comprehensive listing of fundamental values, not only those that have enjoyed special attention and protection in the Western tradition but also those rights that have been the product of social and economic revolutions in this century.

The question of the Covenants and the machinery for implementation of human rights protection as a part of positive international law was another matter altogether. The member-states of the United Nations from the start already were divided as to which type of implementation would be desirable, and as to whether enforcement of the rights enumerated in the Declaration should even be attempted. There were those countries which, while accepting the Universal Declaration, thought that there should be no provision on international enforcement and that it should be left to the initiative of every state to raise itself to the full observance and promotion of human rights. And there were others which, while conceding the necessity for some measure of international control and protection, considered the procedures for enforcement laid down by the Covenants unsatisfactory and objectionable.

Many of these objections remain, and they are one reason why the majority of countries have not ratified the Covenants.

The Philippines, while ratifying the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on July 6, 1974, has not ratified the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as well as the Optional Protocol on Civil and Political Rights. While this has been interpreted as obtaining from the fact that the country is at present under martial law, it is in the records of the United Nations that in 1966 when the draft of the covenant was approved, the Philippines was not

under martial law. The Philippine representative put on record during the deliberations in the Human Rights Commission its opposition to the means of implementation as constituting a derogation of national sovereignty inasmuch as it authorized other states to petition when the petitioner-state considers another state as not complying with the provisions of the covenant.

We entertain anxiety that this provision may result in the interference of the super powers in less-developed countries, without advancing the cause of human rights. This is the position adopted by most, if not all, of the developing countries.

We do subscribe to the rights enumerated in such covenant and the Optional Protocol on Civil and Political Rights, attaching special importance to the rights added to the covenant which are not specified in the declaration, particularly the rights of minorities.

The Philippines would prefer a regional approach to the problem of ensuring human rights protection.

But if the human rights movement has fallen short of creating positive international law to protect and defend rights all over the world, it has succeeded eminently in establishing the observance of human rights all at the forefront of world consciousness. While the Universal Declaration is not as binding as a convention, its moral and legal value cannot be gainsaid. As a development of the United Nations Charter, it brought human rights within the scope of positive international law. In point of fact, international agreements, new constitutions, and legislation in various parts of the world have referred to the Universal Declaration either specifically or by reference. In this manner, it has grown into "the final arbiter and standard of reference to which every new text on human rights must conform." There may be differences among the nations about the value of wisdom of the method for enforcement of the Covenants; there may be contentions about certain rights cited in the Universal Declaration; but there is no quibble today about the irreducible minimum of fundamental values, the violation of which must subject any nation to international censure and disapproval.

These fundamental standards draw for us the dividing line between nations that truly observe civility and those that do not. And they are worth restating: the prohibition of genocide and terrorism; the freedom from torture and cruel and barbarous punishment; the guarantee of due process of law to all who are accused; and the basic rights to life and security of person.

But the challenge of human rights does not merely require us to protect and promote these essential standards of civility and conscience; they require us also to promote and expand the larger freedom of man in society, and here the issue becomes very problematic because of differences in values, priorities and needs of different peoples and different nations.

Here we are face to face not with the irreducible minimum of fundamental freedoms but with a larger conception of human rights as the goal of human community.

As I perceive this aspect of the human rights issue, it is here where the campaign for human rights bitterly divides into a contention over ideology, rather than on realities; a competition for ascendancy in global affairs, rather than a genuine effort to advance the lot of men in the international community. And it is all the more confusing, because the debate is carried on with nations, and spokesmen using the same terms "democracy" and "freedom" as their yardstick, while attaching to these terms widely divergent concepts with varying emphasis.

On one side of the ideological spectrum, we are told by the apostles of communism that human rights are a "bourgeois illusion" until the social and economic emancipation of man is truly achieved by human societies. The cherished civil and political liberties of liberal democracy only serve to conceal from view the real enslavement of man in human society, because they appear to protect the human individual in his rights.

Now there is no question that both these conceptions of human freedom — of social and economic emancipation on the one hand, and political liberty on the other — have their claim on the agenda of every society. Recognition of

both is well established in the United Nations program for human rights and in the very covenants that have sought to protect human rights in the world.

But are all impatient, and dogma insists and we are anxious to label that society which does not come up to the measure of either doctrine as either uncivilized or reactionary.

It is difficult enough that these doctrines should hold sway over the flux of global affairs it is regrettable that dogmatism has often resulted in the interventions of the strong in the affairs of the weak, to enforce an objective they consider universally-ordained.

From here have flowed the malignancies that have thrown mankind into war and its indescribable horror.

From here flowed the interventions on behalf of "freedom" that turned internal conflicts into unmitigated international tragedies; from here have flowed the conflicts that today rage in the ancient land of Africa and elsewhere.

And so we arrive at last at a full-bodied consideration of the status of human rights in the developing countries of the world — those countries which constitute so much of mankind today and whose experiences have not always conformed to cherished beliefs and assumptions in the field of human rights.

Most of these countries were at one time or another outposts of Western civilization, and so it has been a constant wonder why their long exposure to the West and its institutions did not suffice to prepare the soil on which Western democracy could grow and flourish.

It has been suggested elsewhere that of the more than 142 countries of the world today, only about 15 could be described as truly democratic in the Western tradition.

I do not commend this statistic to you with relish for it is certainly a fact that the Philippines has struggled long and hard to live by that tradition, to support its cherished institutions on Philippine soil; and when five years ago, we instituted crisis government, we became in short an apostate in the orthodoxy of liberal democracy.

Now what do these facts tell us?

The cynic will, of course, say that freedom and democracy are demanding ideals and that in the course of our histories, divisive forces simply overtook the will to sustain them and we marched forthwith into the bosom of tyranny, revolution and despotism.

But there is a deeper answer for those who would but consider the real experiences and hopes of the developing countries. Let me talk of the Philippine experience.

The choice of the democratic path at the dawn of independence for my country was not, even when we consider the evangelical fervor of American colonization, a choice dictated by outside interests but a genuine aspiration of our people. We wanted a government based on the consent of the governed; we wanted a political order that would allow for the free play of individual initiative and purpose; and we believed that this was the road that would lend us to a just, progressive, and humane society.

But it was a program that did not in the event prosper and realize itself. In the interval, our society far from attaining the established gains of Western democracy and far from developing the moorings of a democratic civilization, gradually passed into a state of profound decay and drift, in which the forms of democracy could no longer conceal the malignant inequalities, injustices, and tensions in the society.

It was a situation which in the view of the Left was ripe for revolution. Equally it was a situation, too, that was ripe for the intervention of Rightist reformers. We were resolved however — we who recognized the danger — that our

democratic system would not submit to execution or consider its own suicide, that it would not surrender to either coup d'état or revolution. And so it was that we invoked the final measure enshrined in our constitution — the extraordinary protection of martial law.

We say that martial law has been proclaimed to protect the people and restore our true freedom.

But here, you might say, has been the rub. In our situation, we believed that martial law conceived simply as an interruption in democratic processes to meet the challenge of insurgency and reaction, would not suffice to stabilize political authority and order. For behind the forces that besieged the Republic, there were reasons rooted not in the fanaticism of revolutionaries alone but in the social and economic conditions of our people. Our democratic system had manifestly failed to reconcile its aspirations with national realities, and to make institutions and processes built on these aspirations effective to alter the conditions of our society.

This realization and the need to break out from the circle of futility, as has often happened in other societies, led us into the utilization of crisis rule itself as a means to effect vital and radical reforms in our society. It led us to a resolution that no less than a new society must be the outcome of this convulsion in our national life.

This is a process that can develop in several directions, as is well known to contemporary history. By choice, however, we have pledged that this must be a movement toward democracy and freedom, that this must be a period of building the infrastructure of a democratic society and then a process of constructing the full form of democratic government.

Now this is a claim which I am aware is often seen by foreign observers as merely a camouflage for authoritarian rule. There is anxiety that this interval of crisis rule may have resulted in a prolonged and prevalent suppression of human rights.

To this we can only commend a zealous examination of events and developments in the Philippines. And we stand by our record as a measure of how we protect and promote the fundamental rights of our people, and seek to expand the meaning of freedom for all.

And I will point out further that in this interval of emergency, we have not lost sight of our commitments to fundamental values and human rights. The Republic of the Philippines will rigorously adhere to the rule of law.

And though there have been to our lasting regret a number of violations of the rights of detainees, still it must be recognized that this is a society and this is a government that has not, does not, and will not tolerate the torture or maltreatment of prisoners, whatever charges they may face.

Periods of emergency in human affairs are usually the times when the lives and rights of individuals are at their greatest peril. It cannot be, it seems to me, an insignificant aspect of the Philippine experience that martial law in our country has never walked this edge of chaos and violence.

“No country, no people” said the United States Secretary of State at a meeting in Latin America last year, “for that matter no political systems, can claim a perfect record in the field of human rights.” The shortcomings are the issue of an imperfect world, dominated still by problems unrequited and prejudices aplenty. If so, we can only pledge our determination to do better, to work as sovereign societies towards those conditions in society that ensure human dignity and human community, and to work together towards the improvement of those structures of international protection and promotion of human rights all over the world.

We welcome this conference as we welcome all efforts to bring legal and political institutions in step with scientific and economic advances as well as the greater objectives of human freedom.

For the whole world is, and all states are, under pressure from a continually growing and more complex environment. All the social and political or legal institutions — and I mean all — created by man are now under questions, if not attack.

The natural scientist has been free in the secrecy of his laboratory to carry out his tests and experiments. For his studies can be safely cordoned and sealed off from directly affecting men and his world in general.

But the social and political scientist or engineer must of necessity find his laboratory and make his tests in the very center of life and use for his subjects men for whom he must hold deep and abiding emotions.

And the people on whom the legal, social or political innovations must be tested are keenly sensitive to any immediate prejudice to their lives. Since legal, social and political innovativeness must depend not only on popular tolerance but popular consent if not commitment, often the dim and distant long-term goals must be made palatable with immediate benefits.

The political leader may be unsure of his following or of the palatability of proposed innovations or he may be unable or unwilling to risk his political fortune or his good name and honor on a gamble based on incomplete knowledge, and therefore prefers the cautious and safe policy of the *status quo* following the principle of the legalist's *stare decisis*.

Natural science, too, is a realm whose terminology and activities are specialized in by its limited number of initiates. Observation and comment are necessarily left to the few wise men of that discipline who are not notorious for their loquaciousness or their obsession with publicity or popular approval.

The reverse is true of the legal or social and political science.

It is the concern of everyone, and everyone is an expert on the subject.

Woe to the legal or social and political innovator who cannot face up to and stand firm before the furious mob of advocates of the *status quo*, all completely convinced that the comfort of known and already appreciated danger is better than the glory of unknown and unfelt advantages and benefits.

Every legal, social or political concept is interpreted as a threat to human survival.

Certainly no premium is placed on the inquiring mind in this field. It is about time that as we grant incentives to the pioneering natural scientist and the economic entrepreneur, so too must we give incentives to the legal, social and political innovator.

Or face the bleak future of man's legal, social and political institutions ever remaining impotent or unequal to the demand of an ever growing complex world.

But what should concern all men of foresight, whether lawyer or not, is the state of international law and its enforcement.

National laws promulgated by competent authority are more or less uniformly drafted, formed along humanistic lines, and result in common observance and mutual benefit.

And national governments have authority of varying degrees and competence to enforce such national laws.

But in the realm of international relations, the general simplistic observation is that there is neither law nor authority.

The miracle is that the world has survived this long without either.

Sovereign states have succeeded in preventing the construction of the two pillars necessary for international public order.

And the conclusion cannot but follow that in the absence of law or authority there must prevail the law of the jungle — the survival of the strongest — short, anarchy.

The slow instinctive groping for a world order marks the graves of those lost in the wars and famines of nations caught in international disorder — in anarchy.

The last two world wars spawned the League of Nations and the United Nations.

The hope for an international order, however, remains an illusion.

The world government is a dream of the philosopher and visionary.

Except for the existence, erratic and disconnected though they may be, of some regional or tri-sectoral interdependence, the world's economic order is in disarray.

Free intercourse, the life of international trade, is on the retreat before the onslaught of national protectionism.

How many individual human beings will sleep hungry tonight because of the failure of our generation in this area of human activity?

How many desperate acts and decisions by nations and their leaders will be made, or lives lost by pressures brought about by such prosaic and common figures like deficits in trade or balance of payments? And all because the world's leaders cannot agree on the law and the new mechanisms to rule their economic conduct. Nor on the authority to enforce their decisions.

How many years have we been meeting on the law of the seas? And what have we accomplished other than to emphasize the variance and conflict of interests not only of ideology but of selfishness?

What about air space? The atmosphere or the stratosphere? And international terrorism? Or a hundred other items of the unfinished agenda?

There are any number of manifestations of international disorder or anarchy.

Some thinkers have well said that the third world war is not to come. It is here and now.

The proliferation of arms is unabated.

The prayers of all men go with the so far puny thrusts towards the limitation of weapons, especially of nuclear arms.

The big powers, so the apocalyptic prophets say, are being pushed by the logic of circumstances, that we do not even seek to deflect, towards the day they shall incinerate themselves and the world with them.

I fear that if the task to establish international law and authority is left alone to governments, it will remain undone.

Just as scientific discoveries and knowledge transcend national territorial boundaries, so too should the visions and hopes of the wise men like you who dream of world order.

It is a mission too noble to be abandoned to men of common clay. It is a calling for the devotee whose loyalty is not to race or nation but to man and his humanity.

We may not find them in leaders or would-be leaders of governments and states whose very survival and existence hang upon vociferous bigotry and demagoguery or demonstrated patriotic and nationalistic zeal.

But we may find our survival among men like you, the men whose dedication is not creed or race but the law as the embodiment of man's ideals and whose flag is not that of a nation but of the world.

The men of the law and of the mind shall be the arbitrators of the clash of national interests.

Moral sanctions are the only authority behind the law of nations, so they say. Let the integrity of the thinkers and the men of the law add prestige, add strength to that law. For they shall overleap boundaries and persuasions, overcome combative ideologies and conquer suspicion and distrust.

I look with hope to the day when philosophers will be kings and kings will be philosophers.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the inauguration of the Oluho Cable System, August 26, 1977

Government and Business

I CONSIDER THIS double jeopardy. I have already delivered a statement, and now you want me to deliver a speech. However, I feel that the occasion is certainly important enough for two speeches by the President.

I am one of those aware of the critical contribution of communications to the progress of our world. The world in general is shrinking not only because of transportation but especially so because of communications. It is strange however that while man has demonstrated his capacity to communicate with fellow human beings on the moon, there are spots in the world that are still as backward as they were primitive since the beginning of time because of lack of communications.

One of the perennial complaints of political leaders of colonized states in the past was that it was easier for Manila to call up Washington than to call up Jakarta, easier for Jakarta to call up the Netherlands than to call up Bangkok. And you could continue these examples interminably.

At the same time, it has been said that no man is lonely or alone provided he can communicate with his fellow human beings. He may be physically isolated but communications eliminates the illusion of isolation. It has also been said that perhaps communications is the answer to the problem of perennial travel. And that it can supplant and replace this continued movement of people and population.

One of the areas that has suffered from lack of communications is Southeast Asia and the Pacific area on the rim of the Western Pacific.

The ASEAN countries in the last Summit Conference in Kuala Lumpur took note of this particular deficiency in the region, and acted immediately to rectify the errors in the past. You will note that the Okinawa-Luzon-Hongkong cable is merely a part of the general network of communications that is going to be set up in this western section of the Pacific.

I understand that there are on-going plans for the setting up of underwater cables from Singapore and Indonesia which are to be tied up with Thailand and Malaysia. In short, there will be an entire underwater cable system that will connect the various countries of this region.

I also wish to inform you that Singapore and the Philippines have entered into another cable agreement sometime back which I announced formally in Kuala Lumpur during the Summit Conference.

At the same time, an agreement has been entered into between the Indonesian and Philippine governments for the use of the domestic satellite of Indonesia for the Philippines. This replaces the original plans for the Philippines to utilize its own domestic satellite which would have been a costly matter. We were very happy to welcome the proposal of President Suharto and his men who came to the Philippines that we utilize the Indonesian domestic satellite instead of shooting domestic satellite for ourselves. I was very happy to be able to agree to such a proposal. I think that this farsighted and long-term view by President Suharto and the Indonesian government of the needs of communications in our region certainly will lead to further cooperation, and probably integration of the countries in this region.

I congratulate the corporations that are involved not only in establishing this link but in supplying the requirements. I understand that there are various suppliers of all the requirements of this communications system.

On the part of the Philippines, we have Eastern Telecommunications Philippines, headed by Mr. Manuel Nieto who has been the active leader in bringing about this link. Let us congratulate Mr. Nieto who is here.

On the part of the Japanese government, the DKK and KDD. You know, these initials and acronyms — there are so many of them — keep me worried. But I wish to congratulate the Japanese government for this participation. Japan plays a very crucial and critical role in the economy of Asia as well as of the world. As a matter of fact, European and American economists now seek Japan's participation in an effort to stabilize the world economy.

It can be properly said that without the participation of Japan there can be no solutions to economic problems. And I am very happy to note the cooperative attitude of the Japanese leaders headed by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda who has just visited our country. Please extend, Mr. Ambassador to Prime Minister Fukuda my personal felicitations and congratulations on this particular matter. On the part of Hongkong, we have Cable & Wireless. I do not know if there are any representatives here of Cable & Wireless. But knowing the joint endeavor that has gone into this work, I am certain that Cable & Wireless is well represented here. The Ambassador from England is here, and I would like to congratulate Cable & Wireless and the British government for this participation. Let us congratulate our friends, England and Hongkong.

These efforts symbolize the continued and unremitting efforts of mortal man to extend himself beyond the boundaries of his constraints. Perhaps, 200 years from now, the people who will be using the cable will imagine that there were some men who thought beyond their times, beyond the 20th century. And I guess we will all be there since I see nothing but 20-30-year-olds here. This is our hope. And this is what keeps us moving, is it not?

Man will continue to strive beyond his time. I am always reminded by the thoughts of our great hero, Rizal. In one of his novels, an old man was asked why he kept on planting seeds when he was so old he would never be there to rest in the shade, taste the fruits, and smell the flowers of the trees. He smiled and said: Yes, I will be there. I will be there because my sons and daughters will be there to rest in the shade, taste the fruits, and smell the flowers of the trees. So 100 years from now, we will also be there, utilizing this cable to attain man's noblest ambition and bring about the unity of mankind.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the closing ceremonies of the National Conference Workshop on the Joint Venture Housing Program, October 14, 1977

A National Program for Housing

FIRST OF ALL, allow me to say that I am indeed happy to be able to close this meeting of the National Conference Workshop on the Joint Venture Housing Program. From the opening remarks of General Tobias, I understand that this conference ended in conflict. When I came in, I noticed the almost sullen atmosphere in the Maharlika Hall. I immediately inquired from General Tobias if you had arrived at any agreements on rent and financing and on mortgage market and land availability — the principal problems of housing. Even before I asked the question, I knew you had not arrived at any conclusion.

I gathered that all of these subjects have stimulated much controversy. And these are the questions that determine the survival or success of not just the housing program but of those engaged in housing, housing development, and land development, like many of you.

However, I believe the fact that you are gathered indicates a renewal of interest not only in housing for profit but in the socialized housing program of our government. That actually is the problem. On the question of middle income or profitable housing projects, there should be easy solutions available to both the private sector and government. We start separating from each other the moment one speaks of socialized because there is no profit at all. And certainly most of us operate for profit. Let us admit it. Perhaps, there is some possibility of an understanding where government can step in and make up for the losses of profit at the least possible cost. That is the rub, the least possible cost to government.

Your conference represents one of the most concrete steps to bring the private sector and government under a common program. And we must congratulate all of you as well as the National Housing authority for bringing this about.

I feel that perhaps the conference should continue although in a different form. We should bring in the financing institutions of government. You speak of a second mortgage market. The Central Bank is not represented here. And without the Central Bank, you cannot speak of a second mortgage market.

The National Economic Development Authority has not made the decision on rent and rent control. And the NEDA is still pending with the various authorities. You know, I also inquired about subsidizing these efforts. And I have not heard from Jimmy Laya there whether he can afford it, especially now that he is confronted with financing some other operations in the South.

I am therefore in a way glad that we meet today if only to review the true magnitude of the problems with which we are confronted.

There is no need for me to emphasize in the agenda before the nation the high priority of housing services. We all know that the problems with respect to housing are pressing. It is now recognized worldwide that housing is a necessity as well as a good investment. McNamara of the World Bank has changed his bank's opinion. It had never considered loans for housing before, but now it does. For it realizes the role of housing now — as a social function of government and as a stimulant to the economy. It increases employment. It moves the business world at large. It is one of the most obvious economic indicators in the United States. Whenever anybody talks about crisis and the movement for ward, one talks of low-cost housing.

I have stated, and I repeat, that housing is second only in priority to food production. We have invested billions of pesos on rice and corn production. We are now moving into feed grains, sources of protein food, and blue or sea farming. We are moving into all areas of food production. We now must think in terms of housing in a more pervasive way. That priority remains. And in view of the success of the national food production program, it is perhaps time for us to place a heavier stress on the solution of our housing problems.

We therefore need a clear strategy on how to solve our housing problems. This must be responsive to the need of the greatest number.

Perhaps, I should outline to you the concept that seeks to meet this problem.

We created the National Housing Authority, through Presidential Decree No. 757, which integrated all government housing agencies and programs under one roof. The same decree laid down our national objective of providing “housing for the greatest number,” and the formulation of a national strategy to attain this objective.

To fit housing efforts within the total scheme of national development, government subsequently created the Human Settlements Commission in 1976. Before this, we already had a Task Force on Human Settlements But this was elevated to a Commission in 1976. The development of human settlements is a necessary complement to housing services, in view of the fact that housing requirements will obviously demand the development of new areas for housing. And such development must be fitted squarely into the larger framework of economic and social environment.

With the creation of the National Housing Authority and the Human Settlements Commission, we subsequently moved to implement a more coherent housing policy and strategy.

As a first step, we have endeavored to correct the various unscrupulous and fraudulent practices that have characterized land and housing development in our country for many years. So we have Presidential Decree No. 957 to regulate the sale of subdivision lots. And while this is designed principally to protect home and lot buyers from unscrupulous land developers, we envisioned it also as an encouragement and an incentive for legitimate developers to embark on more ambitious land development programs.

We also have a series of Letters of Instructions. Now, what are these Letters of Instructions? They define the thrust of the government’s housing efforts. LOI 509 directs the establishment of demonstration projects for a community of 500 families. LOI 557 enunciates the national policy of upgrading slum areas and other blighted communities. And LOI 555 adopts a nationwide program of slum improvement and resettlement. You remember, we borrowed money for the Tondo slum upgrading program. Instead of moving out the inhabitants in the area, the area is sought to be upgraded. I believe that you know the program perhaps better than I do. This has resulted in several housing projects for the poor in our country. I am very happy to note the experimentation on this score which is also going on in the private sector.

Thirdly, there has been a perceptible rise in housing projects in recent years consonant to the call of government. Investments of the Government Service Insurance System and the Development Bank of the Philippines have stepped up considerably. In 1974, I ordered the SSS and the GSIS to individually set aside P500 million a year for housing alone. Complementing their efforts is the support of private institutions to government’s call that they develop housing Programs for their employees. And the unions are also involved here. The unions were requested to exploit all possible resources so that they may participate in the effort to set up housing for their members. While undoubtedly there is this initiative on the part of the private sector as well as government, it is still well below the requirement. It is a start in the right direction. And it remains only for us to develop the right incentives and measures to spur further investments in housing by corporate institutions.

But it is obvious when we review the progress of the national housing program, in the light of housing needs, that results at this stage have touched only a single aspect of housing. There remain formidable problems that we must still face before there can be any substantial progress whatsoever. Now, these are the problems to which we must address ourselves now. One of the problems is the lack of suitable land. In round figures, land availability in the Philippines is divided into the areas that are arable, the areas that are wooded, and the areas in-between. We have sought to continue developing our agriculture in an extensive way. And now we are moving into intensive agricultural development — 13 million out of the total 30 million hectares. And at the same time, we are trying to keep the wooded areas at 42 percent which is the present area covered by our trees. These are declared as reserved forests and as commercial areas supposedly renewed by reforestation.

This problem of land has been the result of speculation, hoarding — a reflection of the widening gap between the rich and the poor in our country. Prime lands have been cornered and developed for high income housing, and what remain for the low-income group are those which are far from the fringes of the urban cores. In addition, a great number of suitable sites are idle and vacant lands, obviously the investments of land speculators.

We must now therefore deal squarely with this problem of idle lands for housing. And government itself must now move into what we would call “banking land for the future.” It is one of the policies under consideration by government to resort to expropriation of property. But the problem of land for low-income families can better be resolved if we encourage property owners to invest in housing projects. Alienable land is one problem. And the other is the spiralling of land development and construction cost. I am sure you know this more than I do.

The cost of housing today is virtually prohibitive for both the low-income and the middle-income families. One of the measures that must surely be considered high in our agenda is an earnest effort to match cost with what people can afford, especially those in the low-income group. And this is where government perhaps can step in. And this is where we will need a more sophisticated approach to the problem than what we are already planning. It will require further study. I noted that the National Housing Authority wants to be given the authority to lend out money or subsidize the housing schemes. Of course, we can trust the National Housing Authority on this. But this probably requires support not merely by the budget but also by the Central Bank. The discounting facilities of the Central Bank should be available to the extent that this will not increase inflationary pressures. And how to balance this is still a big problem.

I address this principally to the financial managers of government — Central Bank, Department of Finance, National Economic Development Authority. I am sure that they are listening in excitement about all of these, because any allocations now by government for any purpose not found in any of the priority projects that we have already listed down, will mean that some of the projects will not be funded for this year. And so the proposal of General Tobias to allow the National Housing Authority to extend financing for the housing scheme of the private sector is a good proposal. But it requires further study. I therefore order the National Economic Development Authority to call a conference on this, and ask the Budget Commissioner, the Secretary of Finance, the Secretary of Public Works, Transportation, and Communications, the Central Bank, and the financing institutions to participate. The National Housing Authority will be the proponent and will present this matter to the NEDA as soon as possible.

We have always spoken of lowering the standards for housing realistically. This will need the participation of the private sector so that we can meet the requirements of the low-income group. And I repeat that socialized housing will need the support of the private sector as well as government. And I believe that before the private sector can move into this type of housing, government will have to support it. I believe that this is the key to the low-income housing problem.

But I would like the conferees to know that government is aware of the need to tackle this problem forcefully and energetically. We want the recommendations of the private sector during these hearings. We would like to know whether government can, within its limited resources, afford such a scheme. And in what magnitude. To say that we are going to build houses all over the Philippines is not realistic. We know very well that we cannot do it right now. But we adopted a five-year or ten-year or even a long-range program in order that we can meet this problem. And I am here to tell you that it is my intention that we develop such a program which will provide a fair margin of profit for the private sector and at the same time entail the least cost to the government.

There is no need to repeat the fact that the housing requirements for low-income housing may run into billions of pesos. But, I repeat, perhaps, we can spread this over a period of years. It requires a tapping of other resources to complement what the government can invest. This is the underlying reason for the efforts of government to invite the private sector to participate in the implementation of our national housing program.

The development of the secondary mortgage market, which today is actually non-existent, is something that is addressed again to the financing sector. I suggest that this be included in the studies and the program that will be proposed by the National Housing Authority to the National Economic Development Authority.

There is this amendment to Presidential Decree No. 953 proposed by the National Housing Authority. I have here with me the proposal which does not alter the 30 percent requirement for open space, but redefines the term open space for subdivision. I brought some of these decrees to Bicolandia with me during my inspection trip.

I therefore sign in your presence a decree which defines open space as an area reserved exclusively for parks, playgrounds, recreational areas, schools, roads, places of worship, hospitals, health centers, barangay centers, and other similar facilities and amenities. It also provides that the owner, as a developer of a subdivision, shall provide adequate roads, alleys, sidewalks for subdivision projects one hectare or more. The owner or developer shall have 30 percent for open space. Its open space shall have the following standards allocated exclusively for parks, playgrounds, and recreational uses:

(a) 9 percent of gross area for high density or social housing, which means 66 to 100 family lots per gross hectare.

(b) 7 percent of gross area for medium density or economic housing, which means 31 to 65 family lots per gross hectare.

(c) 3.5 percent of gross area for low density or open market housing, which means 20 family lots and below per gross hectare, etc.

I presume that this should be of some help to you. I therefore have the pleasure to sign this in your presence.

There is a proposal on rent control. This seeks to amend the existing limits on rent control and the release of rent control over a period of five years. Rent control was met with undisguised opposition in your meetings, I understand.

Instead of now moving into a definite amendment, I now ask this conference to submit to the National Economic Development Authority, perhaps, through the National Housing Authority, a proposal to eliminate rent control over a period of five years.

Presidential Decree No. 745 grants tax incentives to corporations and partnerships, with 300 employees or more, engaged in employee housing. It is now my pleasure to sign an amendment to this decree which now extends such tax exemption and incentives to subdivision developers and owners. This means that those who engage in the development of housing for low-income families will now be included in these incentives. I sign this in your presence.

I am confident we will overcome the obstacles in the light of this policy as well as the proposed new policies and the bringing in of the Central Bank, the National Economic Development Authority, and the financing institutions into the picture for the development of the secondary mortgage market. We need a little more push and concentration of our energies and talents on this problem.

It is now necessary to see how the private sector will react to these offers. But may I request that the private sector be more alert in looking into these opportunities, that these dialogues you have started be continued.

I am certain that we have substantially discarded the old “niñgas cogon” vice of our race, and that we will persist and persevere in the solution of this problem.

I am impressed by the degree of support and participation the private sector has been able to give, notwithstanding the often erratic attitude of some of the original agencies engaged in housing. I look forward to further cooperation and coordination between the National Housing Authority and the financing and monetary authorities of our country. With the sectors working together with you, I have no doubt we will alleviate the housing situation in our country. And in so doing, we will contribute to the progress of our economy.

Once again, let me congratulate you for undertaking what to me is an almost impossible task. I repeat that this has now become manageable because of your cooperation and participation.

Once again, I assure you that I am aware of the problems of housing and land development. And our New Society, while engaged in improving the lot of the lower classes, has no intention of adopting the socialist answer to the economic problem — the elimination of property. As you are well aware, our economic system is based on free enterprise. And the principal agent of change shall be the private sector. This is true not only with respect to housing. Although, I repeat, on socialized housing, government may have to come in and grant subsidies. And this is where the Budget Commissioner will have to make very hard-headed decisions as to the magnitude of such subsidies.

But, I repeat, we will depend upon the private sector. We will set the atmosphere and grant incentives. We will give the assurance that government will look to the private sector for the development especially of low-income and upper-class types of housing.

I repeat that as long as I am President, this program will be supported.

It is my dream and hope that within the next several years, we will see the first steps that will bring about the solution of this perennial and nagging problem of housing in our country.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the graduation exercises of the Junior Executive Training Program (JET) and the Supervisory Training for Effective Administrative Management (STEAM) of the Civil Service Commission, October 14, 1977

The Reform of the Bureaucracy

NOTHING IN THE agenda of our national government is more important in the long term than the continuing revitalization of our government bureaucracy. And nothing can truly insure the sustained implementation of our national development program except an effective governmental machinery.

We placed high priority on government reforms immediately after we established a crisis government. And it was for this reason that we continue and must continue with the effort to improve and enhance the operations of our government bureaucracy.

Here in these graduation exercises are represented the basic thrust of this program of governmental reform, the extent of its reach throughout the whole length and breadth of the bureaucracy, and the depth with which reform is being sought.

Today, we graduate 693 members of the service under the Junior Executive Training Program (JET) bringing to 1, 836 graduates the number of those who have benefited from this middle-management reorientation program of the Civil Service Commission.

In addition, we witness today the graduation of the first two batches of graduates under the Supervisory Training for Effective Administrative Management (STEAM), which has been designed as the managerial skills development program to complement the JET program. Under this later training scheme, 887 officials from 26 government agencies have benefited from the program.

Although these two program touch only a fraction of the more than 600,000 work force of the national government bureaucracy, their impact to my mind will be far-reaching and profound. For they are concerned basically with the training of those who hold key positions in the bureaucracy, those who man the middle-management layers of the government machinery, and who therefore lead and direct a critical aspect of governmental operations in our country. We have remarked many times in the past about the inefficiency and graft of the government service. We have been bewildered and appalled by the degree of waste and misuse of limited resources yearly being perpetrated in government.

But it is only now that we are really beginning to understand the true soil of inefficiency and corruption in the service, and more important, it is only now that we are beginning to really cope with it.

The basic problem had always been a question of where to begin such an effort at reform. Because the problem was too large, we tended merely to focus upon one aspect of the entire malaise — on the so-called ineffectiveness of government competitive examinations, on the presence of grafters in government, or on the selection of people for the higher-ranking cabinet positions.

But in fact, weeding out undesirables from the service was only a partial answer to the total problem. Improving the civil service selection process answered a part of it, but not the whole. And in spite of the growing technocracy of the official family, we have continued to confront very basic problems in the operations of our governmental setup.

All these have convince me that our fundamental concern must be laid squarely in building towards a total concept of governmental reform, based upon a practical and workable system that provides for stability, development and growth. We have to turn our thoughts to the total units first, and from there work out the ways and means to repair the malfunctioning parts, to eliminate the obsolete and ineffectual, and to harmonize operations under the total scheme.

And this is in fact what we have now begun to achieve.

Under this total scheme of governmental reform, we now have a governmental structure that has considerably eliminated the duplication of functions among agencies, and has attained a level of harmony and cooperative action unrivalled in previous years. This was the particular achievement of the Integrated Reorganization Plan which streamlined the flow of governmental work from national to regional to local level.

But this structural concept, while all-pervasive, was in fact only the starting point of reform. Our next focus, after streamlining responsibilities and functions, was a far more demanding task – that of galvanizing people and units within the bureaucracy so that its operations would fully reflect itself in the implementation of vital national programs.

This latter task was preeminently the responsibility of an effective Civil Service Commission, and it was in this light that the Commission was constituted by no less than the fundamental law, the New Constitution, as an independent constitutional office. In keeping with this Charter provision I ordered the reorganization of the Commission, and consequently issued a series of decrees, instructions and policy directiveness designed to aid and guide the agency in the accomplishment of its tasks.

That this latter responsibility is well-reposed in our Civil Service Commission is well-demonstrated by the various programs that it has launched, and the innovative spirit that has marked its efforts to adjust the long-standing policies of past commissions.

I am glad to note for instance that the Commission no longer forms a stumbling block to the operations of government agencies. Instead of being a medium of control over the bureaucracy — as it tended to be in the past— it has become a support and assistance arm of the departments and agencies of government. And this is best reflected in its post-audit policy regarding appointments.

It is also significant to note that we are finally moving out of the system of seniority for promotions within the service, towards a more dynamic concept of personnel enhancement that recognizes the need for a dynamic corps of government personnel and seeks to welcome the wave of technological change taking place in governmental administration.

Most of all, there is great significance in the attention being given by the Civil Service Commission to the training of management and the rank and file in the government bureaucracy, an aspect of its work which we see today at this commencement.

The training of people within and for the government service is necessarily a complex process, and I will be the first to say that it will fail if it does not recognize at once the complexity and vastness of the army of men and women we are trying to reform. Immediately there is the question: Whom will we train? Where shall we put our emphasis? How shall our training programs be designed to attain the greatest impact?

For the government bureaucracy is an institution of many layers — starting from the very top and stretching all the way down to the rank and file — and to the multiplicity of layers, there is the added problem of innumerable personnel. It is easy to say that we must improve every member of the government service — a fact we well recognize — but how do you begin such an effort to reform a veritable army of personnel?

The only effective way is to institute first a singular concept of government which would in short emphasize the unity of all government departments and agencies as a single bureaucracy. That is to say, that we must build a one-team concept from the multiplicity of functions that characterize the individual units and arteries of government. It is only on this basis that we can conceive of one functioning and harmonious bureaucracy, and it is from this team concept that the Civil Service Commission works towards the improvement of the whole machinery.

Secondly, when the idea of team effort is accepted wholly by the departments and agencies, it becomes possible to conceive of training officials and employees from different agencies under a common program. Regardless of the specialized functions of different agencies, there are a multitude of administrative tasks — from accounting, to supplies, to services, to budgetary functions, up to the simplest administrative functions — that are shared in common by these agencies. And it is really at this level where many of the bottlenecks of government administration occurs.

Finally, because the bureaucracy is of necessity a hierarchy of responsibilities and functions, the training of administrative skills cannot be the same for every member of the service. It is important therefore that personnel development evolve a system to develop skills and competencies proper to every level of the service.

There must be a personnel development program for the rank and file, and there must be also a development program for those who manage and direct the operations of government.

Traditionally, we have always been weak in the training of the people for sensitive middle management positions in our government bureaucracy. I have always been convinced that the real bottleneck in our government has been neither the top nor the bottom of the hierarchy, but the middle layer of management personnel. This is in part due to the fact that many of these attractive positions were captured by the politics of privilege and influence in the past, which by-passed the effective application of civil service rules and regulations.

And from incompetence at this level have flowed the gross corruption that visited our government bureaucracy, in addition to the malfunctioning of entire agencies and even departments.

While it is important therefore that we focus continuing concern on the recruitment of able men for the highest offices of government, as well as for the rank-and-file positions, there is urgency to the need to develop a corps of government managers at middle management level in the bureaucracy—that is to say, able managers to head and supervise divisions and services.

This is the significance that I attach to the Junior Executive Training Program and to the Supervisory Training for Effective Administrative Management.

In this first program, we have the necessary reorientation process needed to instill in government personnel the proper work attitudes and concepts within the total scheme of national effort. This is necessary because there is need more than ever for people in the service to understand the fundamental programs, thrusts and objectives of our New Society today, and to understand how managerial competence exercises its influence on the attainment of such objectives. Unless we involve our many supervisors and division chiefs in the total scheme of national effort, unless they understand and believe in what they are working for, I do not think that we can effect any appreciable change in the quality of management of the bureaucracy.

The second program — STEAM as the Civil Service Commission describes it — is a skills training program. It was designed as a follow-through of the Junior Executive Training Program, and it was specifically in response to my Letter of Instruction No. 518 which directed the Civil Service Commission ‘ ‘to establish and implement a supervisory training program for chiefs of divisions throughout the national government, which it shall make available to the different departments and agencies.” Such training program, the LOI further directed, “shall be geared towards the development of necessary skills in supervision, especially the training, development, and motivation of personnel.”

The basic rationale therefore of STEAM is the development of managerial insights and attitudinal reorientation fostered by the first program, the JET. It would translate concepts into practical work programs within the specific context of individual environments in the bureaucracy. Thus, STEAM was administered on a decentralized basis in order to imbue it with work-centered orientation.

It is gratifying to note that this latter program is already developing at this stage support and assistance from such institutions as the UP College of Public Administration and the Development Academy of the Philippines. This is

only proper; for obviously, we must ever build towards a heightening of skills and a broadening of scope in our training programs.

It is of course too early to judge how the JET and the STEAM would affect our civil service, the entire national bureaucracy, for we must caution ourselves that it is a long-term effort. But it would seem to me that we have now at this stage effected already a new form of coordination and cooperation among our departments and agencies through our personnel development program. There is much less confusion today concerning how our governmental machinery works, and much less despair about getting things moving in government.

My confidence in the necessity and effectiveness of these programs lies in the fact that they have generated the full support of our government agencies, and more important, the interest and eager participation of those whom they seek to train.

At first, I was afraid that if the seminars were held during office hours, it might be considered by those participating as some kind of a vacation. But I gathered that you have seriously worked at the development of your talents, capabilities, and skills. And I am very happy to hear this. This further strengthens my trust and hope that the Filipino will rise up to the challenge if he knows what he is fighting for, if he knows what the stakes are, if he knows what the objectives are, and if he knows what the alternatives are. What is going to happen if we do not change, if we do not reform?

And from such small perhaps humble beginnings lofty goals will be attained.

For conceivably, the hundreds who have been graduated by these programs will move on from here to motivate and to spur the thousands who serve in our government service.

Today, therefore, I take this opportunity to commend you all upon your successful completion of these training programs. I wish you success in your work, and I ask you to continue to develop your skills within the service.

I commend also the Civil Service Commission for its painstaking efforts to develop and implement these training programs, and for its even more ambitious effort to promote personnel development in our national bureaucracy.

Of course, we must also thank those who have participated in this program — the Development Academy of the Philippines headed by no less than President O. D. Corpuz of the University of the Philippines; Dean Raul de Guzman of the UP College of Public Administration; Director Celerina G. de Veyra of the Junior Executive Training. We congratulate all of you. You are well aware that these are not the only training programs that are going on. We have the Career Executive Service Development Program which is being implemented by the Career Executive Board through the Development Academy of the Philippines. This is the training of the undersecretaries, assistant secretaries, bureau directors, assistant bureau directors, regional directors, assistant regional directors, department service chiefs, and other officials of equivalent rank.

The CESDP is administered by a board. The President of the Development Academy of the Philippines is the Chairman. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Chairman of the Presidential Reorganization Commission are members.

Then we go down to the JET which is the middle managers training program.

The follow-through program for teachers consists of distance training schemes in which learning packages on the New Society are mailed to teacher JET graduates for self-learning purposes. I launched this last year and all of the 15 073 who graduated from the first phase of the JET course are undertaking this program.

Now the training of the rank-and-file is conducted on a decentralized basis and it is concerned with orientation, reorientation, the development thrust of government, without precluding the inclusion of subject matters of special interest. How many employees in the rank-and-file have gone through this training? 47,952 employees.

In addition to these, we have the youth training program for leadership, the *Buklod ng mga Kabataang Kawani*, aged 30 and below. The Civil Service Commission leadership development program is for leaders of the future. These are the young men who are marked out to assume higher responsibilities in government. The National Defense College of the Philippines has a new program geared towards instilling in the youth the sense of pride in our heritage, and further exposing them to the development program and goals of the New Society. It is a five-week program which is going to start on October 17. The first class consists of 70 participants, including a group of regional directors, chosen on the basis of rigid screening by the Civil Service Commission. The Civil Service Commission has allocated at least five slots each for the 13 regions of the country. This was done to ensure that the regions shall have a fair share of trained young people.

Now, how about scholarship programs? You are an undergraduate. You want to get your degree. We have a scholarship program. I go through all these because I know that many people are listening to me now. And they might think that we have nothing but training programs for the middle management level. No.

What are these scholarship programs? We have the national scholarship for development which encourage those who have not completed undergraduate studies to do so on a study-now-pay-later scheme. However, they are required to pursue courses in areas considered by NEDA as priority areas for development.

Now, scholarships in public administration prepare the persons in government for the requirements of the higher executive levels through formal education. And I have instituted a scholarship program even in the Armed Forces. While you are in the service, you can go to college depending on your qualification and specialization. This program has just started under my administration. Quite a number have gone to college and obtained a basic bachelor's degree, a master's degree, even a doctorate degree.

What is the Balik-Barangay program? Well, at least, you spend 15 days in the barangay. And I wonder whether we have any feedback on how this is being implemented. But by and large, this interaction between the bureaucracy and our people will be for the good of everybody.

Now, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission is now working out with heads of departments engaged in extension services a program to integrate and upgrade the extension services of government. An extension worker is an expert in a particular line of undertaking. He must likewise be able to carry out the other training programs of government. This is for reasons of economy. So you see, we have an entire new structure for training and revitalizing the bureaucracy.

I can only therefore express my satisfaction over these initiatives, but I wish to formalize the effort to train, retrain, reorient, motivate the civil service. And because of this, I would like to sign in your presence a decree which establishes the Civil Service Academy with the assurance by the Civil Service Commission that there is not going to be much additional funding. This will integrate and render more purposeful and systematic all these efforts. When this matter was presented me, my first question to the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission was: Can you see the same funds you are using now in the various departments for training, put them all together into an academy with the same personnel? And I have his assurance that this is so. I say this because I am sure Commissioner Laya is listening to this speech, and wondering how much more he is going to set aside for training. And with this assurance, I hereby sign in your presence this decree.

Now, you will come under a formal umbrella. I direct that all those who have graduated from these training programs — JET, STEAM— to come now under the umbrella of the Civil Service Academy. You are well aware how this will affect you personally because your rankings, your capability for promotion, your screening, will be based on these qualifying seminars and training programs and the attitudinal tests that will be a part of this course.

I therefore hope that these programs will continue as well as they have started. And so long as I am President, I assure you that they will receive the support of the Office of the President. For I am certain that this training program is the key to the efficiency and stability of the entire bureaucracy. And, perhaps, the fulfillment of many of our national programs.

So to each and everyone of you again, congratulations and good luck.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the 78th founding anniversary of the United Methodist Church, October 22, 1977

The Grace of Our Lives

APART FROM THE high honor and privilege of joining you today for this anniversary celebration. I find it very appropriate that as President of our Republic I should come here with you to commemorate the 78th anniversary of the founding of the United Methodist Church.

As you observe today the 78th year of your Church, the Filipino nation also observes the 79th year of national independence. It is not at all irrelevant to point out that almost at the same time that the Filipino flag was being raised in the Philippines, the beginnings of your ministry was also being sown among our people.

Both events took place at a crucial period in the history of our people — a period of ferment when our people were forging for the first time the bond of national community, and when new influences from across the seas were entering the fabric of our lives.

It was a period of high expectation and of new discovery, when this land was bright with the promises of dreams to be fulfilled.

The way in which the course of Philippine Protestantism intertwined with the course of national life will be seen in the fact that many Filipinos who led in the propagation of the Protestant faiths were also active leaders of the nationalist cause. And many who joined the new churches at the turn of the century and in the early decades of the 20th century, were men in profound rebellion against tradition, seeking something new in their lives and in their human community.

By force of circumstance therefore, there has always been a manifest kinship between the Filipino nation and the church, the church that has come to be your faith all these many, many years.

And these affinities at birth were to continue over the decades making of this church and its members an essential part of the evolving national community.

It is only apt therefore that this year of celebration for the United Methodist Church should recall to us these beginnings, for in many ways the problems of the times we live in call us once more to deal with them together.

If there has been one distinctive change in the thrust of Christianity all over the world, and here, in our country, it has been the efforts of the Christians to recover the mainspring of the faith within the context of new problems confronting all of mankind.

After half-a-century of unparalleled material progress, men are once more concerned about their spiritual life, of how secular progress might be reconciled to the needs of the spirit. There is a yearning for a larger expression of human destiny, deeper than what science has so far given man.

This striving of the human person has also been paralleled by a new concern of the Churches to make themselves more relevant to the needs and the problems of men and their society. Within Christianity itself, we have witnessed it in the ecumenical spirit inaugurated by Pope John XXIII, and this has led into new commitments of all the Christian faiths to build a world of peace and of progress.

Here in our country, these developments in Christianity are of the greatest import, for it is here, in this kind of soil and climate, where we find projected before us the dramatic problems of poverty, misery and deprivation in the world. More and more, we have come to realize that the life of the faith cannot be divorced, as in the past, from the problems of the here and now. More and more, we have seen the very ministry of the Christian churches turned anxiously towards the uplift of the very poor and the needy.

It is in the manner the problems of societies draw us into a common quest for availing resources that we find today the bond between religious institutions and the rest of society. It is the way the work of one institution complements and enriches that of the other where we see the totality of our concerns as one seamless united whole.

Today, we find ourselves again in one of those critical periods of ferment in our history that parallels in many ways the era that saw the birth of the nation and of the Protestant church. For this is a time of challenge and opportunity in our country — a time of challenge because the problems of our society today are compelling, urgent and critical; and a time of opportunity because our situation fully confers upon our efforts the confidence that the future of our community will be better.

Never before since the revolution of 1896 have we needed more the strength of our solidarity and fraternity as a people; and never before have we had the opportunity to utilize our solidarity to make change and to make progress.

In our quest for national tranquility and progress, we shall find that the full sense of our national community cannot be realized without the transcendental acts of the spirit which acknowledges and confirms the brotherhood that we all share. We cannot accomplish the awesome burden of national development and transformation unless there is fundamentally a regeneration of the spiritual forces that truly bring us together. And we shall miss indeed the whole purpose of progress itself, if our work does not exalt the human person, in the manner that all religions do.

Mabini, the Sublime Paralytic of the Old Propaganda Period and the Revolution, saw this a long time ago when he called for what he termed the “inner revolution” among our people, as the real basis for the hope of the new Republic. Seventy-nine years later, we find the same call more compelling than ever,

What is so strong and dynamic about Christianity has always been its power to inspire man to reach for an ideal larger than himself. It is not by any means the power of dogma, or the power of organized action or religion, that has made the Christian way so compelling a force in human civilization. Rather it has been its unique celebration of the resources and possibilities of the human spirit.

Christianity in the final analysis is not a theory of the world to be set against the dogmas and isms of our time. It is an ethic for living. To be a Christian. Montaigne wrote a long, long time back, is to be just, Christian, charitable and kind, and therefore to live in fraternity with other men.

This call to human community is not finally different from the ideals that bring men together to form communities and nations. In both, there is an image for man and the same appeal to human brotherhood in the quest for better things.

One of the simplest and most succinct statements about the role of Christian churches was that made by the Protestant theologian Paul Tillich when he said: “Making men better, helping him to become actualizations of the Kingdom of God on earth — this is the function of the Church.”

For even as religion seeks to guide us to our spiritual destiny, all religions tell us that the way to attain it is through the kind of grace we make of our lives and of the temporal world.

In this way, I see the great relevance of religion to the drives and cares of a modernizing society such as ours.

On this the 78th anniversary of the founding of the United Methodist Church, it seems appropriate to restate these old truths, so that we may the better reaffirm and renew in our lives the resolves, the loyalties, and the ideals that make us Christians and Filipinos together.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the observance of United Nations Day, October 24, 1977

Towards a World Community

IT IS INDEED meet and proper that this anniversary of the United Nations Charter, which is based on the age-old hope and longing of all mankind to bring about all men of all races, of all creeds, of all persuasions into one single family, should be celebrated principally by the young, the youth of our land. For if there is any group for which these long-standing principles on which the United Nations is based, are preached and followed and implemented, it is for the youth of all the countries of the world.

When I stepped into this forum, I looked around and happily discovered that the audience was going to be composed of young men and women— like me. I never underestimate the capability of the young to instinctively appreciate the basic idealism which inheres in any great movement. And the United Nations embodies one such movement.

I therefore welcome this opportunity to be with you. I congratulate the sponsoring organizations, especially the Philippine International Friendship Organization, which incidentally our government has encouraged by giving it free quarters. And I take note of the request of this organization that the quarters which are owned by the Government Service Insurance System be now especially assigned to the Philippine International Friendship Organization. I also take note of the request of the foreign students that those who come under Visa 9-F as well as their wives and children be exempted from the new travel tax. This request shall be granted. However, I impose this condition — that the children and wives be not permanent residents of the Philippines. I hereby declare them free from travel tax.

I gather that the United Nations Charter is a subject of study not only in the elementary school but also in the high school in the Philippines. I presume that this is true in all countries of the world. It is therefore proper that we discuss today the Charter of the United Nations

For this is an occasion for a renewal of commitment to the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter. It is an occasion for a reaffirmation of loyalty to the organization which it established, and for a re-dedication of ourselves to the all-encompassing quest for a true world community. On behalf of the Government and the people of the Philippines, I take great pride in expressing once again our full support for the principles, the organization, and the goals of the United Nations.

It is not merely to fulfill a ceremonial requirement for a commemorative occasion that I voice this fulsome expression of support. There have been of late voices heard expressing serious disenchantment over the world organization, disenchantment deriving from the old impatience with the lack of progress of the United Nations in some problem areas, and disenchantment arising from the emergence of a new voting majority in the General Assembly composed for the most part by the nations of the Third World. There are some who feel that the new solidarity of the developing nations is a threat to their position and influence in global affairs, and because the United Nations has been the principal soil of this new fraternity, they look upon the world body as having weakened. This disenchantment on the part of some has not by any means amounted to a crisis of confidence in the future of the world organization, but the situation calls for a renewal of faith in the present capacity, the adaptability, and the future growth of the United Nations. It calls once more for the unqualified and unequivocal support of every nation, rich or poor, developed or developing, communist or capitalist.

It should be useful to remember that our United Nations was never conceived as the preserve of any single nation or groups of nations. We set up bravely precisely because we were such a plural world, and we wanted to make it safe for diversity. We expected no easy building of consensus among the nations and in the even we were not gifted with miracles.

But the record of the United Nations in its three decades of existence amply demonstrates to us how necessary, how vital, and how irreplaceable is this world organization. It is a record of accomplishment which appears the more

remarkable when viewed against the difficult and desperate circumstances which surrounded the efforts and activities of the United Nations

For the United Nations has had in the past thirty years to establish its role during some of the most turbulent years of man's modern history. First there was the cold war which divided the world and the membership of the United Nations into conflicting ideological blocs and hostile military alliances. Second, there was the great upheaval caused by the collapse of Empire and the agonizing birth of the new nation-states which today constitute the majority of the world's independent countries and which have enlarged the membership of the United Nations from 46 to the present membership of 149. Finally, as the cold war receded and the plight of the new nations spawned the rebellion of the poor of the world, the membership of the United Nations, after dividing into communist and non-communist camps, often dividing into former colonialists and former colonials, began dividing into the rich and the poor nations, into the developed North and the developing South.

In the midst of these tensions, conflicts and divisions, the United Nations, despite all predictions of an early demise, has not only survived these severities but has established itself as the only visible framework within which the various nations of the world, while yet contending and while yet unreconciled on many issues and on many points, can begin to live in mutual tolerance and sometimes even to cooperate in joint endeavors.

The United Nations, in spite of all odds, has become the institutional expression of the human solidarity possible on this planet in our time — in all of its imperfections but also in all of its possibilities.

Its forum for debate, for expression of opinion, for the passage of resolutions has sometimes been merely a tower of Babel of so many tongues and so much confusion. But in supreme moments of crisis, this forum has sometimes served as a serviceable instrument for mobilizing the moral force of all of mankind to help stay the Gadarene rush to the abyss.

Its peaceful procedures of persuasion, of conciliation and of negotiations, of decision by compromise and voting, and of action by voluntary effort have sometimes been ineffectual to prevent conflict or to restore peace once it is broken. But over the years these peaceful procedures have accumulated their patient victories, large and small, which have established the international habit of appealing in the first instance to these procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Whenever there is any conflict that involves nations or even factions within nations, there is at the back of the minds of each and every protagonist a hope to appeal to the United Nations.

The specialized agencies and the facilities for international cooperations and assistance of the United Nations have nowhere and at no time ever had nearly all the resources that they required or deserved. But they have been able to promote the not inconsiderable changes in many parts of the world necessary for coping against hunger, disease, ignorance, and underdevelopment. More than this, they have made possible sustained international cooperation in areas of agreement even while the nations of the world remain divided on areas of disagreement.

I do not mean to suggest in the natural euphoria of this commemorative occasion that we should adopt a sense of complacency which is satisfied with what the United Nations has achieved or with what it has become. On the contrary, I am suggesting that a clear-eyed assessment of the United Nations today should provide us with a realistic spur for striving to enhance the feasible role of the United Nations in the construction of a true world community. In the history of our world, the notion of a world community has many times been pursued by the visionary, by the dreamer, as well as by the statesmen and the realist. But it was pursued in vain because the instruments were inadequate or inappropriate. It was pursued by ecumenical empires as the idealized expression of quite naked expansion through force of arms. This was as of old. Later it was pursued as the temporal expression of universalist religions or philosophies in a world stubbornly insisting on its cultural diversity.

The United Nations represents the third way to this elusive world community. It is an approach based on the twin recognition of the compelling claims of nationalism and of internationalism. It recognizes the nation-state as the high object of loyalty by the various peoples of the world and the focus of their organized political and economic

life. At the same time it recognizes that the technology of war and communications, the economics of trade and interdependence, and the interventionism of political rivalries have made the world one and require it to become a community capable of common action and cooperation. And that the alternative is annihilation.

As a former Secretary-General of the United Nations once said, “The United Nations is an expression of our will to find a synthesis between the nation and the world. It is an attempt to provide us with a framework inside which it is possible to serve the world by serving our nation, and to serve our nation by serving the world. Whatever may be the past shortcomings of this experiment in world organization, it gives sense and direction to the effort of all men who are striving toward a better world.”

And as I look at the young faces before me today, it is my dream and hope that the United Nations will at last usher in the dream and hope of all mankind — a true world community.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the third annual meeting of the ASEAN Council on Petroleum, October, 28, 1977

Regional Self-reliance on Energy

FIRST OF ALL, I came here notwithstanding the innumerable number of urgent problems with which the political leadership of our country is confronted. I postponed certain meetings of the Legislative Council which meets in private caucus this morning in order to lend the proper perspective to the energy problem to which ASCOPE and the distinguished representatives here present have devoted their time, talent, and energy. For this problem is the primary problem of most governments today.

It is therefore a great privilege for the Philippines to be able once again to play host to this third annual meeting of the ASEAN Council on Petroleum. This is a welcome opportunity for us to demonstrate the brotherhood that exists in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

You meet here in Manila at the close of yet another eventful year of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations — a year in which we have seen our peoples and our nations undertake many new initiatives and programs for regional cooperation, a year in which communal endeavors have expanded in scale and scope, a year in which our regional association has attained a new level of organization and a fresh mandate from the member governments and a year where finally ASEAN is accepted by the world as a worthy regional aggrupation of states.

I see this Council as one of the most tangible manifestations of the growth of our ASEAN community over the past two years, and I see its work to be as vital as ever to the attainment of regional goals.

Since it was first organized in 1975, following the historic agreements forged by the ASEAN heads of governments in Bali, the Council has evolved into one of ASEAN's, most important mechanisms for effective regional cooperation. Although not formally a committee within ASEAN, because of the specific technical and operational nature of its objectives, the Council has functioned in directions parallel to the thrust of the Association, and in specific service of its goals. It has embodied, in common with the committees of the ASEAN and the various regional entities that have emerged to supplement ASEAN activities, the spirit of ASEAN solidarity. This is the kind of solidarity and cooperation that we seek and I believe is emerging throughout the region today.

How deeply and how significantly this Council reflects the new developments in the ASEAN region may be seen in the progress that it has made during the past two years of operation.

First, it has succeeded in laying the foundation for cooperation on oil supplies among the member countries by developing a forum for the coordination of policies, plans and programs in the area, and for the formulation of the programs.

Second, it has identified the priority problems of the region in the matter of petroleum and supplies, and identified the areas that require immediate attention.

Third, it has forged an agreement among the member countries for the adoption of a Petroleum Emergency Sharing Scheme in circumstances of shortage and oversupply, as an occasion for the five member nations to assist one another.

And today, as the Council meets for its third annual meeting, it will pass upon the precise formula and working mechanism for effecting the Petroleum Emergency Sharing Scheme.

The fact that the ASEAN community can now consider in the brief span of two years the full implementation of the petroleum cooperation plan is suggestive on the whole of the speed with which the Council has acted on the needs of the community. It is also to my mind suggestive of the broader forms of cooperation that we can attain, if we will it, in the matter of energy.

Under the Emergency Sharing Scheme, the region has attained at last a program whereby the member countries of ASEAN can assist one another in providing for each country's petroleum needs in period of scarcity, and in according priority to the oil exports of any member state in times of oversupply.

As such it is a scheme that goes very far in relieving one of the crucial anxieties of some countries of the ASEAN region and, of course, for our country, the Philippines, in particular, which imports, most, if not all, of its petroleum at present. This is an agreement that is of far-reaching importance.

But great as this achievement is, it is only the beginning of a wider form of cooperation among our countries on the matter of petroleum supplies. I note with great interest the other items that have been identified by the Council as areas for priority action and implementation: the formulation of energy conservation policies and programs; the standardization of petroleum products specifications; cooperation in research and development facilities; possible utilization of waste energy; cooperation in training and educational facilities; cooperation in crude and product marketing; and other such matters vital to the efficient utilization of petroleum supplies.

By and large, the Council's activities during the past two years highlight for us a theme close to the hearts of the members of the ASEAN community: the idea of sharing — the sharing of experience, the sharing of acquired technology, the sharing of plans and programs, the sharing of scarce talents and human resources, and most vital of all, the sharing of common burdens.

Projected forward, the on-going work of this Council will no doubt correct many of the uncertainties that inhere within the region today, and develop availing remedies to various problems.

But it seems to me that if we are to truly answer the full magnitude of the energy problem confronting the region, and the world for that matter, action on the wider field of energy must be taken by us in common. And we must use the warming experience of collaboration we see within this Council to expand our efforts now to cover a wider format for cooperation in the energy field.

While we must place our emphasis today on the mechanics of sharing petroleum resources and for developing our capacities for oil exploration and effective utilization, we ought to match now this priority with the will to develop alternative sources of energy within the region.

For it is in this sphere, where action if fruitful will ensure ASEAN self-reliance in energy.

We believe this principle to be well-recognized by all the member countries of ASEAN, of both oil-producing members and the non-oil producing communities. Conceivably, all our countries ought to be able to tap petroleum deposits in the region, but even if this were to be realized, there will remain questions about their sufficiency, the sufficiency of oil supplies within the region to meet the energy needs of a growing region.

I note with interest the various conferences that have been held in Indonesia pointing to the fact that unless we increase oil production within the region, the region will be a deficit region in no time and will be unable to export any of its oil in a few years.

This, to me, is a call upon all the ASEAN members to now engage in a parallel effort to develop other energy resources.

The ASEAN region, as a whole, is blessed with a wide range of indigenous energy resources other than petroleum. Just to cite a few, there is extensive potential for geothermal, coal and other forms of energy development. Indonesia and Malaysia are significantly ahead of some of us in the harnessing and development of petroleum resources. In a tentative way the Philippines has had some lead time in the development of our geothermal resources.

There is much room for the sharing of experiences so as to profit from some of the learning that we have each had to do on our own in the development of these resources. We may thus be able to surmount the energy crisis even

within the region of ASEAN alone, and formulate a comprehensive energy policy by learning from the shared problems of one another and thus provide new frontiers for cooperation once more among the member states.

Most of us in ASEAN have embarked on accelerated programs for energy resources development. The Philippines, our country, for instance, has initiated various geothermal projects since 1973, of which the first 55-mega-watt project is coming on-stream next year.

Of course, there will be the harnessing of about 330 megawatts by the end of 1979. We have eight big generators ready for delivery and set up. But we consider this tentative step on geothermal development as merely the beginning. While we may be ahead of other countries, all of us are in the same first step towards development of non-conventional sources of energy.

We are currently engaged in another cycle of oil exploration the first positive results of which are now beginning to tell.

The advent of our first commercial oil production was announced by Secretary of Energy Velasco, but which I will believe only when I see the oil come out of the ground. I have no reason, of course, to doubt the assessment made by the oil explorers especially since our oil exploration has been helped by Indonesia, one of our member countries in ASEAN.

I take this occasion to publicly acknowledge the indebtedness of the Philippines to Indonesia, under the leadership of President Suharto. Let us give our thanks to Indonesia.

It is not that we doubt the word of the foreign explorers, but we have sought the aid of Indonesian experts on oil exploration. And they have come and participated in the assessment of the drilling that is going on.

It is our hope that we will be able to establish another oil province here in the Philippines. But whatever is the final outcome of these explorations, the Philippines, like all the other ASEAN countries, still has to look for sources of energy other than oil. This is the reality of the situation. And we intend to do just that. I do not refer to the Philippines alone but to all of ASEAN.

All the ASEAN countries are presently engaged in the undertaking of a survey of their coal and uranium deposits. And just like the Philippines, everybody is looking into hydroelectric and geothermal capabilities. We cannot ignore the promise of eventually harnessing all non-conventional sources of energy. We are all aware of the potentiality of solar energy. Direct solar energy wind-energy conversion, and bio-conversion to fuels are the areas considered to have specific rural-based applications. They have been introduced in the area where I come from, where our people burn plenty of wood fuel, and where our people have started to cut even trees badly needed to hold back the waters from floods.

I have ordered that we now experiment with solar flue-curing barns. The same thing is true with respect to the fishing areas. It is our hope we will be able to put up soon some models of solar refrigeration. The effects of all of these efforts on non-electrified localities is certainly far-reaching, especially on the living conditions of our rural folk.

Our energy problems cohere in many ways around the issue of energy self-reliance, as I have said. Our programs radiate in similar directions.

The question therefore is whether we can extend these national energy development projects on a regional scale. And I hasten to add that the answer to me is in the positive. Certainly, we can. There is no doubt that petroleum will continue to be the region's primary source of energy. Yet, we cannot but recognize that the supply of this fossil fuel is certainly limited. We hear all of these warnings from all over the world. And looking to the long-term realities, it is sound that a parallel collaborative effort in the development of alternative resources should now become a major part of our concerns.

If I raise these thoughts before this Council today, it is because it is the one organization we have within the region today that has focused attention on our energy problems, and started us on the road of collaboration in the field. And it alone can take the measure of the region's capacity for energy self-reliance, and spearhead a region-wide effort to fulfill this aspiration.

It is meet that as the Council takes this week the crucial decisions embodying ASEAN cooperation on the sharing and effective utilization of petroleum supplies, we take stock also of the larger perspective of the energy problem, and see where our continued collaboration may be possibly directed.

Let me then in closing commend the initiative and the probity with which the Council has undertaken its work during the last two years.

To each and everyone of those participating, go the congratulations not only of your friend and the people of the Philippines but, I am sure, all the peoples of the region.

Let me now express once more the continued support and commitment of the people and the government of the Philippines to the work of the Council.

And May I express the prayer and the hope that your meeting in Manila will be both fruitful as well as pleasant.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the opening of the special session of the Batasang Bayan, October 29, 1977

For a New Mandate

AFTER THE VARIOUS caucuses yesterday and this morning, we are gathered for this extraordinary session of this legislative council because of developments in the last several months which require the urgent action of this body.

You will recall that it was our agreement that, after the public hearings conducted by the committee on revision of laws pertaining to elections and related matters which I had announced should be called as soon as possible, the Batasang Bayan would meet in order to receive the report of this committee and to act on such a report.

The onrush of events in the last several months has convinced me that we must also study the question of elections or referendum, or the non-holding or postponement thereof, on the matter of the highest political leadership submitting itself to our people for a continuing mandate or a determination thereof.

There are also new and volatile developments in the South of our country. The Mindanao situation requires a continuing assessment. And since the political leadership may be called upon to make decisions swiftly and perhaps implement such decisions without the possibility of consultation with the people at large, it is necessary that the Batasang Bayan and the entire political leadership anticipate every possible eventuality and now prepare for them.

I shall have more to say on this matter in the latter part of this opening statement.

But let me say now that the situation in Mindanao calls for a new, a clear, and a simple expression of support of the people for the present political leadership.

This is necessary if we wish the government to continue to act with complete confidence in the face of a renewed crisis and if we wish to demonstrate to ourselves and to any possible adversaries in unmistakable terms the national solidarity with which we shall confront any new crisis.

But we are not concerned with any new crisis alone and we are not legislating for ourselves alone.

We are concerned with the long and distant future of our national policy. We are concerned with setting precedents which other generations of Filipinos still unborn may look to for guidance.

In the future, our people will look to our time for examples of conduct to chart their course through any dangerous currents of crisis. This would be especially true should the occasion in the future arise again for the proclamation of martial law by any other future leader of our country.

Every decision that I have made as President has been undertaken by me with a long soul-searching as well as a prayer and with a deliberate avoidance of anger and of spite. For no one is more aware of the awesome immensity of the power entrusted to a President, especially a President under martial law.

A President utilizing these powers to deliberately bring about such circumstances as to perpetuate himself in power indefinitely and utilizing such power in an evil-minded way, in a vengeful, petty, or mischievous manner, and given the absence of any recourse by our people to a periodic assessment of his administration through the ballot — such abusive or oppressive conduct of such a President or Prime Minister in the future could trigger the chaos, the bloodshed and the disunity of a civil war.

We must prepare for such an eventuality and establish the precedent which I wish to establish and place on record as being established now by us — that even under martial law the head of government or chief of state must ever be ready to submit himself to the judgment of our people.

It is for this reason that I have repeatedly stated that the political leadership of this country is ever ready to submit itself to the assessment and judgment of our people regularly and periodically.

In my own case, I was elected President in 1965, reelected in 1969, extended in my tenure by the referendum in July of 1973, and again in 1975, and, as some opine, by the plebiscite which amended our 1973 Constitution in October 1976.

Since it has always been my desire that we establish this precedent I deliberately brought this to the attention of our people by announcing that if it was the will and desire of our people, I was ready to submit myself to an election for President, although there were legal opinions which indicate that this was not constitutionally feasible. And then I indicated that this was one of the questions that would be brought before you; the Batasang Bayan would decide this matter for me and for our people.

When the Interim Batasang Pambansa was created by the amendments to the Constitution of October 1976 to replace the original interim National Assembly under the original 1973 transitory provisions of the Constitution, it was provided in this amendment, specifically Amendment No. 3 of October 1976, that the incumbent President would automatically become Prime Minister and would exercise the powers not only of the Prime Minister but also of the President under the 1935 and 1973 Constitutions.

It is very clear under this amendment that the incumbent President was directly voted upon by the people to assume the position of Prime Minister but with the powers of a President, and that such a vote took place even before the election of the members of the interim Batasang Pambansa. But at the same time there was to be no vote taken by the interim Batasang Pambansa members who, under ordinary circumstances, would have been left to choose and elect their own Prime Minister. Under this amendment the interim Batasang Pambansa would not elect the Prime Minister. Under this amendment the Prime Minister would not exercise merely legislative leadership, he would be the chief executive of the Republic of the Philippines.

There has been much discussion about the form of government that we should adopt. The terms “presidential” and “parliamentary” have been utilized. Indicated were the 1935 Constitution establishing a presidential form of government and the 1973 Constitution establishing a parliamentary government.

But by the amendments of 1976 our people created a marriage, a mixture of both presidential and parliamentary forms, for the parliamentary leader, the Prime Minister, would also be the President. The leader therefore would exercise executive powers and at the same time exercise legislative powers.

And thus, under the amendments to our Constitution, we have established a new form of government.

Because the amendments to the Constitution present a novel form of government and create a new office, that of Prime Minister and President in one person, the person of Ferdinand E. Marcos, I deem it wise and necessary that we inform the people accordingly.

This is why I provoked the debate, the national debate on the question of the mandate for the President.

The people should be informed that we are creating a new form of government with the organization of the interim Batasang Pambansa and the choice made in 1976 of a Prime Minister exercising not merely the powers of a Prime Minister but also the powers of a President under the 1935 and 1973 constitutions. This office may well last for several years, for the Constitution does not provide for the period or the tenure of office of such a Prime Minister with the powers of a President.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us that in establishing the precedent that every leader of our country must submit himself to the judgment of our people periodically and regularly, that this procedure be institutionalized.

The debate going on leads to only one conclusion and that is: the President as well as the Batasang Bayan must decide whether we shall call an election or a referendum or both if that is possible.

I have announced that if there is a referendum or an election and the negative votes should predominate, I would immediately resign as President and return to my district and run as an ordinary member of the interim Batasang Pambansa.

I would immediately organize the interim Batasang Pambansa. Whatever be the result of any consultation with our people, it is also my intention that the interim Batasang Pambansa be immediately called by election of the members thereof as soon as possible.

I had originally planned that the elections for the interim Batasang Pambansa be called in the early part of 1977.

But the Mindanao situation and the negotiations in Tripoli as well as in Manila for the termination of the fighting in the South suspended all of this.

I have also announced that if the people in any referendum or any consultation should support the Presidency with a mandate, then the new office would be considered having been created and the interim Batasang Pambansa will be called after an election and I shall then follow the provisions of the amendments to the Constitution of October 1976.

Let us, therefore, now proceed to establish this precedent by the official act of the Batasang Bayan and the President. Let us always make the appeal for a mandate of the people available to anyone who would aspire to lead our country and our people, so that no one in the future may conveniently disregard or nullify the sovereign wishes of our people.

As I have said, I would have preferred an election as we ordinarily know it, but the legal experts advise me that is not constitutionally feasible. At the same time, there is a strong body of opinion to the effect that even a referendum is not necessary and is, in fact, derogatory to the mandate already granted under the plebiscite of October 1976 which amended our present Constitution.

I, therefore, would like to submit this matter to the Batasang Bayan and request that the Batasang Bayan decide on this today or tomorrow. Do we call an election or a referendum or are they both unnecessary or illegal? Do we consider the referendum of 1975 and the plebiscite of 1976 as sufficient mandates? And if we do, when do we submit the matter of the leadership of the incumbent President to the people for another consultation?

This is the subject which is now before the Batasang Bayan.

I ask that the proper committee, which in this particular case is the Committee on Revision of Laws, take jurisdiction of this matter and to call upon all the members to participate in this deliberation and decide the matter not later than tomorrow.

There are also many other questions that should be decided upon on the matter of elections, and they are: When do we hold the elections for the interim Batasang Pambansa? Will it be through a vote by region or by district? If so how many regions? How do we apportion the districts? Will there be block voting? Will there be proportional representation? What will be the qualifications of the candidates? How will they be nominated?

These are questions that are now pending before you.

At previous sessions of this body, it was my privilege to report to you on the steps that we had taken to restore peace in Mindanao and the success of some of these actions in bringing the hostilities to a halt by virtue of a ceasefire.

We implemented the ceasefire agreement which is one of the principal items covered by the Tripoli agreement.

Subsequent to the implementation of the ceasefire, the second round of talks between the government panel and the rebel representatives convened in Tripoli last February, if you will remember. The talks broke down. We need not go into the causes thereof.

Nevertheless, the pursuit of a settlement via negotiations was continued. To break the impasse in the talks, we asked the First Lady to proceed to Tripoli a second time. As a result of her mission, I was able to confer directly by phone with President Khaddafy, and we forthwith agreed on a formula for resolving the impasse. Agreement was reached on the holding of a referendum in the thirteen provinces proposed for inclusion in the autonomous regional government, on the basis of which referendum the form of government was going to be determined.

The referendum was held on April 17, and the results are well known to all of us. The voice of the electorate was overwhelmingly in favor of the position that the rebel leadership should not be permitted to take over the local government or the government of the autonomous regions. And that the region should be divided into the two actual autonomous regions.

We, therefore, proceeded to organize the provisional government even before the referendum of April 17 and the chairmanship of the provisional government was offered to the head of the rebels. The majority membership of the commission of the provisional government was also offered to the rebels. Up to this time, no answer has been received.

In the talks that followed in Manila between rebel representatives with the Libyan government as well as the Islam Conference represented as observers, the rebels wanted unconditional control of the provisional government for the proposed region. The talks became the occasion for the reiteration of rebel demands, such as for the autonomous government or government to be allowed to maintain its own army to be paid for and trained by the Armed Forces of the Philippines but without any supervisory control by the AFP or the Republic of the Philippines; and they wanted their own flag, their own seal, their own auditor, and their own separate government. The concessions that they sought amounted to a de facto secession, a secession with the consent of the Republic of the Philippines. We rejected the demands outright, and for this reason the Manila talks broke down.

In spite of the breakdown, however, both sides professed continued adherence to the ceasefire, and over and above that pushed through the various programs for the normalization of the situation in Mindanao and the economic, social and political development of the entire region. The ceasefire became the occasion for new projects in order to inject new life and stability in the ravaged areas.

We have pursued vigorously our policy of reconciliation. We have granted amnesty to the rebels. There is a comprehensive program for the rehabilitation not only of the region but of the persons living there.

Despite the uneasy truce in the South, there was comparative peace.

But today it is my sad and regrettable duty to report to this body and to our people that peace in the South has once more been disrupted, and in a manner that requires urgent and decisive action by the national leadership.

The treacherous massacre of government troops led by Brigadier General Teodulfo Bautista, the Division Commanding General of the First Infantry Division of the Armed Forces of the Philippines in Danag, Patikul last Oct. 10, has justifiably shocked the conscience of the nation, and it is only one instance among many violations of the ceasefire agreement by rebel groups in the south.

Since the implementation of the ceasefire agreement in January, a total of 636 violations of the ceasefire have been committed by various rebel groups. And during the last month, these violations have ripened to a new state of hostility.

All of you are aware, because the Armed Forces of the Philippines has released all available information on this violation of the ceasefire, of the incident for instance in Basilan where civilian workers were killed without

provocation and subsequent to that, the killing by land mines of civilian workers; the extortion or attempt to extort and blackmail the civilians in the area; then the attack on a coast guard station, an internationally accepted and designated point that is protected or maintained by our Republic, where three of a small detachment of coast guard men were killed. The assault on Balut island, which with Saranggani island constitutes the southernmost portion of the Republic of the Philippines in the Celebes Sea, was relieved only by the participation of civilian home defense forces coming all the way after a six-hour boat trip from the mainland of Cotabato. At the same time, there have been attacks on our troops. The land mine incident, again, in Looc, the taking over of a government rubber experimental station in Maridagao, Cotabato, the attack on civilian fishermen in southern Looc, continued fighting in Basilan, then subsequent to this the threats against some cities including Zamboanga, and continued attacks on the outpost at Anungan, Kawit-Kawit, Tictapul on the Zamboanga peninsula.

Were these violations merely isolated incidents of renewed conflict between combatants in the area, they might perhaps be regarded as the result of an uneasy truce, a misunderstanding. But the fact is that the nature of these incidents, of these violations, reveal to us a deliberate pattern that cannot but be a challenge to the civil order, that all told has changed the complexion of the situation in the South.

We are preparing a white paper on this and they should be in the process of being distributed to the members of the Batasang Bayan, detailing the specific incidents. I would rather, however, direct the attention of this body to the salient features of these incidents and the manner they have transformed the situation in Mindanao.

First, we must note the upsurge of attacks on civilians and non-combatants by rebel groups in Basilan, Sulu, the Zamboanga peninsula, Balut Island, and the shorelines of Southern Cotabato.

Second, the increasing employment of treachery by the rebel bands against both government troops and villages.

Brigadier General Teodulfo Bautista and other high-ranking officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines were enticed to a peace conference at the market place at Danag, Patikul, Sulu. After alighting from his jeep and shaking hands with the leader of this rebel band, he was shot from behind and all of the members of his party were also shot mostly from behind.

Third, the installation of new rebel camps in the area, set up under the cover of the ceasefire agreement.

Fourth, the increasing incidence of robbery, blackmail, extortion and arson committed by rebel bands on plantation owners and entire communities in the area.

The last case of arson was the burning of Tictapul on the Zamboanga Peninsula

Fifth, the predatory activities of liquidation squads that have for their targets local political leaders, civic leaders, as well as military officers.

The members of a liquidation group in Zamboanga City were arrested, and the evidence is conclusive.

Sixth the amassing of arms and ammunition by rebel bands as revealed by the discovery of an arms cache in Zamboanga City recently.

Not just once, but several times.

Seventh, the burning of entire settlements not only on the Zamboanga Peninsula but also the housing settlements that were so patiently built by our government for the displaced persons — the Muslims in the South.

The character of these activities increasingly indicate to us the deterioration of the entire rebellion into a campaign of terrorism, and of the so-called secessionist movement into terrorist groups and predatory bands. Civilians, government forces and entire communities are under harassment. There is no other word that can aptly describe

these acts of plunder, of intimidation by these rebel bands, other than the word ‘ ‘terrorism.’ And it is naked terrorism that we must deal with in Mindanao.

This is further reinforced by evidence that we are not dealing with a coordinated campaign being undertaken under a single command, but with scattered bands over which the rebel leadership has apparently lost control. No less than the rebel representatives in the ceasefire panel have admitted that they are no longer in control of their commanders. And the man who claims to be the leader of the entire rebellion has himself admitted in an interview in the Middle East, that it will not be possible to put an end to the war and maintain the ceasefire. He has also refused to come to the Philippines to negotiate or to enter into conversations with the government of the Philippines.

What then is our best response to this new challenge?

Here, as in the past, it is our collective duty to apply the proper response demanded by the situation, in such manner that our actions, while designed to restore peace and civil order, do not foreclose the possibility of a full and amicable settlement. We must be resolute in our actions that this wave of terrorism is checked, and checked swiftly, but we must also take care that the venues of settlement are firmly kept open.

The steps which we have taken in Southwestern Mindanao and Sulu is in keeping with this need, and we have no cause to fear that the situation will get out of hand.

Military action on our part is essentially punitive and defensive. And I emphasize the two words: punitive, that is to punish those who are now branded as criminals, and defensive in that we must insure the safety of communities and the security of our military outposts at all times. Our actions Will not extend beyond what is demanded, but you can be sure that these terrorist bands will answer for their restraint and the utmost regard for the safety of non-combatants, but we shall be unrelenting in dealing with these terrorists.

In these actions, we shall have the great need as always of the support of the population in the affected areas that have borne the brunt of the acts of terrorism and banditry. And I am pleased to report to you that the Muslim leadership and the Muslim communities have fully expressed their support for our campaign against the new wave of terrorism, both in the form the government and in their determination to defend themselves against terrorist attacks.

I am certain that you have read in this morning's papers that the island of Pata was recovered from terrorist hads by civilian groups even before the arrival of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

But I will stress before this body that as we take these actions against the terrorist, it will continue to be our policy to respect the cease fire agreement. We take the occasion to assure the nation that we will abide by that agreement and take action only against those who have violated the agreement. We make special mention of those rebel groups that have fully returned to the fold of the law and have respected the ceasefire. We extend to them again our full assurance that we will maintain the truce. And to those who helped in maintaining the peace and order of that region and of any territory of the Philippines goes the complete trust and confidence of the Republic of the Philippines and its political leadership.

And beyond respecting the ceasefire, the government is firm in its determination to obey the expressed will of the population of Southwestern Mindanao and Sulu areas regarding the creation of autonomous regional governments. In line with this, we will continue to organize the regional governments in the areas — two regional governments — a process that has been disrupted by the ceasefire violations. This political restructuring will prepare the ground for an unprecedented national effort to develop the entire Southern region of the country.

We believe that these steps, taken in response to the situation in Mindanao today, fully conform with the agreements and the covenants we have written and the pledges we have made to other countries, particularly the Islamic countries that have expressed concern over our Muslim brothers.

We take the occasion also to invite once again the assistance of these countries in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Mindanao crisis, in the context of the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines.

Nothing that we do in response to the terrorism in the South or in defense of the civil and military groups in the area, will detract from our desire to attain a peaceful settlement. That has been our goal and our policy all throughout the conflict, and the present crisis is neither so overwhelming nor too formidable to sway us from this path.

In this regard, we invite once again the rebel representatives to resume the dialogue in search of a just, honorable and peaceful settlement.

The government cannot and will not condone the criminal activities of outlaws and terrorists. But in applying the full measure of our laws upon these groups, it will not lose sight of the larger tasks that confront us in Mindanao.

We are not talking only of peace in Mindanao but of progress. And to achieve both, we shall have to apply the full weight of a political leadership that enjoys the steadfast and genuine support of the whole nation. That leadership will have to take swift and immediate decisions, and it will not always be possible for it to consult with this body and with the nation before such decisions are made and implemented.

I ask of this body to provide guidance and counsel on the most judicious manner of determining the popular will.

I ask the entire nation to consider these matters that I have submitted to you with utmost gravity and care.

Let us together take heed of the crisis that we face, and together let us apply with dispatch the response that befits the situation today.

Now, I ask that we proceed with the matters that are pending in the agenda of the Batasang Bayan.

May God in His wisdom guide us in our deliberations.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos at the Third Conference of the ASEAN Chambers of Commerce and Industry,
November 3, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Third Conference of the ASEAN Chambers of Commerce and Industry

[Delivered on November 3, 1977]

Towards a Community of Asean
Businessmen

IT CERTAINLY IS an honor for me to be able to address this Third Conference of the ASEAN Chambers of Commerce and Industry. This organization stands high in the life of our ASEAN community, as the collective representation of the private sector in our region and as a manifest of its desire to serve the cause of regional cooperation and solidarity in our part of the world.

The honor therefore of hosting this conference, is great not only for the Philippine Chamber of Commerce, but also for the people and the government of the Philippines. And it is an added source of pride for us to learn that during the next two years, Manila shall be the seat of the ASEAN-CCI presidency.

And this—at a time when many new exciting developments are taking place throughout our region, when new opportunities for interaction are opening before our peoples and communities, and when the climate for economic enterprise is everywhere brightening in Southeast Asia.

I cannot let this opportunity pass without commending, on behalf of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and of the ASEAN heads of governments, the constructive work which this organization has exerted in bringing the private sector of our whole community to the service of the goals, the programs, the very vision of our ASEAN community.

Long before the affairs of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is sued in new initiatives to accelerate the process of regionalism in our part of the world, this organization already commenced exploration of the ways in which the private sector can participate in the building of our ASEAN community. Before we formulated our ambitious ASEAN Programme of Action, the private sectors of our respective countries already sought to organize themselves into one regional body, and to study the ways and means whereby their collective action could serve and learn from the evolving life of the region.

I do not find it therefore in the least surprising that in the wave of ferment that has overtaken the region and ASEAN during the past two years, we should find this organization at the forefront of efforts to shape the future of our regional community.

And I am not surprised to find the business leaders of Southeast Asia today in the thickets of deliberations and discussions vital to the immediate and long-term prospects of our regional economy.

The strength of this commitment to ASEAN goals and purpose is well-reflected in the theme which you have chosen for your conference and council meetings' here in Manila. ASEAN-CCI in professing to respond to the ASEAN Summit of 1977 underscores a concern that is of equal import to the association: and that is the need for fullest participation of the private sector in the implementation and fulfillment of ASEAN programs and projects.

It is of course only logical that a region roughly homogeneous in the character of its economic life and institutions and seeking greater harmonization in economic activities, should look to the vigor and vision of private enterprise in the achievement of community.

But sentiment and theory are no substitute for the realization of harmony and cooperation. And we must judge the true beneficence of what we profess in common by the kind of structures we are able to build in our region now and in the years to come.

As in the case of the ASEAN governments, we must test the rapport and the understanding that you have built among the private sectors of the region in terms of concrete projects and programs that will have practical effect on regional economic cooperation and development.

And then, too, we must extend beyond the sphere of consultation the relationship that you have developed and are developing with the ASEAN machinery and the ASEAN governments. For while we have started a wide-ranging process in the private sector, the specific projects, the specific ways in which our communal hopes can fructify into action remain to be defined and unleashed.

This is not an expression of impatience on my part on the progress of economic cooperation in the region, but only a cautionary note useful as a way of reminding ourselves that the vital and the sticky part of our work is not behind, but before us.

For there is a real danger, particularly in this heady period of euphoria, and of optimism about ASEAN, that we may fail to consider this and fall prey together to the disease of failed expectations, that we may mistake shared ideals for the ramparts of community.

ASEAN did not remain for so long in incubation for nothing. For we took as our starting point the wide differences of perspectives and priorities of our respective countries, the problems that had dogged lofty plans for regional solidarity in the past; and if we persisted in our quest for community, it was because we realized it to be the common aspiration of our countries, though we immediately recognized it to be a difficult objective to fulfill.

I note, however, that the private sector, either on its own initiative but with the help of governments, has begun to cooperate in establishing closer communications between our countries. At the same time, it is also moving into communications and shipping. Shipping is one of the principal obstacles to more intensified trade within the regions. I refer to this only as examples of immediate and concrete projects that the private sector can move into outside of industrial complementation in which governments are very actively engaged.

But since we knew the course of regionalism to be a difficult one, we did not fall into the trap of forcing the process of cooperation or of establishing artificial structures that in a fortnight would collapse. And in time, we were well rewarded by the patient and even plodding work of laying the foundations for our ASEAN community.

This is why, almost nine years after its birth, ASEAN could forge the historic declaration and agreements in Bali, and why a year thereafter, in the second summit of ASEAN heads of governments, we could raise another step the ongoing work of the community.

The important point to remember is that we are working on a long-term vision of the future, and that at every step of the way a harmonization of viewpoints is an essential condition for success. Regardless of the kind of cooperation we have achieved, we must ever acknowledge that the relative strengths and weaknesses of our economies are discrete, and there will be points on which some member countries will readily agree to which other member countries will not be able to similarly respond.

But it bears pointing out, after acknowledging this formula, that a declared initiative, once adopted by the association, ought to be implemented and pursued resolutely. That certainly applies now to the ASEAN Programme of Action, particularly on economic matters.

Some of our problems of implementation have to do with the quality of our machinery, and it is certainly a critical part of the ASEAN agenda to improve and to recast where necessary the efficiency of our consultative and implementing apparatus.

Progress in the industrial complementation scheme is certainly a case in point. The status of projects that have been approved is widely different, and in the case of the Philippines, it is necessary to seek approval for a different project altogether.

In the area of trade liberalization, initial progress has been made, but it remains problematical how soon and to what extent the stimulation of intra-ASEAN trade can be pushed.

In the emergency sharing of vital resources, such as food and petroleum, a major breakthrough has been made through the agreement on an Emergency Sharing Scheme. And it remains only to establish now the precise ways in which the scheme can be implemented. Recently, it was our pleasure to host the annual meeting of the ASEAN Council on Petroleum, at which new decisions were made by the governing body.

I stress the improvement of the processes and apparatus of consultation and decision-making as a central key to the acceleration of regional economic cooperation. For it is at this level, where initiatives of the community sometimes fail to fructify. As our initiatives multiply, so must we widen the scope and extent of consultation among governments and sectors.

And I would say that it is at this level where the ASEAN Chambers of Commerce and Industry can most effectively show participation in ASEAN affairs.

I personally believe that the more effectively ASEAN consults with the private sectors of the region, the faster can we ride over the various problems that detain cooperation in certain areas, and the more speedily can we implement decisions by the governments.

Anxiety on the part of the private sector that it is not consulted enough on vital matters affecting the ASEAN program, and doubts on the part of the public sector about the readiness and real capacity of private enterprise to undertake regional endeavors can be considerably eased if a continuing process of consultation and counsel is maintained between the two sectors. And this is only possible if the private sectors are well organized in our respective countries and if they can speak with a single voice in ASEAN.

My hope, and I believe this is shared by all of you, is that eventually the ASEAN-CCI, as an organization of the national chambers, will be the principal consultative machinery for the private sector concerning regional endeavors, that its activities will be a sieve for the association to judge the climate of opinion in your sector, and that it will serve as a primal instrument for implementing ASEAN programs.

Certainly, I can promise you that here in the Philippines, the government will continue to consult with the private sector represented by, what I hope, will be the united Philippines Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

I am certain that your discussions here in Manila will have much to say that will not only be of value to your own regional organization, but to the work of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

In the work of the individual governments and of the ASEAN Committees and the Secretariat, let me say that I am certain that you have much to contribute to the development of economic, social, and political activity in the region.

I therefore encourage the participation of the private sector in all matters which may have any bearing whatsoever on economic matters, whether directly or indirectly.

And I hope that you will have a pleasant and fruitful conference.

And what I see today when I look across our country is a people and a nation, alive to the challenges of the times and confident about their prospects for the future.

I sense new life taking root among our rural masses, those for whom life until now has been a continuous struggle against adversity.

I sense it among the young, who not so long ago spilled into the streets to challenge our government and our institutions.

And it is finally this resource — vital, dynamic, and expectant — that we shall be privileged to harness in the attainment of our goals.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1979). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 7). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the fifth anniversary celebration of the Philippine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research, November 10, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the fifth anniversary celebration of the Philippine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research

[Delivered on November 10, 1977]

For A Dynamic Research System

SINIKAP KONG LUMAHOK sa ika-limang anibersaryo ng Philip pine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research sa araw na ito upang ipagbigay-alam sa buong bansa na ang isa sa pinakamahalagang programa ng ating pamahalaang pambansa ay ang PCARR.

Alam naman ninyong tayo ay naghahabol tuwing Nobyembre at Disyembre, ang huling dalawang buwan ng taon. Sa taong ito ay napasama pa ang ligalig sa Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, at Palawan. At napa sama ang "referendum." At gayundin ang kasalukuyang debate tungkol sa ibat't ibang bagay na bunga ng "referendum."

But anyway, I have come here. Kung maaari, pahintulutan ninyong humingi ako ng paumanhin sa inyong lahat sapagka't "hinila" ko kayong lahat dito.

I brought you here. Unfortunately, I am rather hard up for time these days. You will note that I came from other appointments, which I could not cancel, before I could come here. And then many other appointments have suddenly come up which I could not avoid.

Thus I am happy that you are here in Maharlika Hall where I usually meet the most important personages. *Sa bulwagang ito natin tinatanggap ang matataas na pinuno ng ibang bansa — mga hari, mga emperador, mga embahador. Nguni't sapalagay ko ay lalong mahalaga ang mga dalubhasa sa "research at science" na naririto ngayon.*

Tinatawagan ko ang mga mamamayang kilalanin ang utang na loob ng ating bansa sa inyong lahat at sa inyong mga dalubhasang katulong.

We recognize this indebtedness. This is the reason why when the invitation was extended to me, I immediately realized this was an occasion to call the attention of the nation to the efforts of our national government to coordinate and synchronize research in our country.

For a dynamic research system is an imperative for every nation seeking to develop and modernize. It is to the Philippine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research and the entire national community on research that our country must turn for the development of our research capabilities and programs.

Many people think of researchers as absent-minded professors working in a dusty laboratory just for the sheer curiosity of looking for the ultimate wisdom, without any connection whatsoever with our daily requirements. And of course, this ivory tower conception of research has been somehow dissolved by the now dramatic advances in agriculture. For once, the country is self-sufficient in rice. The term probably should be self-reliant, not self-sufficient, as I explained to some during the meetings in Los Baños. You know, Bong Tanco came to me and said: "We are now self-sufficient in rice." That was 1975. I am like the apostle, Thomas. I do not believe anything until I see it or feel it.

But anyway, I looked at the figures and I realized that we were indeed self-sufficient in rice because part of the rice that we had imported sometime ago had not yet been consumed. But now, we are producing. And that is a different thing. We are now producing more rice than we require. From 1972 to 1977 we have increased our production by about 42 percent. To you, statisticians, this is part of your discipline. But I merely wanted to point out to our people exactly what research means to a country. Research makes up for many deficiencies in resources — natural and even personal — in a small developing country like ours.

This is the reason why I think all of us should pause and consider the value of research in the country today. Unfortunately, the matter has not received too much attention. And now, I intend to call attention to this synchronization that is going on.

Noong sinabi kong pupunta ako sa PCARR, itinanong sa akin kung ano raw ba ang PCARR. Ito ba ang nagbibigay ng “dole-out?” You know, these acronyms are very confusing. But just the same, it indicates the low level of knowledgeability of our people on the meaning and importance of research. And yet, we are a people that must depend on research if we are to progress and modernize, for that matter, if we are to survive.

Anyway, the only problem in the modern world is that when you speak of research there is also the other aspect of the coin. You speak of research on the weapons of war. *Kapag tungkol na sa mga sandatang ginagamit sa digmaan ay ibang bagay na iyan ho ay alam lahat ng tao.* We must try and do away with this mental block on research on agriculture and other aspects of economic life.

Five years have passed since PCARR was created by Presidential decree that was meant to coordinate and consolidate research efforts in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, and forestry in our country. And I still vividly remember the various reasons which prompted me to create this Council.

It was the view of the Presidential Review Committee that the agricultural research policies and programs of the government were in grave need of re direction and planning. Despite the enormous amounts being annually spent on agricultural research, the level of research output was having no substantial or palpable impact on the agricultural economy: there was little planning and co ordination of research at the national level. And most revealing of all, the little that was being achieved by various research agencies and projects was not being effectively utilized in the critical sphere of agricultural development. Instead — perhaps I should quote the study itself— as the study sadly noted, most research efforts in the country appeared to be more earnestly directed “to satisfy the curiosity of individual researchers.”

Is that not an interesting aspect of the problem? Here you have dedicated individuals who, from sheer curiosity, are in search of wisdom and of nuggets of knowledge that could be of value to the nation at large. Yet, these are kept away from those who could utilize them in order to implement the noble objectives of modernization and advancement.

It would be an understatement for me to merely say that I was shocked by the results of that review by the Presidential Review Committee. For I knew only too well how much attention had been given by the government to agricultural research, and how many agencies and bureaus had been created by legislation to service research requirements. Again from shock, I was alarmed that in the midst of an intensive push in food production in 1972, the country did not have a substantial research base to rely upon for its sustained support.

To make a long story short, the Presidential study concluded with the re commendation that a national agricultural research program be formulated, and that a mechanism to streamline and coordinate agricultural research activities in the country be created.

It was under those circumstances that the Philippine Council for Agricultural and Resources Research was created — to serve as the central coordinating agency and spur the development of a dynamic national research system.

It takes, of course, more than half-a-decade to develop and erect such a dynamic national research system. Today, at this anniversary, we will say at once that we have not arrived at any magical formula to replace methodical

construction and effort in this area. But if we have not produced miraculous remedies, we can at least claim now that we understand our problems better, that we are moving in the right direction, and that given time our research policies and programs will have their real impact on the national economy.

I notice with interest the outline of problems that were presented by Dr. Madamba here. He was sort of apologetic when he came to the last item as if he had caused all these deficiencies and these defects. But actually this was an alluvium of weaknesses and failures over the past several decades. And we are happy that now PCARR is doing something about it and succeeding. This is the important thing. We are doing something about it, and we are succeeding.

And the truth about it is that in the last five years our achievements in research are not at all insignificant. Whatever may be our reservations, the level of our research output has been very high. And it is justly regarded in Asia as one of the most advanced and progressive, particularly in the area of food production.

Looking back over its first five years, we can be gratified by the speed and dispatch with which the PCARR has moved to assist in accelerating our country's development. Three months after it was organized, for instance, it convened the First Agricultural System Research Congress in Los Baños. I am certain that some of you here were among the more than 500 research administrators, policy-makers, scientists, researchers, educators, and producers from both the public and private sectors who attended that convention.

The main output of the February 1973 Congress was the first national agricultural research program we have today, the first to be formulated in the history of our country. This has set into motion the research mechanism of our entire government. For what followed were regional congresses that tackled research programs that were relevant to their own particular regions. Convened with the cooperation of the National Economic Development Authority, these congresses were capped by the Second National Research Congress held in Los Baños about a year ago.

It pleases us considerably to see government agencies, like NEDA and PCARR, pooling their expertise and resources in mapping out development programs for the agricultural sector. Knowing fully well our scarce resources and the seemingly formidable constraints that impede our development thrusts, this move is indeed very essential, especially at this stage of our development. This is one approach for maximizing the utilization of our resources towards the achievement of meaningful results.

The NEDA-PCARR collaboration has chalked up another "first" in that experts from the research and planning sectors have, for the first time, joined hands in formulating a relevant and meaningful development plan reflecting the country's requirements at both the national and regional levels.

PCARR, I understand, has also been extending a most welcome assistance to the Budget Commission task force in agriculture, fisheries, and forestry. I take this as a healthy manifestation of the sincere efforts of members of the research community to inject relevance in government operations. Through such endeavor, they can share their own innovative ideas with the government in its budget restructuring scheme with the end in view of rationalizing support for research. Through such efforts, financial assistance for research has been identified. And this will make it easier for us to monitor research inputs as well as outputs.

The process of streamlining the total research effort has opened the eyes of government to the tendency of its budgeting and auditing procedures to become cumbersome for almost the entire spectrum of the research community. Researchers believe and, perhaps, justify that they should not unnecessarily be detained by such things as red tape. This is one persistent problem that the government is trying to do away with in order to facilitate the smoother operations of research institutions and thus render them more productive. Of course, this problem does not appear only in research. It appears in almost every other area — the question of red tape, bureaucracy. We are now engaged in a series of training programs. Yesterday, I met with 40 governors, mayors, treasurers, executives, and the like. And they are going through this local administration development program. We are teaching mayors and governors how to run their municipalities and provinces and do away with red tape. We are also putting the civil servants through a series of educational and training programs in order that they may do away with the old bureaucratic attitude towards paper work.

You know, I receive more than a million communications in my office every year. And every communication has to have a long-winded transmission letter. What does a transmission letter say? Nothing. Yet, it is a whole page and it takes one day to write it. Can you imagine all the waste? So I have done away with all these transmission letters. I have told some of the people who are engaged in transmitting communications to me: If I see nothing contained in a transmission letter to me and you put in it more than three words, you better look for another. This waste of time in the bureaucracy is appalling. I do not know where we got this inclination towards paper work. No wonder we spend so much on stationery, typewriter, typewriter ribbon. You would be surprised. One time, I checked on how much money we were spending on typewriter ribbons and pencils.

Well, you know I am an Ilocano at heart. It is not only because of the money spent but the time. Money, you can earn. But where are you going to get the time?

Anyway, this is a problem which affects the entire government. And I am very happy that the researchers — because they are personally affected — are beginning to work on this. In view of this, government policy makers are taking note of this problem. I, for one, am spending time on this particular aspect.

There are many department secretaries and high-ranking officers in government that are taken aback when I call them up by telephone and say: The decision on this particular matter is as follows. Take your pencil and paper and take it down. I will sign it tomorrow when you put it down in writing. And they take it down. They often complain that I have reduced them into clerical aides. But that is the fastest way to go about it.

I have here some kind of a decree. Let me see. There is a proposal that as part of the administrative reform to promote efficiency and productivity of scientific and technological research, there should be special provisions for the hiring of retired scientists and technical personnel, hiring them through contracts and exempting them from civil service rules especially on nepotism, sabbatical leave, honoraria, and travel insurance as well as other provisions. And then without benefit of public bidding. I have not read this very well. This even includes authority to purchase large cattle. Is this going to research? Yes, it does. Construction, repair of infrastructure.

I am going to sign this, subject to amendment. But I want to emphasize the fact that I am ready to give all possible incentives to all our researchers under the NSDB and PCARR combination.

Therefore, to remove you from the red tape of the civil service and the bureaucracy — this is the principal purpose — as well as to give you the leeway to move fast in the procurement of both equipment as well as raw materials needed for your research and the needed expertise, I hereby sign this decree in your presence.

Now also worth considering are the people that go into research — both from the public and private sectors. We must create the environment. It is all right to speak of giving the proper incentives and the like. After all, man does not work for dollars and cents and pesos and centavos. But the mere fact that their work is appreciated is often sufficient for many of the dedicated public servants.

In the past, many members of the research sector had opted to cling to their ivory tower and work independently of one another. There was too much duplication in research work arising from the absence of a coordinating mechanism.

Now, I know that the PCARR has started to work on this. The advantage of working within a research structure is very obvious, and I need not go into this. The government is not alone in providing resources for the strengthening of the country's research structure. We are tempted to conjecture that our initial success in setting into motion a viable national research system must have encouraged assistance agencies to help us in his endeavor.

Now, to cite an example. Early last year, the plan to enhance our country's agricultural research capability received a big push when the United States Agency for International Development granted a \$5 million soft loan for the development of four of the 14 centers under the national network of agriculture and resources research centers in the country. While the loan may not be as substantial as the others we have received for other sectors of our economy, I

took time out to personally sign the loan on behalf of our government. I found it vital in view of the novel and unique purpose for which it has been granted.

This loan — usually the corresponding counterpart from the government is at the very least on a 50-50 or 60-40 basis— is now being used to upgrade the La Granja Agricultural Research Center in Carlota City, Negros Occidental; the Bicol Agricultural Research Center in Pili, Camarines Sur; the Southern Mindanao Agricultural Research Center in Kabacan, Cotabato; and the Central Luzon Agricultural Research Center in Munoz, Nueva Ecija.

At present, we are negotiating another \$ 10 million loan, with a counterpart fund from our government, to improve the research capabilities of seven research centers in the Cagayan Valley region, Mountain Province, Ilocos Norte, Los Baños, Palawan, Eastern Visayas, and Davao.

We have no doubt that the capabilities of these centers will soon be bolstered because considerable resources are now being poured into them. Furthermore, these centers can now count on the expertise of some of the best scientists and researchers in the country.

Again, I presume this is the time I can take advantage to say that so long as I am President, we will continue to build up research centers throughout the Philippines, and the national government will support it.

Talking about research centers, I probably should not miss this particular proposal that I have just received from both the PCARR and the NSDB. This refers to the research center on tobacco in my own province. To be frank with you, I did not know about this. I think this was their way of saying that this also affects you.

Anyway, there is a proposal to implement the originally approved program to establish a tobacco research center in a college that has been named after my late father. He graduated from that high school. He was actually inclined towards agriculture and research — and so was I — except that I got derailed somewhere along the way.

By this decree, we now hereby create a tobacco research center in the Mariano Marcos Memorial College of Science and Technology. And before you, I sign this decree.

Since this was also proposed by Dr. Magno, I presume that this means that he will support this project with the funds of the National Science Development Board.

There is one aspect that I wanted to talk to you about. And this is the fact that there is still a wide gap that exists between what is being chalked up by researchers in experimental and field-testing stations and the actual output of our farmers and producers. In the 60s, the high-yielding rice varieties initially developed by scientists of the International Rice Research Institute as well as the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, the Bureau of Plant Industry, and the Philippine Atomic Research Center promised just about the best that our farmers could hope by way of increasing their harvest. Yet after more than a decade and many research advances, the members of the scientific community are still at a loss to explain why a good percentage of our rice farms is not planted to the new varieties. Moreover, while researchers are producing as high as eight tons per hectare in experimental farms, farmers, planting the same strains can only produce a yield of a little more than one ton. The experimental results, eight tons: The actual results in the farm, one ton. And I have always asked the question: Why? I know that you are engaged in checking why this is so. And you point out to me many of the variables. You scientists always use this flexible term “variables”. There are many variables.

All right, we will patiently wait for the results of your researches. But the same is true with other farm products, like carabeef, root crops, vegetables, and fruits. Likewise, aquaculture and reforestation are major research areas that require priority attention. And doubly disconcerting is the fact that not much attention has been given by researchers to these commodities notwithstanding their potentials as food and cash crops.

You know that I came from Sabah. While working on this problem in the South, I decided I might just as well go to the very root of the problem. We talk about Sabah, North Borneo, the Muslim question. And so I decided to go to

Sabah and find out what was happening there. What is its atmosphere? How are its people? Are they really antagonistic towards us? And perhaps I could talk to some of these leaders. And I did. But one thing I also found out: They claim that they produce the best cacao throughout the world. And you know what they told me? They even suggested that the best cacao peels could be found in the Philip pines. And yet we do not produce cacao. I was taken aback, I was shocked. They produce the best variety of cacao which they say is resistant to disease and pests better than the Ivory Coast coco, as they call it among the English. And so we took some of the seeds.

I am sure that the Bureau of Plant Industry is listening — is Director Panganiban here? — with a little concern. You know what they told me? They grow best in volcanic soil under the shade of coconut trees. And where are the coconut trees? In the Philippines. But is there any cacao? None. Why? Here again, we are met with some of your variables.

Whatever it is, I think that it is about time that we look into the differences between the results and experiments and the actual production in the field. You know, we always figure that what we produce in Los Baños, we will produce in Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, Pampanga, and Pangasinan. But you and I know that it is not so. Of course, the question of rice, that is a little extreme— one to eight. That is a little bit too much. But it is true in almost every crop, and we must look into this.

I present this to the PCARR. I know that you are already working on it, but I want you to know that I am watching you on this particular aspect. It is a very disturbing phenomenon. It is one of the things that I am looking at. Talking about cacao, I think you better take note of the fact that I want to know why you are not planting cacao under the coconut trees. Of course, you are going to tell me again that cacao cannot stand the strong winds and typhoons in Eastern Philippines. Well and good. How about Mindanao? How about Davao? There is no strong wind there. How about Western Leyte? How about Biliran? There is no strong wind there. Typhoons do not get there. How about Quezon, Batangas, Laguna? Batangas used to produce a lot of cacao and coffee. Then, what happened? Now, they are producing other crops. Let us look into this again.

But whatever it is, we must now bridge the gap. This to me is one of the most searching challenges before the research community and the government today. We should move into it as fast and with the same intensity as we have moved into other areas of research. We must always think in terms of the needs and problems of the farmers. And this we cannot overemphasize. For they carry the burden of producing the food needed by our rapidly increasing population.

We have, of course, always set up the small farmers as the measure of all our efforts. If we can help the small farmers, then we have succeeded. If we have helped only the big fellows, whether they are farmers or not, we have not succeeded. This is the measure of our success. And when I say we, I mean not only government, I mean you. I mean the PCARR and the researchers. For he is our target. He is the symbol of all our effort at diligence, discipline, and sacrifice. It is for him that we are doing all of this.

We launched the *Masagana 99* in May 1973. This was followed by the *Masaganang Maisan* and the beef-carabeef program. And now a recently launched emphasis on fisheries production to complement our recent success in achieving self-sufficiency in rice.

Therefore, in the name of the small farmers and the marginal fishermen, the government must now pour more resources, more attention, more time to this problem.

I am certain that the PCARR on its fifth anniversary has this in mind.

I am happy to note that the small farmers are now represented in the planning of the country's research efforts through PCARR's commodity research teams as well as its Technical Program Planning and Review Board. Never before have farmers been given the opportunity to involve themselves in the planning of agricultural development programs.

We have to marry more and more the thrust of research projects to actualities of farming conditions. And the descent of the scientist from the ivory tower which we now see happening more and more is inevitable and, of course, necessary.

Only last month, at an international conference in Italy of scientists and research administrators from the developing countries, the historic Conference Declaration stated the challenge succinctly and I quote:

“While concepts and basic research material can be adopted by one country from another, the precise technology will have to be developed locally and tailored to the conditions of each area in such a way that the ecological strengths of an area are maximized and the ecological risks and handicaps are minimized.”

We cannot resolve the agricultural challenge by simply repairing to the achievements of scientists in other lands. We have to work within the mold of our conditions, and from there attain our deliverance. We must depend upon our indigenous talent.

That we accept this now is a credit to our research community. That we have the capacity to gather our efforts in one concerted push forward — this the PCARR has demonstrated.

Nothing could gratify us more than to learn that at the Bellagio Conference in Italy, our national agriculture and resources research system was singled out by this international conference for its proven viability. The verdict is an augury of what we can legitimately hope for from research efforts now and in the years to come.

But as we claim this achievement for the nation, let us make it our common resolve, the resolve of the PCARR and the research community, and we in government — never to let up in our efforts to improve, to strengthen, and to develop our national research programs.

Your efforts, I assure you once again, will be matched by the assistance and support required of the national leadership. May I say again, so long as I am President, you will have the complete support of the national government.

I have today received from the Philippine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research two proposals designed to accelerate our programs in this area. A proposed decree providing for incentives and administrative reform to promote productivity of scientific and technological research. A proposed decree granting authority and incentives to the PCARR in its generation of foreign funding for research.

At the same time, I close by providing for the completion of the PCARR membership. As of now, you have two vacancies in the PCARR. The vacancies are for the membership of the private sector. Upon the recommendation made by not only the NSDB and PCARR but also by the private sector and the research community, I hereby appoint the following as members of the private sector in the PCARR. I refer to Mr. Manuel Lim, Jr., and Mr. Francisco Y. Panolo. And this finishes the work that I have set for myself this morning.

I am sorry that the First Lady and I could not come to cut the ribbon for your new building. I understand it is a very impressive building. I will go there to have my picture taken later. I will go there and inspect the premises, possibly with the First Lady. Or, in all probability, it will be the other way around. The First Lady will go there without me. I am sure you will like that better.

In the meantime, may I direct Dr. Magno to do the honors of cutting the ribbon on my behalf so that you can use the building. And once again, I congratulate the PCARR. I look forward to the continuing advances of our country in research and in science, principally because of the efforts of the PCARR and the NSDB.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos before the graduates of the first CSC-NDCP “Future Leaders Program”, November 18, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the graduates of the first CSC-NDCP “Future Leaders Program”

[Delivered on November 18, 1977]

For A New soldiery

FIRST OF ALL, allow me to congratulate the graduates, *ang mga nagtapos sa pag-aaral sa National Defense College of the Philippines. Tinanggap ko ang paanyayang dito ganapin ang seremonya ng graduation ng future leaders program upang bigyan-diin ang halaga ng palatuntunang ito.*

I do not attend graduations anymore; even the National Defense College cannot get me to its graduation rites because I am rather busy these days. We are in the middle of many important things — the negotiations with the United States, ASEAN, the problems in the South, the problems with respect to the referendum, and the like. However, I think the future leaders program is just as important as any other problem that confronts the President.

Baka akalain ninyong pabalat-bunga lamang ito — some kind of consolation for all the work that you have done. *At para sa mga lalaki ay tila bayad sa kanilang buhok na ginupit.*

You know, one of the problems of any leader is the continuing programs already initiated as well as their pervasiveness. One must watch the soft portion of the population: these are the people who do not commit themselves to the programs. We are busy, let us say, bringing the new gospel of the New Society to the small people who may understand it, but those on whom we depend as the source of initiative and orientation — the implementors as well as the originators of new ideas for new doctrines and new programs — may themselves be the weak parts of the chain.

And this is why the civil service has often been observed as a drag on reform. The bureaucracy is seen by political and social reformers as the conservative sector of any society. It believes in the status quo, in routine of work. These, precisely, are the impressions about the civil service. The bureaucrat routinizes and institutionalizes functions so that reaction becomes automatic. Whenever there is any change, there is an awkward pause and dislocation in the forward movement.

Today, we are engaged in radical reforms. When I proclaimed the New Society, I said: “We will dismantle the apparatus of the rebellion and extirpate the causes of rebellion. To do this, the leadership cannot act alone; it must motivate the greater number of the people — and the most valuable group are the young, those who will carry the burden because they understand. For we do not expect that many of the radical reforms we have instituted in the New Society will be fully realized even in my lifetime. I know that many of these reforms will ultimately have to be assumed by those who follow in my footsteps and those of my generation. My generation, however, will have fulfilled its mission and accomplished its objectives — to lay the foundation of the New Society.”

We are not so naive nor so sanguine as to think that we can finish all the work that has to be done. It is necessary that the leaders must look to another group to carry on the fight, the group that will be the successor, that will carry the same burden and raise the standards of the New Society.

I say that you who constitute the vanguard of this group of new leaders are showing the way for those who will follow. I understand there were 3,000 who applied for this schooling and that could accommodate only 300 for the time being. So you can see the high standards that characterize this training.

Ikinatutuwa kong malamang kayo pala ay higit na masugid sa matatapang na kawal ng ating bansa. The graduates of the Philippine Military Academy are known for their military discipline. Now that you have outdone these PMA cadets, I probably should start thinking of commissioning you for a new type of armed forces.

Talagang pinahirapan nguni't nagtiis. Ang mahalaga nga naman ay may halaga. There is a saying that there is nothing valuable or priceless in this world that is not actually paid for, if not in pain and tears, then with something else. It could be your life. Perhaps it is a part of your valuable time, but you pay for it. And I am very glad that you have invested in the new leadership of our country with the time you have devoted to this kind of dedicated and intensive study.

I do not need to tell you that your presence in this palace of our people is symbolic. Incidentally, this is a leaky old palace. *Huwag lamang umambon ay gumagamit na kami ng raincoat.* But it is the symbol of power and authority in our country. That I have asked you to come here—this place that has seen the passage of the leaders of many countries and the transfer of sovereignty in our country — from one country to the other, from the Filipino to the American, from the American to the Japanese, from the Japanese back to the American, and from the American back to the Filipino, we hope for good — indicates the value which I place on this program. I need not stress in words the fact that this program fills up a hiatus in the development program of our country.

We are moving forward in our economic and social development programs. We have a five-year, 10-year, and 23-year economic and social development programs. These programs are being prepared on the economic and social fronts.

I am concerned that on the socio-political front, we do not have a publicized program — that of utilizing all the resources of our people for strengthening the political foundations of our country.

The programs that we think of are written on paper, and they are nothing without the minds, hearts, and hands of human beings. But human beings, by force of nature, must depend upon leadership. I need not quote to you such writers as Toynbee who said: “The great developments in civilization and the forward movement of mankind depend not so much upon the mass who often look up to the leaders who, in critical moments, must make up for the lack of orientation, dedication, energy, enthusiasm, and talent of many of the mass.” This is the role of the leader—to sacrifice and offer whatever God has endowed him in order that he shall utilize the great force of the mass. For a noble objective may be unseen by the great many but is quite clear to the leader: this is the reason why you must go through this training. And do not think that because you have received your diplomas, you are finished with your training. You have just started. You have just been accepted to the group of men who must now forever aspire and work. You can no longer rest. This is the stigma that is upon me. Since you have accepted the brand of leader, you are no longer lazy, you are no longer weak, you are no longer corrupt, you are no longer shallow. You have style, you have something to live up to. And having something to live up to, you must continue to exercise your energy, your talent, your dedication, and your will-power.

It is therefore presumed that all of these have been developed in your training. For as you move forward, these will be required of you. I am certain that you will live true to this challenge. And as a matter of recognition of these qualities, I hereby sign a Letter of Instructions which directs the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the heads of the departments and agencies concerned, that the upper 50 percent of the graduates of this program, who have been exemplary in both academic and non-academic pursuits, shall each be assigned to a career service officer, if from Manila, and to a regional director, if from a region. They will be rotated and given an opportunity to serve with the different regional directors to expose them to the different government programs.

If after six months of special assignment, it is determined by the career service officer, concurred in by the Civil Service Commission and the National Defense College of the Philippines, that the Buklod member has provided outstanding service, he shall be entitled to a merit increase in accordance with guidelines established for the purpose.

I hereby also order all heads of departments and heads of agencies to now immediately make provisions for the further development of the career of these young people. And this Utter of Instructions, which I sign in your presence, is effective immediately.

And so once again. I congratulate each and everyone of you, the new soldiery of the New Society.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Message of President Marcos at luncheon in honor of Prince Alberto of Belgium, November 26, 1977

New Opportunities for Development

MRS. MARCOS AND I are happy to be able to represent the Republic of the Philippines in honoring our guest of honor His Royal Highness Prince Albert of Belgium, and the members of his delegation, as well as the other distinguished guests in this luncheon in which we are offering these glimpses of our culture.

And when one sees these impressions of overwhelming beauty, we who belong to, shall we say, the older generation dare not show indifference nor demonstrate weariness of age. It is easy to submit oneself to languor and daydream and believe that technology, industrialization and balance of payments are irrelevant to life. But it takes such hardy and reformed characters like me to bring one back to hard reality, and to remind our countrymen that ours is a small developing country with the problems of, according to some, security, — although I don't see any problems of security — but more of balance of payments, economic development and the utilization of limited resources — the development not only of the natural but also the human resources of a country.

Thus, we are happy to be able to welcome the delegation from Belgium headed by His Royal Highness who, incidentally, is not unknown to us, for he has been here five times — four times before this — and has represented His Majesty the King, head of state of Belgium, in many important conferences in which the Philippines has participated.

The Philippines, is most likely most of the members of the Third World, understands the need for foreign capital and foreign technology in order to attain its dreams of development; the need for agro-industrial balance — that very difficult tenuous balance which must be attained in order that a population that is fast-growing may be absorbed into productive enterprise, which agriculture alone cannot do.

And, like most other countries devoted to private enterprise, the Philippines seeks such foreign capital and such foreign expertise, and welcomes the members of the delegation of His Royal Highness as they bring to our country new openings and opportunities in development.

For far too long the Philippines has devoted most of its efforts at strengthening the old ties that existed between the United States of America and the Philippines, and more recently between the Philippines and Japan — the U.S. and Japan being the two principal partners of the Philippines. But at the instance of these great trading partners who find this monopoly of international trade unhealthy for the economy of any small country like the Philippines, we now seek to diversify economic growth.

And so, we look towards Europe, we look towards Africa and also the rest of Asia.

We are indeed happy to welcome this delegation.

I therefore request you to rise and join me to a toast.

In accordance with protocol, may I first raise our glasses to the continued health and success of His Royal Majesty the King of Belgium; next to the health and success of our guest of honor and the members of his delegation, and to the continued friendship and cooperation between Belgium and the Philippines.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the 20th general assembly of the Veterans Federation of the Philippines, November 26, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 20th general assembly of the Veterans Federation of the Philippines

[Delivered on November 26, 1977]

A New Role for the Veteran

BINABATI KO KAYONG lahat sa ika-20 taon ng ating Federation. Sa araw na ito ay ating naaalala ang ating mga kapatid na nag-alay ng buhay noong huling Digmaang Pandaigdig.

We are gathered — a little older, a little stouter, a little more gray. *Si Simeon ay pulos puti na ang buhok. Ang sabi niya sa akin ay hindi bale na, basta't may buhok pa. Baka may tinamaan dito nang banggitin kong "basta't may buhok." Huwag kayong magagalit at hindi ko naman tinu-tukoy itong si Frisco.*

Nguni't ito 'y biro na mula pa noong kami ay nasa Kongreso. Ang wika nga ng mga "photographer" sa kanya: "takpan mo naman iyang helmet at nasisilaw ang kamera." Nguni't higit na malakas pa ang tuhod nitong si Frisco kaysa karamihan sa atin. Si Marking naman ay mukhang bata pa rin sa hitsura at kilos hanggang ngayon. Si General Fred Santos hanggang ngayon ay naggegerilya pa. Naaalaala ba ninyo ang nangyari noong panahon ng gerilya? Siya ang naglabas sa akin sa Maynila na nakasuot ng Constabulary uniform — a puppet Constabulary lieutenant. Kasama namin si Colonel Fidel Cruz, at umabot kami hanggang Malolos, kay Delfin Argao, Bulacan provincial commander. Ano na nga ba ang nangyari kay Delfin? Saan naroon si Delfin? Aba, ayan pala. Napakatagal ko nang hinahanap itong si Delfin. Napakahirap pala nitong hanapin. I have been looking for him. I had a Christmas gift for him about five years ago. Hindi ko pa naipaabot sa kanya ang pagtanaw ko ng utang na bob. Sukat ba namang itinago ako roon sa tabi ng kempetai sa Bulacan. Sino pa ba? Si Santiagong Bulag, si Benny Santiago ng Malolos also helped me. And then Ante Roque, former "Congressman." Naging "Congressman" pagkatapos ng digmaan. hinago niya ako won sa kisame. Mainit pala roon sa kisame.

I remember all of these today. *Marami sa ating mga kasama noon ang naririto ngayon na nakakaalaala sa lahat ng ito. Naririto si General Ramos. Bata pa siya noong panahon ng ating paggegerilya. His father engineered my escape from Manila with General Santos. Alam ninyo, hindi ko pa nabibigyan ng "citation" ang mga taong ito. Now, come to think of it, I think we should give citations to all of them. Mahirap din naman iyong ilalabas mo si Ferdinand Marcos sapagka't ang lahat ng outpost ay may larawan niya.*

General Espino, I think that is one thing we should do immediately. *Sino pa ba ang tumulong? Si Emong Salvador. Colonel Fidel Cruz is there. And Colonel Tabije took me from Bulacan. Who was with him? Inigo Ventura was with him. Mayroon pang isa. There was another officer.*

But I would like to give proper recognition to all those who risked their lives — Secretary Ramos, Emong Salvador, General Santos, Fidel Cruz, and Delfin Argao.

Alam ninyo, itinago nga ako sa hospital because I had black water fever. This is the kind of sickness na lumalabas ang dugo sa lahat ng butas ng iyong katawan. I do not know why I got it. But whatever it is, I had to get out of the hospital. I was practically dead. I was not capable of moving alone.

I remember all of these. I remember, too, our dreams. *Ano ba ang sabi natin sa ating mga kasamang sundalo? We always told them that we would build a bright and brave new world after the war. Tayo ay magtatagumpay at pagkatapos ay magtatatag tayo ng bagong lipunan.*

Alam ninyo, ang mga katagang “bagong lipunan” ay nagsimula noong panahon ng digmaan. It was something which was a catch phrase to us. It was our inspiration. We told everybody that it would be a better world after the war. We became independent. And becoming independent was something which we thought was going to be the miracle that would solve all our problems — both national and individual. But after the war, ang kinilalang gerilya ay ang mga taga-Escolta at hindi ang mga tunay na namundok.

Alam naman ninyo ang nangyari. Hindi na natin pagtatalunan ang mga bagay na iyan. Aba, nakita kong nakaestrelya ang dating mga hina-hunting natin. Kamuntik na naman tayong mamundok. Hindi nga ba namundok sina Luis Tame at ang ibang hindi nabigyan ng recognition? Kung minsan nga naman ay mahina ang mga nasa pamahalaan. Bakit hindi nila kinilala ang mga taong talagang lumaban? At iisa lamang ang kinilala — ang Banal Regiment na talagang lumaban. Kasama natin sa ibang labanan.

One time I was talking with Luis about all of these. You remember when we were fighting in the underground? We used to say: “Hayaan mo na ang mga iniisip mo para sa mga magsasaka. Ang Bagong Lipunan ay para sa lahat. Para sa mahihirap at mayayaman. Hindi naman lahat ng mayaman ay masama, may puso rin sila. Ang kailangan ay huwag nating hatiin ang ating mga mamamayan. We should not divide our people. The tendency is: A, kasalanan mo ito. Ikaw ang may gawa nito. Wala tayong magagawa. Lalo na ngayong bumabalik na naman tayo sa pulitika. Ano na naman ang naririnig natin? Pati ako ay pinagbibintangan na rin ng puro kalokohan. Kabalbalan daw lahat iyon.”

I speak of this because we should now think in terms of the problem we are confronted with. You know, the veteran is a natural leader in his community. *Kagaya noong tayo ay pumasok sa pulitika, hindi na tayo kumampanya dahil sa beterano na tayo. Basta’t beterano ka, you are elected. Wala ng problema. Buhat noong 1946, 1947, at 1949 ay hindi na kinailangang ku mampanya sapagkat glamor boy pa tayo noon. Ngayon ay hindi na.*

Si General Aguinaldo ay nakausap ko bago siya mamatay. I asked him about Bonifacio. Sinabi niyang binawi niya ang execution in Bonifacio. At hindi na raw niya kasalanan kung ang kanyang order ay hindi nakarating sa firing squad.

Anyway, what he said five years after the war was: “*Alam mo, bata, hanggang ngayon ay tanyag pa kayo. Malaki ang pagkilala ng buong bansa sa inyo sapagka’t nagtagumpay kayo. Bumalik kayong taglay ang watawat ng ating bansa. Kaya’t hanggang ngayon ay kilala pa kayo. Ano kaya kung hindi kayo nanalo? Pagbibintangan pa kayo. Kahi’t na kayo ay nagtagumpay, asahan mong malilimutang lahat ang inyong paghihirap pagkatapos ng ilang taon.*”

Totoo nga naman. Siya ay nanunood na lamang sa tabi, ngumt napupuna niya ang lahat ng mga nangyayari. Pagkatapos ng ilang taon, ang mga beterano ay pinagsisipa na lamang ng ating pamahalaan.

But the truth of the matter is that we have been fighting since World War II. You study our present situation. During World War II, we fought in Bataan and Corregidor. I was so disappointed when I read some of the histories of the battle in ordinary magazines and ordinary books. There was not a single mention about Filipino troops, whether in Bataan or in Corregidor or in the underground. And I immediately wrote to all the authors informing them about my disappointment.

We fought for four years. And after that, you remember we were so bitter against the Japanese. *Ano ang nangyari? Sumama ang loob natin.* We could not accept the Japanese in our society, in our country. But then we started fighting our own brothers who were just as brutal, as merciless, and as insensitive as the Japanese. So I noticed a dissipation of the hatred that we felt for the Japanese. I felt it within myself. *Pati ako.*

Those who were in the kempetai’s hands knew the treatment we received from the kempetai. For instance, I did not hate the Japanese as much as I did after they brutalized me by torture in Fort Santiago. *Kaya’t ang nangyari ay pinaghahanap namin noon iyong lintik na sarhento doon sa Fort Santiago. Maski na sina Marking also wanted him. Nguni’t sinabi ko sa kanilang lahat na kung maaari ay hayaan na sa akin ang taong iyon sapagka’t ako naman ang sinaktan at hindi sila.*

But the reason for that was the sadism that the Japanese showed us. At talagang galit tayo. But when we fought against the Huks, we found that our own brothers were the same. They were torturing us, raping our women, pillaging our own villages. Dahil doon ay namulat tayo sa katotohanan. We realized this is something that goes with war. And now we see the same things all over. So we had fought all the way from World War II. In 1950, they almost took Manila — these HMBs, you remember? And you captured Balgos, Lava, and all the others. But still the fight went on. There were ebbs and upflows of the strength of the Hukbalahaps.

Alam ninyo, ang akala ng ibang puti ay nakasalalay ang lakas ng underground on number. Itinanong sa akin: Ilan ba ang kalaban ninyo? Ang wika ko ay isa o dalawang libo. Aba, ang kakaunti lamang pala. Kung minsan ay hindi ko mapigilan ang sumagot: Kaya pala natalo kayo sa Vietnam ay dahil sa ganyan pala ang inyong pag-iisip. Akala ninyo ay nakukuha sa dami ng sundalo iyan. Guerilla warfares are not determined by the number of soldiers you commit. How many times did you and I attack a bigger detachment? It was an ambushade. Maski na tatatlo o aapat lamang kayo, kung may isang tagahawak ng communication at ammunition ay tapos naang inyong mga kalaban.

Anyway, we have been fighting all along. Our veterans convene yearly. Ang nahahalata ko sa atin, we come together no longer to brag about our achievements, but to nurse the wounds that our pride has suffered when the people do not seem to realize what we have done for the country.

Now, just the same, you and I keep on working in our own individual ways, *kung ano ang maaari nating maitulong sa ating bansa*. Even if sometimes we have been rejected by our own society. I know how you feel, especially the guerrilla leaders. *Hindi ba noong gerilya lider ka ay isang ganoon ka lamang at patay ka na?* You determined the power of life and death over people. *Pagkatapos noon ay pinagsisipa at minamatamata na lamang tayo sa pagka't hindi naman tayo gumawa ng pera noong panahon ng gerilya. Ang sabi nga noong ibang kasama ko sa Ilokos: Makuha nga kaya iyong mga mapang itinago ng Hapon doon sa KP-90. Naalaala ko na naman iyon. Ah, narito si Simeon. Ang lahat ng presong Hapon ay sa kanya bumagsak. Mayroon silang sari-saring mapa. Diyan daw nakatago ang gold bar at kung anu-ano pa. Hindi naman nila alam that most of those were booby traps. At panay kalokohan lamang iyang mga mapa. Ang mga Hapon, just to be able to get out of prison, would make a map. Wala namang nakikita. Nguni't noong minsan ay may nakita. Ipinamigay namin doon sa mga sundalo. Ang sabi nga noong ibang sundalong may hawak na isang bagay: Gold bar po ito. Ang wika ko: Sige nga, hatiin ninyo upang mapatunayan natin kung gold bar iyan. Tingga pala. Itinapon. Pero naalaala kong iyon nga palang ibang gold bar ay may tingga sa labas. Ipinakuha ko uli at ipinahati ko. Nang mahati ay ginto nga ang gitna. Nagtakbuhan ang lahat upang hanapin ang mga tinggang itinapon nila.*

But these were few and far between. *Tuwing nagpo-poker sina Simeon ay brilyante ang kanilang petsas. Wala namang nakakaalam kung talagang tunay o hindi ang mga petsas na iyon.*

But what I am saying is that nobody made that kind of money. And so we were treated in a cavalier manner. Some of our comrades joined the communist movement. You remember, in 1946, everybody was complaining against the Americans because we were cut off from veterans' benefits. And many of our veterans were threatening: Let us take over the government, let us take over the treasury. We burn all our medals, or return them to the Americans. Let us keep them out of here. You know, that is an old song.

But, anyway, because of that I went to the United States. *Tinulungan na man tayo ng mga beteranong Amerikano. Sinu-sino ang tumulong sa atin? Si Mike Mansfield* who was formerly majority floor leader of the Senate. But before that, he was a young congressman from Montana. And there were other groups who helped us. They immediately gave back our benefits. And the Bill of Rights was passed in our Congress. And that was all right. We returned to our normal stage.

We were then fighting the Huks and the HMBs. Now, we are fighting the Moro National Liberation Front. There is a question raised, and I suppose this will be the story for tomorrow's newspapers — they have asked me to lift martial law. *Itong mga taong hindi napapalaban sa digmaan ay maiingay. Lift martial law! Madaling sabihin ito.* There is a time for imposing martial law, there is a time for lifting it. I am a veteran and the President. I know the consequences of taking away the advantages of the military against the guerrilla fighters. I know because we were in the guerrilla movement. You remove that advantage and, perhaps, our Armed Forces and citizenry will suffer.

Martial law is the difference between continued harassment and depletion of personnel in our Armed Forces and, possibly, repeated injury and casualties.

Those people who are for the lifting of martial law do not know that the soldier fighting against a very elusive enemy prays to God for just a little advantage to be able to fight back. And that any negligence on his part or on the part of the policy planner will mean not only the doubling or tripling of casualties but possibly a tenfold increase in the number of casualties.

If I were to lift martial law, it would mean that the military would have to be ready to suffer 10 times the casualties they are suffering now. Now, being a veteran and knowing all the consequences of such an act, I say that we will come to the point when we will be able to lift martial law. But now is not the time to lift martial law.

The soldier is known for his physical courage. The soldier exposes his body to the danger he meets to be the shield of protection for his country and people. But there are times, too, when the soldier needs the help of the civilians. The civil leader must support the soldier who has nothing to hold on to except his belief and faith in the principles for which the civil leader has committed him to battle. So the soldier meets the bullets of the enemy, but the civil leader must stand firm and resolved against the criticisms of the well-meaning. He must back up the soldier.

This morning, in the mass held for the children's medical center, I said that moral courage is often more valuable than physical courage. The soldier has physical courage, but the civil leader must maintain moral courage and believe in what he stands for, the principles for which he is accountable. And the soldier will not be able to reach out and understand completely why he is fighting. But it is the civil leader who understands. And so long as the civil leader backs up the soldier, he will fight and die for his country, if necessary. But the soldier also asks that the civil leader be as resolved as he is. If the soldier is willing to die, then the civil leader should be able to stand a little criticism.

This is the division of labor now. And here is where you and I can help the men who are fighting for our country. But while they are risking their lives in facing the enemy, you and I can no longer lead patrols. We kid ourselves that we are still strong, that we can go out and fight, that we are good for another war. You and I know that we cannot. *Isang araw lamang na hindi tayo kumain ay mamamatay na tayo. Hindi gaya noong araw na kahit na tatlong araw tayong hindi kumain at inom na lamang nang inom ng tubig. Hindi kagaya ng iba ryan na iba ang iniinom. Hindi na natin kaya. Bagama't malakas ang loob ay mahina naman ang tuhod. And the soldier has to go.*

Now, that is the role of the soldier in uniform. We veterans must stay behind. We are now relegated to the role of the men who guard the rear of the soldier. We stand pat and face the crisis — those who would disrupt the policy, who would eliminate from the soldier his budget. You are spending too much for the soldier, they say. You stand pat and say: No, we have to give him the best arms. We have to give him the best equipment. And if he gets wounded, he must get the best medical attention. And if he dies, his family must be given the best support. And we maintain this so that the soldier can be backed up from behind. This is our role now.

And that is why, when anybody says we must now lift martial law, at least in places where there is no fighting, I say that we place this at issue without people. Those who are in favor of lifting martial law should vote "No" in the referendum. And those in favor of supporting the position taken by the political leadership of the country, those in favor of fighting to the limit and fighting to the death should vote "yes" in the referendum.

I repeat that the simple advantage we give to our military may be the difference between success and failure in the operation. Do not underestimate the enemy because he is supported by a foreign power.

Now, this is the big difference. If we were just fighting among ourselves, yes, *hayaan mo na at hand-to-hand na lamang. Wala nang gagamitin pang armas. Magbunuan na lamang tayo. Subali't pumapasok sa labanan ang ibang bansa.* That is why we cannot take any risk here. I will not allow the increase in the casualties of our Armed Forces by buckling down before criticism and lifting martial law prematurely.

Of course, I encourage everybody to say his piece. You have to accept the fact that we have to learn to be more tolerant. We should be tolerant. We should listen to everybody. But after the decision is made, we should proceed with it.

So they keep criticizing us veterans. All right, you criticize me, that is a part of my role. I am the buffer. Ang sabi nila: *Tanggalin si Marcos*. Well and good. *Ano ang gagawin ninyo? Sino ang magpe-presidente sa inyo? Puro kayo parang batang maliliit. Iyan na lamang inyong mga ginagawa ay hindi ninyo maayos, ang bansa pa kaya ang maayos ninyo? Mahirap.*

But inasmuch as this is a democratic country, my answer is: All right, all those in favor of removing Marcos, vote “No” in the referendum. *Ito angisyu*. I put it now as an issue in the referendum. You want Marcos out, good, campaign for his removal. I promise you that if the “No” answer in the referendum predominates, then you have removed Marcos as President. He becomes a mere delegate to the interim Batasang Pambansa.

Ang first issue *ay ang martial law*. They want to eliminate martial law. Okay, we submit it to our people *sapagkat sila ang mapipinsala*. Hindi iilan lamang ang mapipinsala kundi ang lahat ng ating mga mamamayan. Sila ang mahihirapan. *Ang ating katungkulan ngayon* is to see to it that the greatest number of our people will attain what we are dreaming for our country. *Hindi iyong para sa iilan lamang*. The second issue is remove Marcos as the incumbent President. *Tama rin naman sila sapagka’t ito ang kanilang iniisip. Maalis lamang natin iyang si Marcos, naku, madali na. Tayo na ang may kapangyarihan. Iyon ang akala nila. Aba, higi tna maraming matatalinong bata riyon ngayon. Itong mga matatandang pulitiko ay hindi na natuto.*

Anyway these are the issues. And I am very happy that these issues have come up. *Ang sabi nga ng ating theme:* “The VFP supports the government in national development.” Before we can work together in national development, we must continue the program of the political leadership in order to continue the national development. And this is the third issue: Should we continue with the programs instituted by the political leadership for national development?

I say this because *marami silang sinasabi*: Marcos has bungled the whole thing. *Wala namang mga plano. Ang mga plano nila ay panay paninira, panlilinlang*. All right, that is what they say. So we place it before the people. *Ang mga tao ba ay malilinlang sa pamamagitan ng mga salita at talumpati? Hindi. Alam at nakikita nilang lahat ang ginagawa. Kung may magnanakaw, alisin natin ang mga magnanakaw. Kung may won man tayong hindi natutulungan, isama natin sa ating palatuntunan*. But the third issue is: Do we approve of the national development programs of the political leadership? *Maliwanag iyan, hindi iyong mga personal. Ang mga medyas ni Marcos ay pula at hindi itim. Ano bang kalokohan iyan? Sapagka’t llokano raw. Talaga namang llokano ako. Pati ba naman iyon ay babanggitin nila na walang kinalaman sa pagpapatakbo ng ating pamahalaan. At sari-sari ang sinasabi. Ang sabi pa nila: Iyang si Marcos ay masyadong maraming sinasabi, nguni’t noong pulitiko iyan at kasama natin ay marami ring ginawang puro kalokohan sa halalan. Diyan kami nagkahiwalay. Ito ang dahilan kung bakit ako umalis sa Partido Liberal. Katulad noong “Operation Sunshine.” Na imbestigahan diyan ang kung sinu-sinong opisyal ng ating Armed Forces. And some of the officers were investigated. What was this? Many of you know about this project where our Armed Forces were arming the groups of Commander Alibasbas and Commander Sumulong. Ako ay nagitla nang ipakita sa akin ang mga investigation report. Ang wika nila: Marami ka pang sinasabi. Hindi ba noon ay ikaw ang presidente ng Liberal Party? Presidente nga ako nguni’t wala akong kapangyarihang tumutol sa mga ginagawa nila. Naaalaala ba ninyo noong mag-away kami sa Senado at tinanggal akong presidente ng Senado? Dahil nga sa tinawag ko ang kanilang pansin sa mga gawaing hindi tama. Paano mo bibigyan ng sandata ang kalaban mo? Binibigyan mo ng sandata iyong dalawa, pagkatapos iyong ibang kawal mo ay lumalaban sa kanila. Aba, ito ay kalokohan na hindi maaring tanggapin. At saka many others. I was not going to talk about this, but to bring this to the level of a dignified democratic debate, let us debate the issues.*

That is the way to do it because we are a domestic country. *Kung dadalhin mo sa laban iyan, tatawagin ko na si General Espino at siya na ang bahala. Iyan ay hindi nakukuha sa lakas ng bisig sapagka’t ang pinag-uusapan natin ay ang tungkol sa pamahalaan.*

Our theme comes with the issue of development program. I say that we have organized a systematic development program in all aspects of national life. Those aspects are economic, social, and political. In the political field we have created a new institution, the barangay, which is the political foundation of our democracy. We have given to our people, including the illiterate, the right to participate in government. We have given 15-year-olds the right to be consulted. We have given the people in the villages the right to choose the men who would advise in legislature through the Batasang Bayan. And we are moving towards the election of the members of the interim Batasang Pambansa. That is the political aspect.

In foreign policy, they talk about the Tripoli agreement. *Ang sabi nila: Iyang si Marcos, tingnan mo, uto-uto. Inu-uto ng mga miyembro ng Islamic Conference. Tinawag niya ang Islamic Conference upang makialam sa ating suliranin sa Timog. Walang katotohanan iyan.* You know very well what happened. We are here just fighting with the MNLF. All of a sudden, there was a resolution by the Islamic Conference condemning the Philippines for genocide, and calling upon the Islamic countries to help the MNLF. *Peligroso iyan. Ang dapat ay gawin natin ang lahat upang matigil ang tulong.* Whenever there is an indigenous rebel force within your country, your first attack should be to cut and sever the lines of the enemy to the foreign source of supplies and equipment.

That must always be remembered by any leader. Never mind about the internal rebel because you can handle him. But your first point of attack must be his foreign source of equipment and support. So long as this source stays and continues, you have a serious and critical opposition through violence. You are facing, more than anything else, exported war, the newly created mechanism for destabilization in a country.

That is why we maintain the ceasefire. Why do you think they are violating the ceasefire? First, they lost in the referendum. Second, if there is to be an election in that area, they would lose all the seats. *May mananalo pa ba sa mga musmos na iyan? Walang mananalo. Ngayon pang hindi na sila nabibigyan ng tulong katulad noong araw. Kay at pinalalabas nilang hindi na maaaring masunod ang Tripoli agreement. But we want to continue with the ceasefire, although we are engaged in police action. Maaari ba nating pahintulutan ang mga outlaw na patayin na lamang ang ating mga opisyal, sundalo at sibilyan?* We cannot allow that. We have to maintain the law.

I have explained this to you because these are matters which I know are of interest to you. And I would like you to convey this to our people. *Sabihin ninyo sa ating mga mamamayan ang mga nangyayaring ito.* The Tripoli agreement was a diplomatic victory for the Philippines. *Nakuha nating lahat ang gusto natin.* One, ceasefire. Two, referendum. *Ang sabi nila ay wala raw usapan tungkol sa referendum. Maliwana na naipaloob ito sa mga kablegrama ni Colonel Khadaffy sa akin.* We will reveal it in good time. He even recommended questions which we incorporated in the referendum. And there was a good referendum. *Ang sabi nila ay wala raw kabuluhan sapagka't farcical ang referendum na iyan. Paano magiging farcical iyon samantalang ang lahat ng foreign diplomats ay naroon sa Mindanao? Nanood silang lahat.*

Then, *sa military bases natin ay alam naman ninyo ang ginagawa natin. Huwag nating habaan pa ang usapan.* You know that we have a treaty which says that they will continue there until 1991. *Aba, pababayaang ba nating magpatuloy nang walang palit ang kalagayan ng mga kinatawan ng ating pamahalaan sa bases na iyan? Mahirap namang sabihin nating: Umalis kayo riyan! Tingnan ninyo ang Guantanamo base sa Cuba. Wala na sigurong hihigit pa sa galit ni Fidel Castro sa mga Amerikano. Ngunit talaga namang ayaw umalis ng mga puti. Naroon pa rin.* Many of us do not know that the Americans are still in the Guantanamo base in Cuba. *Pinaalis na anglahat ng mga kalaban ni Castro, nguni't naroon pa rin ang Guantanamo base* because it is covered by a treaty.

Iyan din ang mangyayari sa atin kapag hindi natin gagamitin ang utak natin. Kung puro daldal at salita lamang ang gagawin natin ay walang mangyayari.

Kaya't sa mga policy na iyan, we are moving slowly and prudently. *Gagawin natin ang lahat* so that they will recognize our sovereignty over the military bases. Otherwise, the military bases will continue as they are. *Nakikita ninyo ang mga pang-aaping nangyayari sa ating mga mamamayan. Magpapatuloy iyon kapag hindi natin inayos iyan. Kaya't tayo ay nagdahan-dahan tungkol sa bagay na iyan.* Is there any secret agreement between the United States and the Philippines? There is none. *Ang lahat ay alam ninyo. Wala riyang secret deal. Ako ay hindi naniniwala sa secret deal.* So, while we are all negotiating, we should never compromise our position by bragging

about our position, as if we were Lord and master who can dictate to anybody. You and I have been too long in public service.

And so today, we present those three issues—the lifting of martial law, the Presidency, and the development program. The opposition says I have bungled the whole thing and I am not a good administrator. The programs and plans that we have prepared are no good. I place these issues squarely now before our people. Now that these issues are joined and the referendum campaign has started to roll, I call upon every Filipino who loves his country, especially our veterans, to support the administration and vote “Yes” in the coming referendum.

Bago ko makalimutan, there has always been some kind of a feeling that we have not done right for our disabled. They are still receiving up to now P100 a month. I hereby order that this amount be doubled immediately. At the very least, starting next year, if there are no appropriations now. And I congratulate those who have been working for these patients. We will start working on the problems of the widows as we move along. This is a promise to you. I will attend to this personally.

At the same time, we will now review the operations of all disabled veterans.

Mabuhay! Kaya nasabi kong masigla pa ang beterano kahit matanda na. I am very happy to see your enthusiasm. Anuman ang sabihin ng sinuman ay huwag nating pabayaang ang ating pinanindigan noong digmaan. Ang gusto ng MNLF ay ihiwalay sa Pilipinas ang iba nating pulo — like Mindanao, Palawan, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi. They want to create a new state with Sabah. Anong kalokohan ito? Aba, papayag ka ba namang agawin na lamang ang mga ito? That is their purpose. And anyone who places any obstacle on our Armed Forces by all these unfounded criticisms of the policies of our government, which lead to the protection of the territorial of the Philippines, I question the motive.

I doubt the sincerity of any man who does this for his own personal satisfaction or aggrandizement. *Nagyayabang ka ngunit ang sariling kapakanan mo lamang ang iyong iniisip. Maaari ba naman iyan?*

My friends, I am glad that I was able to come here. I congratulate General Espino and the other officials for the management of the Veterans Federation of the Philippines. *Noong araw, si Simeon Medalla ay magpapatuloy pa sanang president. Nguni't talagang kaibigan natin siya. Siya na rin ang nagsabing humanap tayo ng iba, nang mawala ang gulo sa Veterans Federation of the Philippines.* I ask you to congratulate him for his self-sacrifice. And the other officers who are just as qualified — sina Marking, Frisco, Simeon, Alex. *Narito ang manong natin.* All of them are qualified. *Nguni't nagkakagulo. Naaalaala ba ninyo noong panahon ng guerrilla? Hindi natin mapagbuklod-buklod ang mga guerrilla sapagka't lahat sila ay matatampang. Gayundin noong araw ang Veterans Federation of the Philippines. Ngayon ay nagkaisa na sa ilalim ng pamamatuagot ng ating Chief of Staff na walang iba kundi si General Espino. Kaya binabati ko siya.* I congratulate all of you. And I assure you that so long as I am President, or in whatever capacity I am, I will always hold dear and treasure my memories as a veteran, and will help each and everyone of you in your individual problems as much as I can.

So, once again, I say that your comrade and friend will always be there to help and protect your rear and, if necessary, fight your battle.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 4th anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, December 21, 1977

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 4th anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Philippines

[Delivered on December 21, 1977]

A Renewal of Faith and Loyalty

SA ARAW NA ito, ako ay lumahok sa ating seremonya upang batiin ang buong Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas sa kanilang ika-42 na kaarawan.

Ang araw na ito ay hindi lamang kaarawan ng ating Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas, kundi ito ay araw din ng muling panunumpa ng bawa't isa sa atin sa ating Republika, sa ating Saligang Batas, at sa ating mga mamamayan. Tayo ay muling manunumpa na ang lahat ng gawain ng Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas ay batay sa ating Saligang Batas at ukol sa kapakanan ng lahat ng mamamayang Pilipino. Sa ganitong paraan ay masasabing ang Sandatahang Lakas na iyan ay lakas ng mamamayang Pilipino.

Today, we come to celebrate Armed Forces Day in the Philippines. This is the 42nd anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. We come not merely to celebrate but to pledge anew our faith and loyalty to the Constitution, to the Republic, and to the people of that Republic. For the Armed Forces of the Philippines are the armed forces of the people of the Republic of the Philippines.

Nothing could make this day more festive and meaningful than the fact that we observe this in the wake of the successful national referendum held throughout the country.

In one single exercise of the people's right of suffrage, which is the most important we have held since the proclamation of the national emergency five years ago, the nation has shown that it can conduct an orderly and free determination of the popular will and that it will not be deterred in the pursuit of stability, of normalcy, of progress.

The peaceful and orderly holding of the referendum is a joint triumph of the people and of the forces of law—of the people because they fully seized the opportunity to exercise their political rights, and of our peace-keeping forces because of their vigilance in ensuring the integrity of the vote in spite of and against efforts by some to disrupt it.

To you, therefore, I express my thanks today for the role which the Armed Forces played in the conduct of this national political exercise—the referendum.

Yet the meaning and significance of the vote transcends the question of how it was conducted. For its deeper, far-reaching implications are many.

Though the results of the polls are not yet completely tabulated, the verdict of the national electorate is already overwhelmingly clear. Our people have given the crisis government a new mandate to lead and govern. In our cities and countryside, they have voted for the continued pursuit of reforms under the programs of our new society.

Of equal importance, we may note the new maturity with which our people debated the issues and exercised their rights.

And we know where this mandate will direct the cares and affairs of the nation henceforth.

For in endorsing the programs of the New Society and the leadership of our crisis government, our people have in fact decided not that martial law must be prolonged indefinitely, but that our pursuit of normalcy must unfailingly continue but within the framework of the reforms we have begun and must conclude.

We have not set back the full realization of our democratic order; we have rather established a solid framework upon which to build it.

And so I say, we have reason to be optimistic and confident that we can now move resolutely towards the next step of our program of normalization.

That step is the crucial election of the members of the interim Batasang Pambansa and of the officials of the local governments throughout the country.

Verily, the popular mandate is also a challenge to us to determine how the matter might be submitted to the people and to set up the mechanism for the conduct of such a crucial vote.

As the issue stands today, there is a fair division of opinion as to how or when these elections should be held. There are some who have proposed that the elections for both the Batasang Pambansa and the local governments be held in June or earlier, while there are others who propose the holding of the elections in the latter part of 1978. There are those who have proposed separate elections for the Batasang Pambansa and the local governments, while there are others who are of the opinion that the elections should be simultaneous for we cannot hold two elections in one year.

To resolve this, the Batasang Bayan will meet before the end of January, this coming year.

In line with the coming session of the Batasang Bayan or the Legislative Advisory Council, the chairman of the Committee on the Revision of Laws has been instructed to prepare his report on the results of the hearings on the matter conducted throughout the country. On the basis of the findings and recommendations, we are confident that the Batasang Bayan will decide upon the course of action that will be the most prudent for the nation to follow.

But there should be no question now that we shall hold national elections in 1978. In the meantime no clear decision has yet been reached and no precise guidelines have been formulated for such an election. It is important, therefore, that we do not allow the forthcoming elections to get ahead of us. I specifically warn against all premature campaigning by prospective candidates and other forms of electioneering. I understand that even during the voting in the last referendum, some of the prospective candidates were already handing out name cards and that they had their posters plastered at the voting places. I warn that this is one of the offenses punishable under the Revised Election Code for which the prospective candidates may be disqualified *motu proprio*, or on their own initiative by the Commission on Elections. I also warn that pictures have been taken of these activities and that such premature campaigning may be constitutionally illegal.

Likewise, campaign spending will be governed by election regulations, and we will either eliminate or limit such spending. Overspending which did such havoc on the electoral process in the past will be severely punished. Nominations will be governed by the election code, and no one can nominate himself now and proceed to campaign by way of circumventing the regulations.

The point is that we must take the greatest care in conducting the coming elections of members to the national legislature and the local governments. We must take care that we do not fall prey once again to the electoral practices of the old society, and that the organs for community power, the political reforms we have been at such pains to sow, will not be summarily erased by lapses into the excesses of the past.

If I interest the mandate of our people correctly, and if we appreciate fully the needs of the nation today, the normalization of our political life must come as an organic development of the wave of reforms of our society. It must never come at the expense of what has taken us five years to achieve.

This leads us to the important question of the lifting of martial law. In the discussions preceding the recent referendum, I told the nation that I would lift martial law in certain parts of the country that are not facing problems of insurgency and peacekeeping, should our people return a negative vote. Conversely, I said that I would view an affirmative vote as a verdict in favor of the gradual phase-out of martial rule, as conditions allow and require.

The affirmative mandate of the referendum irrevocably commits us to this gradual course, and it is in this context that we must now discuss the process of normalization, including the lifting of martial law.

Clearly, it will not be possible, from my point of view, to lift martial law unless there is first of all a legislative body in existence. And it is in this light that the creation of the Batasang Pambansa has become a priority agenda before the nation.

It is of course contended that Amendment No. 6 to the Constitution in the plebiscite of October 1976, as approved, suffices to ensure presidential competence to deal with any crisis situation, and therefore to allow for the early lifting of martial law. Let us look at that specific amendment.

Amendment No. 6 reads:

“Whenever in the judgment of the President or the Prime Minister, there exists a grave emergency, or a threat or imminence thereof, or whenever the interim Batasang Pambansa or the regular National Assembly fails or is unable to act adequately on any matter, for any reason that in his judgment requires immediate action, he may in order to meet the exigency, issue the necessary decrees, orders, or letters of instructions which shall form part of the laws of the land.”

From my point of view, the most that can be said of this amendment is that the power of the President to issue decrees and laws, when there is no legislature, arises out of martial law power. And that the moment martial law is lifted, the power of the President to promulgate decrees, letters of instructions, and orders with the effect of law is in doubt.

The amendment authorizes the President to issue the necessary decrees, letters of instructions, and orders “when there exists a grave emergency, or a threat or imminence thereof, or whenever the interim Batasang Pambansa or the regular National Assembly fails, or is unable to act adequately on any matter, for any reason that in his judgment requires immediate action.”

There are some who say that there is no doubt about this power of the President. Considering the situation, I say that power should not be resolved in favor of its existence. And that it is necessary that we prudently elect a Batasang Pambansa before martial law is lifted.

Moreover, we have to bear clearly in mind the implications of the lifting of martial law in regard to the continuing conflict in the South. The seriousness of the situation in Southwestern Mindanao and Sulu, which gravely impinges upon the integrity of the Republic, makes any action to prematurely lift martial law not only imprudent but foolhardy. It is doubtful whether an early excursion into full political normalization will be spared the challenge of immediate and pervasive crisis and anxiety.

Government today, with the full backing of our Armed Forces, is taking the necessary steps to stabilize the situation in Mindanao and Sulu. It has taken steps in addition to those which are already known to the public, but for reasons of their confidentiality or delicacy these steps cannot yet be divulged. But we are convinced that these measures will be productive of tranquility in the area, and we have reason to hope that peace may be fully restored to the area by next year.

It adds momentum to this peace initiative that the recent national referendum has handed a new mandate to the crisis government. For as I took care to explain to the people in the days preceding the vote, the times require the most

resolute leadership in government, leadership that may not have the time to consult with the people before decisive action is taken.

In essence, therefore, we may also see in the new mandate the ratification of the government. It is a commendation of the vigilance and care with which our Armed Forces have ensured the stability and security of the Republic. And it is a mandate for the nation to hold fast to those policies of vigilance, of prudence, and of care.

Though in many ways, the national security situation has considerably improved during the last five years, and our policies have had considerable success in meeting the many threats to national security, there are new developments that require reassessment of the overall national security situation. In the South, the secessionist rebellion has rapidly turned into a wave of terrorism. And there are evidences, uncovered by military intelligence, of efforts by the NPA and the Mindanao terrorists to tie up and form a common front.

We have substantially decreased this threat and this possibility, but new evidence indicates that we are not yet ready today to say that aid and help coming from outside the country for the subversives and the rebels has stopped.

I am not ready to say, I repeat, that such help has stopped.

For this reason, we have to lay great emphasis on our machinery for home defense and peace-keeping on a self-reliance basis. And one of its major requirements will be the strengthening of local communities to resist insurgency and terrorism.

Action in this regard are encouraging, and they are in our view adequate to the situation today. For I have announced publicly the organization of the Kawal Barangay, which is already playing a critical role in checking the link-up efforts of the insurgent-terrorist forces, and in strengthening local communities.

On the part of the Armed Forces itself, there has been substantial development of defense and peacekeeping capabilities, such that our long-term program of self-reliance need not be an inaccessible dream.

Today, I would like to announce that starting January 1978, we begin a new five-year development program for the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and this is mainly designed to accelerate the attainment of national self-reliance on matters of peace and security.

The main thrust of this development program is twofold: first, the unrelenting pursuit of counter-insurgency efforts alongside the process of political normalization; and second, the consideration of the continuing internal threat and uncertainties in the context of international situation, especially those affecting Southeast Asia.

It is, therefore, our mid-range and long-range objective to develop the Armed Forces so as to make it truly effective in its task of national defense, an unfailing force to meet internal threats and a credible deterrent to external aggression. And to attain this objective, we must develop our Armed Forces on the basis of the resources available to us to acquire, maintain and operate a modernized military organization.

The plans have been drawn up and the details are now being worked out. This includes our capabilities not only on land but also in the air and in the sea, at least to make any aggression upon our shores so unprofitable that a prospective aggressor will think twice before launching an attack.

In the light of this development plan, the negotiations with the United States of our three military agreements are considered critical. And I am pleased to report to you that the continuing negotiations are moving along very well. As has been very well and aptly said, a new page has been turned in the relations between the Philippines and the United States. And this is reflected in the new atmosphere of the negotiations now being conducted.

There is some objection from certain quarters about the position of the present administration with respect to the continuance of military bases in our country. I take this opportunity to restate the reasons for that position.

The military bases in the Philippines, used by either the Armed Forces of the Philippines or the United States, form part of a vital peacekeeping apparatus in the region of Southeast Asia and throughout the world. We do not allow their continued existence for reasons other than the needs for security and peace and more especially for the region and the world. We are a sovereign and independent country, and we believe that the continued maintenance of the bases is our signal contribution to the peacekeeping effort. It is the price which every nation must be prepared to pay, but if we must pay it, it must be on the basis of self-respect and sovereignty which are basic in the negotiations now being held.

As we look at the situation in Asia and in the world, we see the United Nations and other global peace-keeping agencies as yet incapable of maintaining international order, least of all in our part of the world which so recently was the scene of conflict. In view of this, the equilibrium of power is critical to the peace and security of the region. In line with such balance of power, the American presence in Southeast Asia must retain sufficient sway to check any possible dominance by any single power in Southeast Asia or, for that matter, in Asia.

This national perception of regional realities is the same policy, I repeat, as that adopted and maintained by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations—that no single power should dominate and that the balance of forces be maintained in equilibrium.

Our decision, therefore, to maintain the bases under our sovereignty must be interpreted in this light, and not as a threat to other countries. We will co-operate with all the powers without losing our friends. We wish to be friendly with all nations and powers. And on matters of security as well as the promotion of the progress of all peoples, we join all countries and all states.

I feel all the more strongly after the referendum that our decision to normalize our relations with the Socialist countries of the world and to strengthen our ties with the United States on a new basis of national respect and mutual benefit is overwhelmingly endorsed by our people, just as much as they have endorsed our program for domestic normalization.

Our Armed Forces today may indeed regard themselves as a fitting reflection of the strivings of our people today, and you need never doubt that you wage a lonely campaign for the peace and security of our country.

I know there has been some criticism of our military from certain quarters abroad. There are those among our friends, not only in the United States but everywhere abroad, who plead for a free and just hearing for certain individuals. But we also submit that our country and our government deserve a fair and just hearing before we are summarily singled out for criticism.

But if the record is fully looked into, there can be no source for shame in what our crisis government has done or accomplished, nothing to detract from the nobility of the devoted service of our Armed Forces to the people and to their Republic. At the same time, we also believe in the sense of justice and fairness of the American people, as well as their media and their decision-makers.

The facts will survive the distortions and misrepresentations of events and developments in our country as purveyed by what at present may be a deficient means of communication.

And though such distortions may sometimes appear too gross to tolerate, it is still best that we keep our peace and retain our patience. The record stands, and in time the truth and the sense of justice of the international community will vindicate us.

These are the plans for the Armed Forces of the Philippines. And as I thank the people, including the members of the civil government for the conduct of the last referendum, I also say that we must accept this mandate with humility. For the task of reforms for the New Society has just begun. We have barely scratched the surface of the mountain of problems we are confronted with. We face new threats and new dangers as the world slowly slips into what may be a new crisis. The programs have become more urgent.

It is necessary that as we go into the specifics and details of reforms, we do not forget that our principal goal is to establish new economic, social and political institutions that will meet the requirements of our people, that will fit into their character and be molded into their tradition.

While we may be waylaid by day-to-day problems, we must not forget this long-term objective.

And so, today, I announce that it is my intention, in accordance with the mandate of our people, to once again engage in a clean-up of our government. This is a periodic exercise and no one need be surprised about it. There will be those who might say that this clean-up may be aimed at those who had voted “no” in the referendum.

Let it be clear, now and for always, that there will be fairness; there will be justice.

I hereby order immediately the organization of the Tanod Bayan and the Sandigang Bayan. A Tanod Bayan or the ombudsman shall have the power to look into every anomaly, either on his own initiative or on the complaint of anyone. The Sandigang Bayan is a court that will try all cases of dishonesty and corruption in officialdom.

It is necessary, therefore, that we start this work.

I also order the review of all contracts entered into by the government, whether pending or already entered into by the government to determine the existence of any anomaly. And any contract found deficient with respect to the standards of morality that we have set for the New Society will be cancelled. I exercise these powers under the provision of the Constitution, which allows the President to review existing contracts and rights that have been granted over the exploitation of our country’s natural resources.

Today, I stand once again before you, the Armed Forces personnel, both in uniform and in civilian clothes, to salute you for and in behalf of our people. For you have indeed become the Armed Forces of the people—a true people’s army for the Republic of the Philippines.

Once again, I acknowledge that without you, the New Society will not succeed. The Armed Forces of the Philippines, through their officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees, have set up a higher standard of conduct of loyalty to our Republic. They have set an example which must be followed by the entire citizenry.

Let the Armed Forces of the Philippines continue with this noble example for the entire nation.

Today, I, as your Commander-in-Chief, stand before you and salute you. Carry on!

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the opening of the 18th Session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council, March 8, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening of the 18th Session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council

[Delivered on March 8, 1978]

Regional Cooperation for Fisheries Development

IN BEHALF OF the people and government of the Philippines, I would like to extend to all of you our warm felicitations and welcome, and our most profound appreciation for the honor you have bestowed upon us in meeting here in Manila for this 18th Session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council.

It is of special meaning and significance to us that on the eve of its 30th founding anniversary, the Council should meet here in our country where the "Agreement for the Establishment of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council" was first drawn up under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

When we reflect upon the years that have passed since that historic meeting in Baguio City in January 1948, and the many achievements that have marked the operations of this Council since its inception, there is much that makes our countries justifiably proud, and there is much that should sustain our belief and our commitment to the programs and the work of the Council.

Initially conceived as a regional undertaking to assist member countries in the development and rational utilization of living aquatic resources in the Indo-Pacific area, the Council has served over the years as a major catalyst of development in our part of the world, linking together our countries in a program of exchange and cooperation that has vastly mobilized and expanded our capacities for food production. With every passing year, this sphere of our concerns has vastly gained in importance and meaning, and today, as we move to meet the gathering global challenge of food crisis, the Council may be fittingly considered as perhaps our most effective vehicle today for ensuring that our region will be equal to the challenge and the crisis of our time.

We began as eight countries in 1948. Today we are sixteen. And those who have since joined us in this Council are among our most committed partners today. And we have been able to expand the scale and scope of our programs to an extent unprecedented and unimagined at the start of this undertaking.

These facts are of great moment to this meeting of the Council, because we know that while some major gains have been made over the past 30 years, we stand today before many critical challenges that shrouds the work of the Council and the future development of our region.

In practically every conference that brings our countries together these days, our attention is irrevocably called to the persistent theme of crisis and challenge in our region today.

There is no one word to describe this state of crisis and challenge, but we know it to be perhaps the most urgent that we have had to face in common.

It calls our attention first to the fact that here in our region, which is the most populous in the world, food supplies have reached a critical point, where the average increases in food production is daily outstripped by the rise in population.

Here in the Indo-Pacific region, we see written in gigantic dimensions the food crisis that haunts the human family today. Today, there are more than 2 billion people living in the region. At the end of the decade, it will be close to 3 billion.

The impact of this explosion in numbers upon resources is so profound that the Director General of the FAO was to observe at the 13th FAO Regional Conference held here in Manila in August 1976, “so precarious is the food supply from season to season, that millions of people are struggling just to ensure survival.”

This underlines the other aspect of the current crisis which is the abject poverty and undernourishment of so great a part of the population of the region. Of the more than 2 billion people in our region, about 80 percent live in the rural areas. Of these, 400 million are estimated to earn less than \$50 per year, a condition of “absolute poverty” that goes to the heart of the challenge.

In a recent joint study undertaken by the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization, it was shown that one out of four people in our region suffer from “serious malnutrition.” In simple terms, too many are simply not receiving the necessary food requirements they need. Too many are hungry and underfed.

The paradox of the crisis that confronts us is that at a time when the human capacity to produce food has been vastly improved by advances in science and technology, and in an area where there are great human and natural resources to tap and utilize, we have not done enough to arrest the persistent drift of our region into crisis.

Much of our vast manpower resources — up to 20 percent — is unutilized; at least 50 percent is estimated to be underutilized.

Accentuating this is the relative infancy of our capacities to tap the seas and the oceans of the planet as a potential source for food. It is a great paradox that man today knows more about the moon and space than of earth’s oceans and seas.

It is easy to say that the key to the problem is “development” — the great production of food and its more equitable distribution among our billions. The crux of the challenge, however, is how we are going to achieve this objective, and on a scale and pace equal to the crisis — given the conditions under which we live and the resources at our command.

For there is no question that separately and together each of the member countries of the Council has been trying over the past so many years to answer the call of development. There is no question that each of our countries recognizes now the priority that this problem must receive in our concerns and in our efforts, and that each of us is striving earnestly to implement availing strategies and programs to turn the situation around.

Indeed, as has been well demonstrated in the performance of the developing economies in Asia, there has been substantial improvement over the past few years in the region in the specific area of food production.

What is evident now is that there is a critical need at this time for sustained support of these promising starts in food production within the region, and that from hereon our efforts should expand into the exploration of new areas of endeavor, into intensive research and planning, and into greater regional collaborative efforts that conceivably can extend and broaden the process of development.

We ought to recognize now that what has been begun in our respective countries as an effort to meet the challenge is a process on which a broader and greater effort can be built. For only by these means can we ensure that the gains we have made are not summarily eaten up, but rather lead us on towards greater gains.

I think that in some ways what we have learned in this regard here in the Philippines, and what we have acquired through intensive cooperation with other countries and with international assistance agencies, is very much instructive of the strategies available to us.

Let me then focus briefly on some of the highlights of my country's efforts in food production, and in the specific area of fisheries development.

As a developing country, we perceive the fundamental challenge to inhere in the need to boost agriculture and to enhance the incomes of our rural sector. Both objectives cannot be achieved in separation, they are joined. And so we set as critical priorities of our national development program the sustained stimulation of agriculture at the rural base, by such measures as will both enhance rural incomes and increase production.

We turned our attention first to the problem of insufficient rice supplies, which had chronically plagued us for years.

With our strong determination to achieve self-sufficiency in rice, we were able to harness our government machinery, including our financing institutions, and our farmers in a joint effort to increase our rice production so that now, for the first time, we are self-sufficient in rice and are even able to export some surplus quantity to our needy neighbor countries.

Rice production was only one part of a much broader program, however. After our success in achieving rice self-sufficiency, we have turned our attention to achieving self-sufficiency also in fish; for although we exported 28,000 metric tons of fish and fishery products in 1976, we still had to import over 64,000 metric tons in the same year to fill our national requirements.

Our basic aim is to utilize now an increasing part of our resources to farm the seas and our inland bodies of water, for we believe that with a relatively productive area of 1,655,300 square kilometers of marine resources alone, we should be able to bring about self-sufficiency in fish.

Our people have since described this program as "the Blue Revolution," and there is some point to it. As perhaps most of you know, the Green Revolution in rice saw headway in our country and we hope that we might also success fully push through this other revolutionary effort.

In line with this effort the extension workers of the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources covered 7,000 of our so-called "survival" fishermen in 1977 alone; moreover, a total of 4,000 survival fishermen were trained in 1977 under the Municipal Fisheries Programme.

In the Fishermen's Training Centre in Cavite, the establishment of which was assisted by FAO, 102 skippers, master fishermen and boat engineers were graduated in the fifth session conducted in 1977.

To meet technology needs, our government is continuing fishery resource assessment of the waters of many of our seas and bays in collaboration with the UNDP/FAO South China Sea Fisheries Programme which is a sub-regional project of IPFC.

In order to help our thousands of survival fishermen find alternative sources of employment and job opportunities, 30 sea farming projects which serve as demonstration centers were established and are operated by the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources in strategic coastal areas of the country. Oysters, mussels, seaweeds, crabs, shrimps and lobsters are produced in these farms. And behind this effort is the recognition of the vital role of fisheries in our economy. Consequently we have transformed the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources into a prime mover of fisheries development in our country. The budget of the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources has, in fact, "quadrupled" during the last five years.

The result of this intensive push of fisheries development has been not only to increase substantially national fish production during the past four years, but to lay the basis for a long-term and broadly-based fisheries development program in our country.

This is a change that parallels in many ways the policy changes and program developments that have also been taking place in your respective countries. And it is no doubt this kind of adjustment in our sights that mainly accounts for the significant improvement of fisheries production in our region in recent years.

It is surely not insignificant that today fish production in the region has quadrupled from 7 million tons in 1950 to 28.4 million tons as of 1972, whereas total world fish production has only trebled during the same period. Were the production statistics in recent years available, it will not doubt show an even greater increase in regional productivity.

Significantly too, as was noted in Bangkok in 1975, the improvement of fisheries development in the region during these years has benefited much from the cooperative linkages that have been developed by the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council. The programs it has developed, the exchanges it has promoted, the pioneering work it has engaged in — all these have been important inputs into the total effort to farm our oceans and our seas.

It is my view, however, that these steps are only the beginning of a much larger effort we must wage on a vastly broader front. Our responses to the challenge of extracting the bounties of the seas and developing fishery resources are limited compared to what we must still undertake, individually and together.

We have to build on what we know and what we have now, and this must surely mean the expansion of our capacities.

What the Council has eminently promoted over the years — the Cooperative Programme on Research on Aquaculture; the Cooperative Programme on Fish Product Development, Processing and Marketing; the Cooperative Information Exchange Programme; and the South China Sea Fisheries Development and Coordinating Programme — should rally us now into intensive efforts at accelerating programs and developing support schemes.

We should also concern ourselves more with technical cooperation designed to develop appropriate technology to our circumstances as developing nations. For the dangers of an approach based simply on Western technology are only too well known, and it will certainly not suffice to get us what we want.

And I think too that as we push toward more intensive exploration and development of fishery resources, we should bear in mind the need to protect the environment. The experiences of fishing villages laid to waste by pollution are many. The exhaustion of marine resources because of inadequate conservation measures are only too familiar.

Finally, let us take note that we have yet to really make a concerted effort towards bringing down the challenge of fisheries development to the level of people in our rural areas, on a scale equal to what we have done in the farming of the land.

In all this, I see the growing importance of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council as a forum to link our efforts together, to make each of our countries and the region beneficiaries of the aid of established international agencies, and beneficiaries of our individual successes and experiences.

We in the Philippines have expressed our support to this Council in various ways over the years, and we are glad to acknowledge that we have benefited much from its work.

It is an index of our commitment to the goals of the Council that our country should serve today as the home for the UNDP/FAO South China Sea Fisheries Development and Coordinating Programme, the Aquaculture Department of the Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Center, the International Center for Living Aquatic Resources Management, and the soon to be established Asian Institute of Aquaculture.

On this occasion of the 18th session of the Council, I take the opportunity to reaffirm my country's abiding commitment to the work of the Council.

And it is in this spirit, taking due note of the words of the Council Chair man, that our government would like now to inform this body of its willingness to serve as host country of the Council Secretariat.

May you have a fruitful and pleasant meeting in Manila.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos at the convention of the National Federation of Sugar Cane Planters, March 15, 1978

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the convention of the National Federation of Sugar Cane Planters

[Delivered on March 15, 1978]

The Crisis in the Sugar Industry

FIRST OF ALL, allow me to congratulate our outstanding sugar cane variety breeder, Mr. Felipe Aahla.

You may be surprised why there is only one recipient of a plaque here and that's him. Because he symbolizes the individual's efforts at trying to work out the problems of the sugar industry of which there are many. He is a graduate of the University of the Philippines, College of Agriculture of 1934. And he has been patiently working for more than 10 years to produce this variety. Perhaps, all of you know about this variety which they are apparently trying to get me to approve to be called "Marcos Variety," with the idea, I guess, that this will increase my support for the sugar industry.

Well, I want you to know that it will not increase my support for the sugar industry because the support for the sugar industry coming from the President and the administration is already a hundred percent.

However, I am happy to be able to officially announce this variety as having been tested on a large scale. And the results have been very gratifying. Mr. Aahla should be congratulated for this effort because the old variety, as compared to this new variety is indeed quite inadequate to meet our requirements.

Let me present to you some of the specifications about these varieties. You remember that if we were to compare it to the Philippine varieties of 562 to 566 which I presume, we are all planting, besides other varieties. Of course, the maturity period is 12 months; the produce in tons of cane per hectare is 149 tons for the new variety, 6607 as compared to 80 to 99 tons of variety 56226 and 100 tons of variety 58260. As the average piculs of sugar per ton of cane — the new variety 6607 gives 249 piculs as compared to 136 up to 168 piculs of the Philippine variety, 56226.

You can see for yourself the impact of this new variety on the sugar industry. That is, if you can increase the piculs of sugar per hectare from 136 to 249, then this man may be contributing more than anybody else among us to the solution of the crisis of the sugar industry.

We have listened to Ambassador Benedicto and also to Congressman Gustilo. Of course, Congressman Gustilo, as usual, calls attention to the crop loans. That's his favorite subject. He comes to see me almost every day and since then I had to move out of this Palace because the roof is about to fall on my head, which they are now trying to repair and rehabilitate. He has been here not less than a dozen times, I think, trying to follow upon this matter of a loan. And I am very happy to come to Negros or any other place to tell our planters to replant sugar, to participate in this effort. But we are in the middle of a state visit. The Vice-premier of the People's Republic of China is here, and as you know, we have this awkward problems pertaining to both a leftist rebellion, the NPA., and the Spratley island problem which we hope we can manage so that it will not explode into an international incident.

You know that we also invited Vice-Premier Nguyen Nuy Kien of Vietnam sometime ago precisely, again, because of the Freedom Island or Kalayaan or the Spratley depending on how you look at it. Vietnam has occupied some of the islands after we had occupied seven of them. And there's the foreign press trying to involve us in a very embarrassing situation with China with the news that we occupied on March 4th a new island, which is completely false. It involves the island of Patag, which is small island, without water where every now and then we have to rotate the people who are staying there to resupply them. And naturally, on March 4th, there was a change of the

guard as it were and there was a resupply. And the Western press considered this a new occupancy which is not true, because we have been occupying this island since 1971. And even earlier than that, as far back as when Admiral Cloma entered the international scene.

But whatever it is, this is a matter which could blow up in our faces. And so we talked to Vice-premier Nguyen Nuy Kien of Vietnam and we agreed in writing that any conflict or disagreement or any misunderstanding would be settled diplomatically in a spirit of a spirit of friendship and cooperation. And now we have been able to reiterate this agreement that I had with Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping in 1975 that any conflicts that we may have in an of the islands in South China Sea will also be settled through normal diplomatic channels, which means by negotiation and in on atmosphere of friendship and cooperation.

I am indeed very glad that you agreed to come to Manila because thereby, I save on travel time. I would like to say that the industry is in need of support from everyone. The ambassador, the chairman of the commission did not explain to you exactly to what extent the crisis of the industry has severely affected our government.

You know that in this political campaign in Manila, there have been speeches criticizing me for bringing down the liquidity of the Philippine National Bank because of the support of the sugar industry. (Notwithstanding the fact that the prices went down to seven cents, I insist on maintaining the purchasing price at P90 per picul even at a loss to the government.) My answer to them is: The sugar industry has been supporting the economy of the country in good times as in bad times; it's about time the government and the people of the Philippines supported the sugar industry.

I have had to answer the criticisms: that even today, the Philippine National Bank is still indebted to the tune of more than one billion pesos because of the sugar operations. And we must admit that the market price rise from 56 cents in 1974 to 70 cents is something about nobody asked for or which nobody expect ed. We need something — the will power to bear up with the cynicism. Let all the critics of the sugar industry and the critics of the administration moan and wail and quash their teech and pull at their hair. But the thing is, the sugar industry cannot be abandoned, and for any one, for any right-thinking Filipino to say that the government should pull out of the sugar industry is, to say the least the most irresponsible statement ever made by any politician in the country.

Because that has been the theme of the opposition, that Marcos is supporting the sugar industry at the risk of the entire economy of the country. My answer is: No, it is a calculated risk. It is not at the risk of the entire economy of the country, that is, could be more serious, and the results could be more severe if the sugar industry were to collapse and if we were to abandon more than 60,000 laborers working on 300,000 hectares, plus some 240,000 more laborers engaged in marginal occupations. It would certainly be disastrous to the entire economy of the Philippines if the sugar industry is not helped during this period of crisis.

Yes, I have had to admit that we are losing one cent per pound on every pound of sugar that we are exporting. Because that is the fact, that is the truth. We are selling our sugar at eight cents, and we buy it from you at nine cents. But the truth of the matter is, if we lower the cost of procurement from you today, there would be worse suffering on the part of the sugar planters.

I have therefore, come here today to assure you once again that no matter what the temptation, no matter what the criticisms, no matter what the attacks against my administration, it is my intention to maintain the support of the sugar industry and to continue buying at 90 pesos per picul from you for the purposes of the export and domestic sugar.

But that is not all; it is my intention to see to it that the prices should improve, and I have reason to believe that the prices should improve. The trouble of course is that when the United States imposed this tariff duty on sugar last December, everybody tried to send their sugar into the American market before the tariff was collected. And what happened was an oversupply of sugar in the American market, which is a premium market. Before the IGA limits, our quota was 1,400,000 minus 15 percent which brings it down to 1,190,000 tons. And our consumption quota in the domestic market was increased from the original 180,000 tons in 1972-1973, to 1,200,000 or 1,100,000.

Whatever it is, it is now quite obvious my friends that all of us should get together and help out in the industry. The problem with some of our people is that when you meet a little obstacle, everybody starts crying out. That should not be the attitude of the new Filipino. That is not the attitude of the new economist, the new planner, the new worker for the New Society. I can only say to those who are spreading the gospel of pessimism that the sugar industry is going to recover, and we will be able to re-stabilize the sugar industry, I hope within the year. But the government and the people of the Philippines must continue to support the industry.

Now, it is easy for anyone to say, "We will support the industry." But how do we intend to support this industry? The technicians know all about your problem. And I am surprised at this statement that not all the sugar crop loans have been issued.

Whatever it is, whoever is responsible, I would like to see to it that now and in the next crop loan, we do not delay any further. I understand that the crop loans supposed to be released sometime in September, but that you released some of the crop loans in December or was it March? Well, I can tell you this, though, the Philippine National Bank had a little problem of liquidity because of the losses in sugar. And perhaps that had something to do with it.

But, whatever it is, it is my hope that the sugar bank become operational — I have ordered precisely that we follow the example of the coconut people. The coconut people have now established a strong bank. A bank with assets and with very much more cash than most other bank. I understand it is now the second biggest bank in the country. I do not see why, if this can be done in the coconut industry we should not be able to do it in the sugar industry.

So now, I hereby order that this bank be immediately rehabilitated, and whatever amounts are necessary to make this bank operational within the year should be advanced by the Budget Commissioner and the government of the Republic of the Philippines.

You are going to raise the money for this bank. But this will probably need some time. You are now borrowing about 600 million every year. And I have just issued an order that all the necessary schemes be utilized to be able to obtain the funding, if not from the Philippine government then from abroad.

I did not want to announce this today but it seems as if you are all so engrossed in financing. Last Monday I authorized the PHILSUCOM and the other banks to obtain the funds that will be necessary for the lending operations. I now direct that these funds be immediately obtained by the new bank, the sugar bank or if it is not yet operational, the Philippine National Bank through the PHILSUCOM, and the PHILSUCOM should see to it that all the crop loans are given out in good time.

We are still lucky that the credit of the government is pretty good. Our republic has been extended a \$200 million accommodation for purposes of trading only. I hope that this will be sufficient to meet the requirements. But beyond this, it will be necessary for the Philippine National Bank as well as the Central Bank to come in. I am certain that this arrangement will work out and that your problems will be solved this year, at least with respect to funding. Now, that's one problem.

But the important thing still is pricing. The price of sugar dictates the strategy of all men who are engaged in sugar production and sugar trade. The price of sugar has tended to move downward even after the signing and implementation of the international sugar agreement. The question that have been raised are: Why have sugar prices declined? And the answer to this is, there is just too much sugar in the markets of the world. And in all probability this will be true up to the middle of this year. But by July the forecast is that the price of sugar will go up. I have it from our experts that this is the opinion not only of our experts in the Philippines but from all over the world. Right now, we see the efforts on the part of the big countries to purchase sugar at a low price. They are hurrying up. They are trying to bring us down to eight cents and to sell at eight cents, so that when the prices go up next July they will be able to save quite a lot of money. All I can say is, we need immediate solutions to this problem — short-term and long-term solutions.

From my point of view, the immediate solution to this problem is to attend to the requirements of our sugar planters. We have explained to you all the plans. There is an immediate need to increase the efficiency of sugar production —

from the sugar planters to the sugar mills. Many of the sugar planters will have to now start working on the new sugar varieties and increase their production, improve their efficiency. Most of our sugar mills I understand, are below par in their efficiency. The survey indicates that the sugar mills are contributing to the increase in the cost of production. The new mills, of course, will bring down the average cost. But they are not sufficient to overcome the inefficiency of many of the old mills. This is one of the medium-term problems which we have to settle immediately.

With respect to the immediate problems of the industry, the increase in production will come not only from the new variety but from the improvement of present technology. I do not need to go into all of this. We have the technology and the technicians of the Philippine Sugar Commission. And at the same time you are more aware of all these problems than anybody else. You know more or less that we have not tried intercropping seriously. Some of you have, but in general nobody has taken the problem of intercropping seriously.

It is now about time the sugar planters and sugar producers thought seriously of adding a second crop to sugar. Then, in addition to this, it will necessary to utilize what are now being used as waste products. In short, to increase your income from sugar and to add other sources of income. I gather there are studies going on for the utilization of waste products of the industry from which additional income can come.

I urge the sugar planters now to think not only in terms of support coming from the government which the government is already giving, but also in terms of improving the efficiency of the industry — the planters and the sugar mills. We are at present finalizing the implementation of the plans that have to do with this aspect of the problem.

As you know, the problem goes all the way to 1974. At midnight of July 3, 1974, the trade agreement between the Philippines and the United States terminated. Subsequently, the sugar legislation also terminated. This terminated America as a premium market for sugar. All our problems now go back to the problem of America encouraging us to plant sugar and then leaving us out and alone, apparently dictated by either domestic policy or confusion. But whether it is, we are challenged to diversify our markets, and we tried to do so. And in the first few years we succeeded.

But the termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement also raises the question of the production aspects. And again, we come to the more controversial question: What is the cost of production of one pound of sugar. I have been asking this since I became President in 1965. Up to now I have not received a clear and exact answer. The reason for this is, your cost of production can never be averaged. Many of you can produce at a very competitive price or cost; the other claim that they cannot. Now, these claims always raise the question of attitude and that of government policy.

It is not the policy of government to find fault with the producer. We will take your word for it, provided it is not overdone. But sometimes it is a little bit overdone. Now, I would suggest that the sugar planters and the sugar millers work out by areas and by regions the average cost of production of sugar because we can no longer continue on the basis of elastic figures and statistics. You know that the economists and the financiers will not work with uncertain figures. They always ask us: What is your average cost of production? And, of course, Ambassador Benedicto and Congressman Gustilo always have a disagreement. They cannot agree on the figure. And how then can I come to a figure if the planters and the sugar millers, and the sugar commission cannot agree? I now ask that you agree on a figure, perhaps not immediately because we should not compound your sufferings by making you go through this exercise, this fearful and difficult exercise of determining which is your average cost of production. You will probably say, why do we talk about the average cost of production? Because the government must know how much losses it will entail in the next two years. I have told our economic managers that we will entail losses in the sugar industry in pesos, but we must continue to earn the dollar. Now, this is the balancing of the whole thing. We will lose in pesos, but we will earn in dollars. The question has been posed to me pointedly: Is it worth it to lose P150 million pesos every year in order to earn those dollars? And I have always maintained that yes, we should probably do so because we anticipate that in the coming year we are not going to lose P150 million. But if we continue to lose P150 million every year, if the government continues to put up this subsidy, we must face it with candor and deliberation and say: This is the price that we will pay temporarily, but later on, we will recover.

I wanted you to know my difficulties, because I know that you are also in difficulty. I am going to try to hold my ground. While we are fighting a common enemy, I will hold my share of the line. I want you to hold yours. And we will work out a solution to all these problems. I am not the overly optimistic type as you know. I always prepare for a rainy day. I prepare for any contingency. Whenever there is a situation, like a good guerrillero I immediately look for a way out. That was what was taught us from the beginning. You will remember, when we were fighting the enemy, we knew they were superior and so the tactics were — hit them as hard as you can and prepare your route for withdrawal. Well, that's what we are going to do. We are going to prepare our outs and options. And as far as I can see, we will pull out of this crisis with everything intact. We will pull out with honor and we will win a few medals in the process.

That sounds like an exhortation that I usually make to my men just before a desperate battle. Now, don't get me wrong, this is not too desperate a battle. This is not a do-or-die business. No. It is just that we need some results. We need a little will-power. We need a little manhood. We need a little patriotism. We just need a little dedication. And we, of course, depend upon each and everyone of you to continue your faith and trust in the leadership of the government. Because I am afraid that if you change leadership, this industry will collapse in no time. That I can tell you. And I am almost sure about it, considering what their speeches sound like. But no matter what it is, now we have come to the point where each and every one of us must continue to share in the solution of the crisis. I know that you have shared the difficulties, the sacrifices, the embarrassments, the awkwardness. I know that you are asking and your families are asking how long this is going to last. And my answer is: I believe this is a crucial year—1978. This will be the turning point in the sugar industry.

I came here to tell you that this is my belief. And I think we are supported by data and statistics and so my advice to you is, hold on. We will hold on for this year. Things will turn around and the prices may improve and the crisis will be over and before we know it we will wake up from this bad nightmare and say, "what was that all about?" It is always so after every crisis, just like when they were kidnapping everybody around here. They tried to kidnap Secretary Carlos P. Romulo in 1972, and all the Cabinet members were asking for security. I don't think they will kidnap you, I told Secretary Romulo, because they know I won't pay a single centavo for you.

Now, that the whole thing is past and he is campaigning around here in Manila without security and delivering speeches, making fun of the fact that he cannot speak in classical Pilipino or Tagalog because he is a typical example of the product of the colonial period.

But we are a new country now. We are in a new society. We are moving into normalization. I gather some of the candidates were here. And the mayors are here and the governor of Negros is here. I don't see the governor of Iloilo. Whatever it is, Region VI has been committed. I note the pride with which they announced the fact that Region VI is committed to KBL. I am gratified. I am very happy about it.

I want you to know that you are committed to the right cause. I want you to know that this dream that we have of the new Philippines is not just my dream. It is your dream. It is the dream of every Filipino. It is the hope and the plan and scheme that every right-thinking man from the beginning of our history has been dreaming of. Everybody, every generation or every set of generations often have their own peculiar history for that period.

In writing the history of the Philippines in the book *Tadhana*, I broke up our history into hundred-year periods. Actually, when I started working on this book I realized that the history of our country can be divided into 50-year periods. Five generations — one generation is usually one decade, and each generation, I noted while working on this history, had its own dreams about the Philippines. And these dreams evolved. All these fascinating ideas about freedom, about democracy peaked when we had our revolution of 1896, and yet we established a dictatorship. You know that we were motivated by freedom and yet our republic was a dictatorship. Why? Because it was necessary that we tie up all the various tribes together, the various factions. It was not only a dictatorship that Aguinaldo put up; he had to eliminate rivalry. You will remember that on Mount Buntis, the two Bonifacio brothers were liquidated by Order of a court martial. It was a forcible unification of leadership.

On the other hand, under the New Society we are trying to unify our people by voluntary mandate of our people through referendums, plebiscites and now the elections. Because it will be necessary, in order to meet the problems

of our country, to be united. The idea of factionalism may be correct in big countries. The idea of various groups clashing and finally ending up with consensus speaks a maturity which discards the quarrels arising out of temporary political and partisan strife. What I am saying is: We Filipinos do not seem to have acquired the habit of banding together after an election. Even after an election, the schism, the division is there. You look at all the mayors who are here. Whenever I campaign, if the mayor is not with me, can always expect to find somebody who is against him. In every town, this is my experience and also the experience of every politician I have talked to. When I ran for senator in 1959, I would go to a town and if the mayor is not there with me, I ask about the opponent in the last election. And more or less you'll find the town divided into almost evenly two factions. Why? Because this is the weakness of the Filipino character, that after an election there is no forgiveness for the excesses and abuses, exaggerations committed in a political campaign. And it is again factional warfare that brought us down before the colonizers, whether Spanish, Japanese or American. For the Spanish, any faction could always be taken in to either spy or fight for the Spaniards. Who fought the Dutch when they attacked the Spanish navy off the Visayas? Filipinos. They were in the pay of the Spanish. But those same Filipinos also fought the rebellions that were fought by their own brother Filipinos, because we were divided. There is always some kind of factionalism throughout our entire history.

The Americans came, what happened? The same thing. Who captured Aguinaldo in Palanan, was it the Americans? No, Filipinos captured Aguinaldo.

And this is why you saw the same thing happen during the Japanese occupation. Who killed who? There are instances where there were more killings by Filipinos against Filipinos than Filipinos against the Japanese. You and I are aware of this. And now that same fatal weakness, sickness of our people, that same fault in our character is beginning to show. There is always a tendency to envy the leadership. There is the tendency to bring him down to the common man's level. If he is brilliant, they degrade him; if a leader, they turn him into a common part of the common mob. Factionalism, is if it is not me, then it should be nobody else. This is our principal weakness as a people. And unless we discard this fault our people will remain the workers, the hewers of wood, and the bringers of water for the united, for the strong. And it will always be like this no matter what we do, no matter what kind of a government we put up, whether it is a democratic government or any other form — unless we remember that we belong to one race.

Look at the secessionist movement — can you imagine anyone who is brown like me, who speaks almost the same tongue as I do, who can stand before his own tribe and people and claim he is of a separate race and, therefore, must put up a separate state? This, to me, again, demonstrates the weakness of our people. That he can kill a brother Filipino to assert this claim— this, to me, is the tragedy of the Filipino as an individual, and the tragedy of the Filipino as a race.

It shall be our purpose — yours and mine, whether you are a sugar planter or not — it shall be the duty of every Filipino to assume this obligation to cast away this devil of factionalism that has haunted us for many centuries and many years. And this is why we now seek to achieve this unification, not by force that was known to the revolutionaries of 1896 and the guerrilla fighters under the Japanese. You remember how it was with the guerrilla fighters — I know, because I was a part of that force — even when there was doubt about the guilt of collaboration on the part of a Filipino, often he was liquidated. And this thing should never have happened. But they happened and they haunt us. They will continue to haunt us to our dying day.

But the next generation of Filipinos, I hope, will be more broadminded, more tolerant, more patriotic, more intelligent, more competent, more forceful, more courageous. Our generation will lay the groundwork. Our generation, you and I, who knew the war, who knew its deprivation, its difficulties, who know these economic crises, who know the troubles, the hatreds, and the obstacles that confronted us — we are going to face all of them. And by our example, it is my hope, we will unite our people; irrespective of all these harassments, this small harassments that arise out of individual conflict, we will be able to weld our country into a single nation. That is what we are working for. That is what the Bagong Lipunan is all about. That is the meaning of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan.

When you say KBL, you mean many things. It is not just the fact that the KBL, the Bagong Lipunan will support us. It will support our country. It will support the dream of our nation. And it has started to build the nation which is

dignified, which is truly independent, which now has a plan for a destiny. That is our purpose. More than anything else, we have rationalized, we have dignified and ennobled the Filipino people.

Why do they listen to us now in the international council? When you, for instance, send a representative to the international sugar council, why do they listen to the Filipino representative? Because he represents a people that now have a front of unity. Because he represents the Filipino people that have suddenly liberated themselves and realized their capabilities, and who now seek to fully develop their God-given faculties. This is the meaning of the KBL. This is the meaning of the Bagong Lipunan.

Why do you see all these roads being built and why do we have so much funds available for infrastructure? Why do we talk about, say, geothermal? Because there is a plan, and that plan leads to our destiny. That plan must be implemented by each and every one.

And, therefore, to each and every one of you, I say, yes, let us support the Bagong Lipunan. Let us work for a new society. Let us work for our country more than anything else. Discard all these temporary harassments. We shall face crisis after crisis. If necessary, we will fight to the death, for our bodies are at the disposal of our motherland; but more than that, our honor. Our honor, more to be valued and treasured than even our lives and our possessions. This has been the pledge of those who treated this trail ahead of us. And this pledge, we also make before our people.

And so, to each and every one of you, I say thank you once again. And may you continue to help in working out the problems of the New Society. Rest assured that so long as I am President, so long as I lead this government, we will continue to help and support you in your legitimate desires, especially for the sugar industry.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Second Annual Conference of the Philippine Export Council, March 29, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Second Annual Conference of the Philippine Export Council

[Delivered on March 29, 1978]

The National Economic Situation

IT IS TIMELY and fitting that this second annual conference of the Philippine Export Council should be convened on the eve of national elections, rather than after, for this gives us an opportunity to allow the deliberations of this assembly to shed light and understanding on various issues in our national life today.

We have here in this conference a very broad representation of the private sector in our country, whose collective efforts have been eminently successful in generating national consensus in dealing with problems affecting the national economy. Here has been exemplified the effective partnership of government and the private sector in the resolution of major national issues, along the principle of participation and cooperation in the making of policies and the implementation of programs.

In the light of this experience, I am therefore confident that the judicious and prudent assessment of the Council concerning national affairs will contribute much to the burning questions that engage the nation now in this election campaign.

With your kind permission, I would like to direct my remarks today to the national economic situation, with a view to inviting your attention anew to problems that engage us in common, and with a view to clarifying some matters that have been needlessly embroiled in political controversy in the course of the campaign.

In much that has been said during the past four weeks concerning economic issues, one cannot but regret how willfully the issues have been distorted and misrepresented by certain groups under the guise of free debate and free speech.

In this first electoral test that the nation undergoes after five years of crisis government, we have already seen many of the old practices and tactics that in the past had mocked and disgraced electoral processes in our country. We have reason to regret the use of mudslinging and character assassination in this campaign, which has apparently singled out the First Family for special attack. But even more alarming than this to my mind are the efforts being employed now by the opposition to sow confusion and misunderstanding in the public mind, and to deny the public a coherent and objective view of the economic situation in the country.

These efforts would deny us what our collective efforts during the past five years have succeeded in injecting into the national economy; they would deny us our creditable economic performance during the period of pervasive crisis and challenge in our country and in the world, by singling out isolated features of economic life for comment and attack.

In this vein, they have tried to alarm our people about the level of our external debt and the price situation in the country by falsely suggesting that we have manifestly failed to control both, and that these are features that mar the record of economic performance during the last five years.

We have repeatedly stated that the fundamental issue in these elections is performance: the performance of crisis government during the last five years in terms of managing the various sectors of national life for the paramount goal of national development.

We have invited the most searching analysis of our policies and programs, of how well they have succeeded or where they may have failed in promoting the goals of our society, for we believe it vital that the national electorate in these elections must provide a mandate concerning national directions.

In the national economy, this is most essential and urgent, for we are engaged today in major endeavors, the outcome of which can only be fructifying if new determination and resolve is given to the directions and the plans we have set.

This is a matter that resides close to the heart of this assembly, but it is perhaps important that before we delve deeply into the special concerns of this body, we put to rest what the opposition has raised as issues regarding current developments in the national economy.

As a way to meet the issue of performance, the opposition would have our people believe that the level of external debt today has placed in hock future generations among our people. They would have our people believe that the economic achievements reached during the last five years are small compensation for the loans that we have incurred in achieving a measure of national development.

It is indeed unfortunate and ironic that one of the most effective policy decisions of our government, and one in which it has shown probity and judgment, should be subject to the most myopic interpretation.

We cannot isolate the matter of foreign borrowings from what they serve to engender in our economic life. For they form part of the development strategy that we have aggressively pursued.

The national economy has stood resilient amidst the battering of international recession, inflation, rising oil prices, and growing protectionist tendencies in the industrial world. Real growth of our Gross National Product has been sustained at an average annual rate of 6.2 percent over the past five years. The planned growth rate envisioned in the Development Plan for 1978-1982 has been set at 7.7 percent—a historical high but realistic. It is the only acceptable rate that will allow our economy to absorb the annual influx of more than 600,000 into our labor force.

The key factor to the growth in national income and in employment opportunities is investment. You are very well aware that as in business, corporate growth can only be sustained if fresh investments in capital and resources are poured into the enterprise. This likewise holds for our national economy. To attain a growth level of 7.7 percent, we will need funding in the amount of \$43 billion in the next five years.

For a developing nation like us, we can only tax our people so much. Available savings that can be mobilized from our millions of households can reach only a certain volume. Even our export receipts, which will have to bear the burden of foreign exchange requirements for our developmental projects, are subject to constraints. To draw the funding, we will have to turn to foreign savings, to direct foreign investments or to borrowings from foreign financial institutions. This is the rationale, the economic logic, the humanistic justification for assuming external debt. The alternative to this is contraction or retrenchment in economic activities, which means stasis and stagnation, or in our case further underdevelopment. This alternative we rejected because it does not deal effectively with needs, and because it postpones and aborts what our country so urgently needs: development.

And so external debt for developing nations, which for us now stands at \$6.5 billion, is welcome as long as the most prudent of debt management measures are maintained, as long as the foreign credit obtained is used to finance productive ventures, and as long as the resulting amortization and interest payments are within the country's capacity to service. Our increased external borrowings have been most significantly poured into productive use, creating job opportunities for 2.13 million in the five-year period from 1972 to 1977 and providing solutions to the most endemic of our problems. Of the fixed term credits going to the private sector, 87 percent has been channeled to manufacturing, public utility and mining with their respective shares averaging at 46 percent, 25 percent and 17 percent, respectively.

The further allegation that the majority of our foreign borrowings have gone only to the most elite in our business community is false and constitutes a gross oversight of the realities of international finance.

The fixed-term credits allocated to the private sector have been farmed out to 642 firms in manufacturing, public utility, mining, services, construction, agriculture, commerce and finance. And to further give a developmental bias to the allocation of foreign-sourced capital resources, 12 percent of fixed-term credits obtained by the public sector have been lent to an innumerable list of agricultural, industrial, and export-oriented industries.

Our debt servicing ability has likewise never been impaired. We have restructured our foreign loans to keep amortization and interest payments within the statutory limit of 20 percent of gross export receipts. In no period in the next five years will our debt service ratio exceed the statutory requirement. In fact it will even level to 17.7 percent at the end of the five-year plan period.

Our debt servicing position and our economic prospects have been subjected to the most rigid of analysis by multilateral financial institutions and creditor countries such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and the consultative group of creditor countries to the Philippines. As a result of trust in the credit-worthiness of our economy, the official development assistance committed by the consultation group members to the Philippines in the last five years has been substantially larger than what was extended in the preceding 20 years.

And moreover these institutions have been one in forecasting accelerated growth of our country in the next few years and beyond.

The same misrepresentation of the situation is true of what the opposition has been saying about prices. They lift the issue out of the context of international crisis during the past five years. They ignore the oil crisis and the inflationary pressures that have troubled all countries, developed and developing alike.

And they neglect to point out that we have one of the most creditable records in controlling inflation and stabilizing prices of key necessities. They neglect to note that incomes have risen much faster during this period of crisis government.

The totality of our efforts in the economic sphere does not and has never merely concerned itself with coping with crisis. For beyond surmounting them, we have set before ourselves ambitious targets, many of which we have achieved.

Given our targets for economic growth and employment you can then understand the importance of exports in financing our development projects. Medium- and long-term availments will only service seven percent of our funding requirements in the next five years. Fifty-nine percent of financing shall have to come from export receipts. I hold the greatest faith that our foreign trade sector can assume this critical role, particularly now when trade prospects are improving.

Our remarkable performance in the past is a testimony to my firm trust in our business community. Over the past five years, exports have grown tremendously at an average annual growth rate of 14 percent, from a level of \$1.1 billion in 1972 to \$3.2 billion in 1977. In that span, the percentage contribution of export receipts to Gross National Product has increased to 18 percent. Over the next five years, in the span of the Philippine Development Plan from 1978 to 1982, exports will increase at an average annual growth rate of 20 percent, reaching a level of \$7.9 billion and contributing 19 percent to GNP.

Preliminary figures released by the National Census and Statistics place last year's exports at \$3.15 billion, a 22 percent increase over 1976 export receipts. Traditional products still accounted for the bulk of 1977 export receipts, posting a total of \$2.15 billion in earnings. Centrifugal and refined sugar retained its premier position as the country's top dollar earner at \$511.7 million, followed by coconut oil with \$412.1 million.

The most dramatic performance was recorded by non-traditional exports which climbed up to \$966.7 million in 1977 for an increase of about 30 percent over the previous year. The annual increase in non-traditional exports has been most dramatic when one considers that in 1972 this category amounted to only \$135.5 million. The upward

climb was steady, registering \$282.20 million in 1973, \$745.2 million in 1976, and finally \$966.7 million in 1977. Top earners were garments, clothing, and electrical machinery and equipment parts.

Equally remarkable is our success in rice production. Rice was in critical supply in 1972 when a large segment of our people stood in long lines before rice stores. Only recently, we have concluded export contracts involving 29,000 metric tons with Indonesia and 10,000 metric tons with Malaysia, with an aggregate value of more than \$ 11 million. With an estimated production of 161 million cavans for crop year 1977-78, we stand prepared to consider additional exports particularly to our ASEAN partners.

The significance of the country's export performance last year is to be seen not only in the value and percentage increases but also in the changes of its structural and market composition.

From a share of 9.4 percent in 1970, non-traditional exports accounted for 22.2 percent of total country exports in 1975 and well over 30 percent in 1977. Although Japan and the United States still absorbed over half of total country trade, significant inroads on new markets have been made. The European Economic Community, the Middle East, the ASEAN and socialist countries absorb increasingly higher shares of total Philippine exports. ASEAN market share for instance, was only 2.2 percent in 1975 but in 1977 went up to about five percent. Middle East countries accounted for 11 percent of total exports while the socialist countries had over four percent.

And I regard this record of performance of the export sector as one more testament of the vitality of the economy today and of the lightness of the directions we have taken.

If last year's export performance was remarkably good, credit goes to one homogenous group of individuals whose privileged company I have the pleasure to be with today.

Setting up export targets may be a prerogative of government but it is this hardy stock of individuals who make export targets come true. Upon them lies the burden of wheeling and dealing in the negotiation of export contracts and in activating production lines to meet shipping schedules and delivery commitments.

I take this opportunity to lay before you, the foreign trade program of the government in the five-year period of the new development plan. We have called it the National Export Strategy for 1978 to 1982. It is a strategy that has been drawn not in the isolated rooms of policy makers but in working tables where industry associations meet with our national export bodies. And it is a strategy that has been drawn not from conjured figures but from proven records of historical export performance. But they remain as mere mathematical figures unless government and the private sector work in a concerted and coordinated effort toward their eventual attainment.

The National Export Strategy, being the first one ever to be drawn up, is an indicative plan of the general directions Philippine exports should take within the next five years. It contains annual performance targets and basic action plans needed for attaining these targets. I now promulgate this Letter of Instructions adopting the five-year Indicative National Export Strategy.

The critical area of any plan is in its implementation. Integral to the national export strategy is therefore the monitoring system that will take into account the environment in which exporters operate, the activities and programs pursued to implement plans, the logistical support required to make implementation efficient.

I am deeply and personally interested in seeing the strategy made to work. To this end, I hereby direct the PEC Governing Council to submit to me directly its reports, specifying the issues discussed at each Governing Council meeting and the final recommendations proposed.

I expect the Philippine Export Council to increasingly assume its role as the primary agency on exports. Its mandate requires it to be the focal point for all export activities and it must therefore be the central clearing and coordinative body for all export development and promotion activities.

As added earnest of government's desire to involve the private sector in the planning and implementation process, I hereby announce the expansion of the Governing Council to include five additional members from the private sector, in addition to its Chairman-President, Mr. Domingo Lim. I hereby direct the PEC to submit the appropriate measure needed to implement this decision.

We must now be prepared to move into the international trade on a scale larger than we have always assumed. On this occasion, I sign a decree providing for the development of large-scale and integrated trading companies through a system of accreditation and provision of incentives to be administered by the Philippine Export Council.

This move to encourage bigness in international trading is borne out of the noticeable deficiencies of our trading practices. The large majority of our export industries, many of whom are now pushing our non-traditional manufactures, consist of small- and medium-scale firms which have adequate combined production capacities but lack the base to meet bulk demands and the marketing organizations to clinch large contracts.

What our external trade sector eventually needs are large trading companies or trading houses which will realize economies of scale in international trade by directing volume exports to their markets, sourcing imports at bulk, providing trade credits to small producers, maintaining extensive market research net works, and absorbing substantial capital risks. It is towards these ends that this decree is directed.

Another innovative improvement which government is now preparing to introduce to our trade system is that of export financing. Our export-oriented industries are now moving to clinch contracts of substantial amounts. As our current and potential markets consist of developing nations in the ASEAN and even in Africa, the need for financing by our buyers is becoming a necessity. Let not these opportunities pass. This is one of the reasons why we created the Philippine Export and Foreign Loan Guarantee Corporation, I therefore order the PEC, the Central Bank and the government financial institutions to submit for my consideration, a package of financial assistance designed to encourage further the export of Philippine products and services.

I also direct government financial institutions, particularly the Development Bank of the Philippines to afford high priority for export-oriented projects. In addition to some manufacturers, I understand exports of processed foods such as fruits have great potential. By all means, let us promote these ventures.

About two years ago, when the oil-rich nations of the Middle East started pouring their wealth into massive infrastructure programs, we saw good opportunities in engineering and construction of projects. We organized the Philippine-Overseas Construction Board to lead, organize and regulate the national effort. I am now ready to permit our government technical personnel to join private Philippine companies for specific assignments as consultants in foreign projects when the needs of the service so permit.

Many developments have happened which make the economic environment more conducive to the expansion of exports. In most instances, they came about because the export community articulated its needs and sat down with the public sector to map out solutions.

We have now simplified export procedures and documentation designed to cut down the process by at least 50 percent.

The rediscount window has been eased to make it more attractive to both the exporters and the commercial banks. As I intimated earlier, there should be a constant effort to monitor the financing support to Filipino exporters so that they can compete effectively with other countries.

The operational guidelines for ASEAN preferential trading arrangements have already been threshed out. This should open the avenues for more substantial trade with our ASEAN neighbors.

Country requests for concessions on tropical product exports are constantly being negotiated. We are also pursuing the expansion of product coverages under the various Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) schemes, pushing

particularly the products with comparative advantage. We actively express our trade interests in many other venues, as in bilateral negotiations with our established trade partners and with new ones. Although we are now beleaguered, by textile quotas, we are constantly negotiating to get the best terms for our exports.

Finally, we deem it more and more important to lobby in international forums for greater liberalization of global trade.

As a developing nation earnestly trying to expand its exports, we express particular concern about the increasing protectionist tendencies among so many of our developed country markets. Several of the industries on which protectionist measures now converge are important export industries of the Philip pines, and of many other developing countries who, like us, are trying to generate more export earnings.

GATT has warned that industrial nations will worsen rather than ease their present economic problems by adopting protectionist measures. Trade liberalization, and not protective trade barriers, will promote economic recovery and reduce inflation and unemployment.

We therefore ask governments to restrain protectionism and adopt instead more orderly international open market policies which will result in free trade.

We have a tax incentives system for exports which is easily negated by the countervailing duties imposed on our products by the importing countries. The net result is: we lose the taxes and a foreign government imposes the taxes.

The wise approach should be to re-think our export incentives system so that countervailing duties can be avoided. Fiscal incentives may not work but a more realistic credit system may. The idea is to think of a problem-solution mix that a protectionist importing country cannot nullify.

The resolve and the scale with which we are now prepared to move in the export sector are possible because we have laid the basis for such a strategy in our national economy, and in the effective partnership of the private sector and government.

Here I find more indelible manifestation of the growth of national capabilities that has marked the five years of crisis government.

Here we can perceive what performance means when we say that this must be the fundamental issue of the coming elections.

For performance imply not only results but also prospects. They embody what we have attained, but they also suggest the capacity for greater challenges that our changing and growing society possesses by virtue of its experiences.

A certain continuity is certainly needed, now more than ever, between what we have undertaken in the past, and what must undertake now, for the process of development to continue.

The choice is for our people to determine whether the reforms we have initiated and the programs we have launched must be sustained and nurtured, or set aside in favor of other courses of action.

But this seems only good for speculation today, because in fact, in spite of the loud alarms and charges that have been made by the opposition in this campaign, they have not offered an alternative, they have not even hinted to us that they understand what is truly needed by the national economy at this time.

To the real and substantial achievements that crisis government has produced in five years, they can only repeat the same old cry: Bring down martial law.

All this time that we have labored and struggled to bring our society closer to progress, justice and equality, they have stood by, praying for our efforts to fail.

Now they ask the supreme honor within the gift of this nation: the privilege to serve in public office.

For what deed, I ask, for what sacrifice to people and country, must we reward this men with our mandate?

I say let us reject these false prophets in our midst. I say let us remain true to our covenant and our pledge, made at the start of crisis government, and repeated year after year ever since, that we shall continue to work and to build together the structures of our New Society.

My friends and fellow citizens, the time is opportune for us to seal this bond with one another once again. Let the elections reflect our unity of purpose and ideals.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos before the Rotary Club, March 30, 1978

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Rotary Club

[Delivered at the Manila Hilton, March 30, 1978]

On the Status of Our Country

I GREET ALL the officers of this distinguished organization and greet the candidates of KBL who happen to be here as well as any candidate of the op position who may also be here.

I gather that they have been frequenting this organization lately, which is understandable. I would presume that this organization offers some kind of a respite from the confusion that now attends this political exercise.

You know, during the last five years, I believe I have appeared before the Manila Rotary almost every year. I am always fascinated by the guidelines and standards of your tax policy. I am certain that if any government followed the mischievous and almost, shall we say, unguided missile type of taxation proposed by Toting del Rosario there would be reason for the Opposition to take over the government.

Talking about the Opposition, there were some definitions here of states men and politicians which evoked lighthearted laughter and also might have reflected upon the present administration. You know, this reminds me of Churchill, in the latter years of his political career. He met a similar situation. You will recall he had been identified with the liberal groups, then later with the conservatives. Anyway, he said that he had to comment on what had been thrown about as a definition of statesman and politician. And he said: Well, a statesman is a man who is in power and wields power and guides the government for the people and very wisely. But a politician is a different breed; the politician is the man who is in power, is obsessed with power, wants to be in power, and will say anything to be in power. And he said: I have been both.

I, too, have been both. But I do remember we were a little elegant when we were engaged in opposition, as a minority floorleader of the House of Representatives and later on as the opposition candidate for President in 1965. You will remember. I left the presidency of the party that was in power to join the opposition party because of unimplemented promises which I thought were fundamental.

Well, today, we have the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan which is actually a movement, an umbrella organization, under which we had hoped we would be able to gather the majority party and the opposition party, and organized a joint responsibility group for government. Perhaps, I should tell you that this idea is, of course, not new. Way back in 1972 before I proclaimed martial law, I offered a coalition government to the opposition, the Liberal Party. I offered 40 percent of the membership of the Cabinet to the opposition party, and this was peremptorily disregarded. The reason given was that they were going to win the elections in 1973, anyway. I did not tell them that there would be no elections.

Now talking about consultations on martial law — I understand that some members of the opposition claim they were never consulted about martial law. I do remember that I called a caucus of the members of Congress, the Senate as well as the House of Representatives, to inquire whether they had any opposition on the matter of martial law. I went around the country. Everybody knew about this, I asked the members of the judiciary, some anyway, before martial law was proclaimed. And the answer that they gave me was: The legislative does not have the power to proclaim martial law. It can give you emergency power. But martial law can be proclaimed only by the President under the commander-in-chief provision of the Constitution. And the judiciary gave me the same answer. And this is why martial law was left for the President to act on. And naturally, whenever one now talks of martial law, one talks

of the presidency. And this is the reason why I can come to an audience like this and speak of this from personal experience.

Of course, I am at a disadvantage here because I understand, the First Lady spoke in the national language. *Nais ko sanang bumigkas din sa ating sariling wika, ngunit napakaraming dayuhan dito. Baka akala nila ay may itinatago ako sa aking ipinaliliwanag sa inyo. Kaya kung maaari ay isasalin ko sa ating wika ang mga iba at ganoon din, magsasalita ako sa hiram na dila — Ingles.*

Alam po ninyo, sa ating sariling wika, kung minsan ay lalong maiging magbitaw ng salita. Sa Ingles — talagang hiram na dila iyan. Wala tayong magagawa.

Allow me to speak now of matters of interest to you. When we organized the KBL, we offered to the opposition party some positions in the 21-man slate for Metro Manila. This is the first time I will be revealing this. Because I have been watching from a distance to see how these elections would turn out. As you know, when the elections were finally decided and confirmed by the Batasang Bayan (which as you know was elected by the barangays to be the legislative council), I inquired whether any of the Liberals would want to join the 21-man state. I did so because we were sincere about allowing participation of the opposition. I believe the First Lady will someday, not now but probably later on, after the elections, reveal with whom she conferred. She was authorized to offer to the Liberal Party a participation in the 21-man slate.

The reason I am revealing this today is because of the claim that there is need for an opposition in the interim Batasang Pambansa. And it has been made to appear as if we were opposed to the participation of the opposition party whatever they may call themselves now, Liberals or LABAN or independent, whatever it is. But the thing is, we offered the opposition participation in the interim Batasang Pambansa. But instead of accepting this, they immediately organized their own group. Or rather, the Liberal Party decided now to participate and then organize a group similar to the KBL, which then proceeded to question the validity of the entire martial law or crisis government, and even the validity of the Constitution. While running as candidate under that Constitution, and running in accordance with the laws approved by that government, they deny the legal and legitimate basis of that government. They appeared before the Supreme Court when I was brought before the Supreme Court. I appeared before the Supreme Court and argued about the legality of martial law. They participated in the proceedings thereat. They have not participated in any other government proceedings except to bring me to the courts.

But just the same, even after the Supreme Court had made a decision and had ruled that there was no obstacle to the enforcement of the Constitution of the Philippines, now we hear their candidates saying they have taken the oath to support the Constitution but they don't believe in the validity of the Constitution. This indicates, therefore, that there is some kind of an ulterior motive behind the actuations of those candidates.

But, anyway, while we are at this, I have notified the officers of the Rotary that perhaps the best way, the more interesting format would be that which we adopted for the Kapisanan ng mga Brodkasters sa Pilipinas two nights ago. I will deliver a main speech and then I will ask that anybody who has any questions should then address these questions to me. I will be ready to answer all the questions that many be directed at me.

I start out by calling attention to the fact that at the beginning of the campaign, they refused to make performance as an issue. Nowadays, however, they have come around to questioning the performance of the crisis government, the New Society. In the process they have questioned everything without offering an alternative. So I go along with them and now ask this question. We have run the government. I have run the government for the past 12 years as your President. You elected me in 1965. You reelected me in 1969. I proclaimed martial law in 1972. The plebiscite wherein we asked whether we should continue with martial law and the referenda of January 1973, July 1973, February 1975, October 1976, and December 1977 — in all of these referenda and plebiscite, the people's vote was: continue with the present administration and government. For this, of course, I thank our people. *Ako ay nagpapasalamat sa ating mga mamamayan sa kanilang ipinagkaloob at ipinagkatiwalang kapangyarihan sa inyong abang lingkod. Kinikilala ko ang aking utang na loob sa inyong lahat lalo na sa mga haligi ng ating business community, all of you, who are certainly the people most interested in the health of our economy.*

And, therefore, let me start out with the statement that whatever we have done or will continue to do is in accordance with programs that were organized since 1967. In 1968-1969, I organized the National Economic Development Authority, you remember. We centralized all planning. And for the first time, we introduced rationality in planning. We adopted short-term and medium-term answers to all the problems.

So whatever plans we have now are not plans that were organized and prepared only a year ago or yesterday. They have been worked out since 1967. I became President in 1965. Why do I speak of 1967? Because it takes you two years to get used to the presidency. Any man who thinks that he can solve the problems of the country by being President for only one or two years is being over-optimistic. And I cast no reflection of course on Presidents who have been in office for only one year like the American President. No, I am merely saying that it took me two years to learn the ropes as President.

And so we started in 1967. Whatever plans we have now, we prepared in 1967. There were several factors that came into the planning though, and these were the economic crisis and the secessionist movement in the South. Two factors that we did not anticipate in 1967. In 1967 we knew about the new Communist Party being organized by the young group of Peking-oriented communists. But we could not anticipate the oil crisis of 1974; the worldwide grain deficiency in 1973; the floods of 1972 and the drought of 1972. But all of these were thrown in and worked out in the plans that ultimately came out with the National Economic Development Authority. In the Constitution of 1973, the National Economic Development Authority ultimately was institutionalized and became a constitutional body. This is the principal planning body.

Now when we speak of progress it is usually economic, social, and the political will is set aside. On political stabilization, I need not say anything. You, more than anybody else, are sensitive more to the questions of political stabilization than to anything else. I have here some notes on the status of our country and I would like to read them to you. They are taken from the book that I just wrote; it is entitled *Five Years of the New Society*.

For one thing, notwithstanding the low prices of our exports, foreign investments, as you are well aware, have continued to expand, creating work opportunities. Over the last five years, we opened up jobs to accommodate 600,000 workers every year. I would think that a total of about a little over two million jobs have been opened over five years and this is all worked out in the book.

The reason I wrote that book is because I know that in a political campaign every candidate says the most scandalous things and then disavows them later on. This is happening now. I gather that Comelec is looking around for the tapes of all the speeches of both KBL and Laban. KBL, today, I understand, will send in all the tapes of their speeches. But Laban denies saying anything scandalous, libelous, slanderous or seditious.

Whatever it is, I put down in writing and in book form all these points in order that in the deliberations in your private rooms or studies, you can review and check these figures. And this book has been serialized, I understand, in all the metropolitan papers.

Tax revenues alone reached an amount of P23 billion which is double or treble that of 1972. And the cost of government, meaning, what we refer to as current funds — you would probably call it operational expenses in your business, or your housekeeping expenses. These are for salaries, the things that you pay in one year. When you say capital expenditures, what we mean is expenditures for things that last more than one year — irrigation, roads, water system, flood control, hydroelectric power, etc., etc.

Anyway, the cost of government was brought down. Do you know that there was a time, after I took over, when the cost of government was 75 percent of the budget? This went to salaries. We reduced this, I imposed a compulsory savings of five percent. Then later on, another 5 percent, and we have kept it there. We have reduced it further, and all the savings we have put into capital expenditures — outlays for public works like roads, bridges, irrigation systems, power — have increased five times since 1973. This is the reason for the sudden flowering of roads and other infrastructures throughout the country.

We have shifted the emphasis from current expenditures to capital expenditures. Now, I have often wondered whether the Opposition had had time to study this particular aspect which is one of the changes in the budgetary system. I have waited to listen to any intelligent discussion of the new budgetary approaches, but nothing has been said about these.

Anyway, priorities now include power in view of the projections of the experts to the effect that there will be oil deficiency and scarcity, if not complete elimination of oil as a source of power about the end of the century. And all countries, big or small, developed or non-developed, are called upon now to exploit all sources of power. And so we have put power resources as No. 1 priority

Now there are questions in all these speeches about priorities being given to education and priorities being given to security, but nobody ever put a finger on power I have not heard any speech by the opposition questioning or seeking information on the power program of the government. It is because, I presume, they agree with this program.

Every country, whether the Philippines or the United States, Japan, England, or West Germany, any country whatsoever, must now look to other sources of power besides oil. This is exactly what we are doing. Of course, we are continuing with our aggressive oil search program. We have three oil strikes off Palawan. And we hope to be able to recover or take out oil within next year. I told the City Services officials that I won't believe that they have any oil until I can use the oil or gasoline in my car. They assure me that by the latter part of 1979, we will be drawing oil from the Palawan discoveries.

Of course, one of the most important, if not the crucial change, has been in the agrarian program. The agrarian program, whatever anyone may say, is something which we are proud of. I am very glad to see that the Opposition agrees with our agrarian program. You see, the Opposition agrees with everything that we are doing. They only want change us in power. This, apparently, is the big difference.

This program doesn't merely mean the transfer of land from one person to the other. The agrarian reform program is an entire package. It is a package involving infrastructure which means irrigation, flood control, farm-to-market roads. It involves agricultural extension. It involves credit. It also involves the establishment of cooperatives. It also involves human settlements. And when we speak of human settlements and cooperatives, we are referring to the effort to make the countryside so attractive that the people in the rural areas will not come to the urban areas like Manila. Manila has suddenly developed into a center for more than seven million people. And it now has a great number of slums. Undoubtedly, this is one of the problems of any city. But Manila has this problem to a disproportionate degree. This is why in Manila, you see us moving around in the slum areas. The First Lady, for instance, visited about 14 slum areas the other day with all the candidates. And the reason for this is, of course, that it is a part of the program.

The opposition has now come up with the statement that it is illegal and unfair for me to be releasing these lands just now at election time. But have they forgotten that I announced this more than six months ago? In fact, let us go back to 1971. In 1971 there was a fire in Barrio Magsaysay in the Tondo foreshore land. And I went to the 50,000 families who lost their houses and we were all in tears. We were crying on each other's shoulders, because how do you take care of these families who have just lost their homes? So right then and there, I went over all the plans and I promised some people there in Tondo, that given a little more time, we would reclaim part of the land and we would then distribute the land to them. The First Lady was with me. And one of the first priorities of the First Lady when she became Metro Manila governor in 1975 was what is now known as the ZIP program, the zonal improvement program. Do you know that there are 450 depressed areas in Manila? We have made 44 of these as priority areas. And I am certain that if you were in our place, you would immediately attend to these areas.

They also asked: But why do you release all of these funds? My answer is: They should have been released last January, but the Budget Commission was working out the programs so that these amounts could be released. For instance, in the Tondo foreshore land area, we set aside the total of P400 million. We could not raise P400 million. The only amount that we could raise was P200 million. And so I released P200 million. And it went to the Metropolitan Manila Commission which has a special task force for this purpose.

For Bagong Barrio and Caloocan, I released P40 million. Actually, the total amount that we were supposed to spend for all these depressed areas in Metropolitan Manila was several billion pesos. But right now, we cannot afford the entire several billion pesos. If you will remember, we borrowed from the World Bank a total of \$65 million. It is called a "slum upgrading program." This slum upgrading program is the opposite of what the opposition party did when they were in power. You remember what they did when they were in power? They transferred some of our people to Sapang Palay and other places. And what happened? They deprived these people, the squatters as we refer to them, of their livelihood from the piers. They were brought to Sapang Palay. There was no water, no electricity, no source of livelihood, no employment. So before you knew it, they were back. Where? In Intramuros and in Tondo. I remember that I was at the time the president of the Senate. And there were almost violent demonstrations in Congress.

And so we have changed the approach. This is one thing about which we wanted the opinion of everybody. Would it not be the better approach to upgrade the slums without relocating the people? And that is exactly what we are doing in the Tondo foreshore land and in Magsaysay. Instead of throwing out the people from the land, we instead transform the entire community. We put in roads, sewage system, water system, electricity. And we put up a small chapel. We put up a high school, and then factory buildings for the labor-intensive types of manufacturing. And this is what is happening all over Manila now.

Again, I am a little disappointed to hear nothing but criticisms of why the President released this now just before the elections. Nothing whatsoever as to whether this is the right approach. Should we remove our people from the slums as what was done and bring them to Sapang Palay? Or should we continue with the slums upgrading program? It is the position of KBL, the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, and of your servant, that it is best that we now continue with this program of upgrading the slums instead of transferring or removing the inhabitants thereat.

Now, what are the other signs of progress? I will not go into the foreign exchange reserves. You know that more than I do. I will not go into the increase in the budget of our government. We have increased it. And the increase in the number of people who are declaring their income tax, from 1.5 to 4.5 million over a period of three to four years. These are matters that you all know. Nor the increase in exports. We trebled our exports from about P1 billion to P3 billion in a matter of four years. And we created new types of exports, the non-traditional exports. From \$ 150 million, we brought it all the way up to almost \$ 1 billion. And, of course, the leading exports would be garments, electronics, textiles and the like.

With regard to other matters, you and I are aware of some of the reports indicating that there has been a shift from the low income group to the middle income group. This usually is the last economic or social indicator of how much we have increased the per capita income. Of course, we increased the per capita income from P1, 300 to P4,300 in a period of four years. And all of you know this since you are engaged in business and your market analysis would probably take into account the incomes of everybody.

I gather that the Private Development Corporation of the Philippines conducted this survey. About the low income groups, the total countrywide survey indicated that the total number of households in the low income group — meaning an income of P1, 000 to P3, 000 — was 71.5 percent of population in 1971. In 1975, this was reduced to 49.7 percent in the entire country. And the middle income, of course, originally 28.5 percent has now become 50.3 percent, a doubling of the number of the middle-income households. When you say middle income, you mean, they earn P4, 000 to P9, 999.

Now, in the countryside, in the control area, this was even better. From 80 percent for households belonging to the low income group, it has now been reduced to 30 percent. In short, in the rural areas, you have reduced the low income household from 80 to 30 percent or a reduction of 50 percent.

Now, you who are in business know what this means. You know more or less what obstacles there are, the difficulty of a pervasive change in the income of our people especially because of the atmosphere that pervaded our country in 1972.

But this survey is still going on. This was a 1975 survey. I am certain that now the survey will indicate a higher percentage of shift from the low-income to the upper-income brackets.

Savings and time deposits increased from 1973 to 1977, from P6.8 billion to P17.6 billion. I understand that in 1978, this went beyond P25 billion. With all of this, let me also talk about the GNP: from P55 billion to P153 billion from 1972-77. and capital investments, from P1.1 billion to P46 billion, 1972-77. Now, these are figures that are known to everybody and can be checked.

I refer to them merely because, now the opposition raises the question of performance. And they are the best indicators of the manner in which our society and our government has performed. However, they also raised some issues of policy. And this, I think, is something in which you should be interested. Do you know that the platform of LABAN includes a plan which provides that it shall support and initiate a program of socialization of the major industries of the country? I bet you didn't know that. That shocks you, doesn't it? Well, they haven't been talking about it, but it is Plan No. 6 of the LABAN platform.

Now, what does this mean? At least on this one particular point, there can be a competition for your loyalties and your beliefs between the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan and the LABAN. This merely means that it is the position of LABAN to adopt what is known as the classical socialist economic system.

Now, I raised this point before you especially. I have not talked about this at any other forum because I know that at any other forum this will be glossed over and not be understood but this is for the big businessmen of the Philippines. I think you will understand the implications of such a platform.

Let me go through this particular point in greater detail. There are all shades of socialism, but this is now the parent, shall we say, the standard, the classical type of socialism. It refers to the nationalization of major industries and public utilities. I would like to repeat those terms, "the nationalization of major industries and public utilities." I am not against spreading the ownership of public utilities and major industry. On the contrary, the KBL is in favor of the ownership of big corporations and public utilities being spread among the public so much so that we have directed the Meralco to go public.

You know the Meralco is now owned by 650,000 stockholders. And this again is one of the funniest if not most stupid charges of the Opposition. I hear some of them saying that Marcos owns the Meralco. They probably can't read. But if they will look at the foundation that owns it, it is the Meralco Foundation, not the Marcos Foundation. They may sound a little similar to a politician who does nothing but shout at himself. That's quite a big difference you know, for me to own the Meralco Foundation instead of the Marcos Foundation.

The Marcos foundation is the owner of all my worldly goods. And all these worldly goods are being utilized for the benefit of our people. I don't own a thing except my two houses, one in the province and one here in Manila, for my wife and my children and a trust fund for their education. I don't own anything else. And this is public property known to the public. It is part of the public documents that are open to scrutiny.

I am, and the KBL is, in favor of spreading the ownership of public utilities, for instance the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co. F approved the proposal that PLDT subscribers be now converted to part-owners. And I have ordered that every public utility be now checked as to the complexion of the ownership of such public utilities. But we certainly are against management and ownership by government of the entire corporation. This we are against. I need not go into the classic questions about socialism and the like. We have had very engaging debates in the Cabinet about all these matters. There are some who before started out with wanting the government to take over all of the corporation, but we ended up with a definition of our economic ideology. The New Society believes in free enterprise. It is a free enterprise society. We recognize private property. We may regulate wealth and we will not allow wealth to be utilized to degrade anyone especially those in the lower classes of our society. And we will regulate and control the use of that wealth. But we will not take over wealth, for we believe that the cutting edge, the principal agent, of change even in an egalitarian society like the New Society should be private initiative.

Now, this is therefore clear. It is a position of the New Society. What is the position of LABAN? I've been reviewing all the documents pertaining to the platforms and principles in an effort to find out if they stand for anything. Now, I have come across this particular principle for which they stand. They now want to take over the major industries and public utilities to be owned and controlled by the government. On this particular matter, therefore, we appeal to all the businessmen of the Philippines to immediately discard this proposal of LABAN by refusing to vote for any candidate of LABAN.

I will take up only one more issue on policy. This is also a matter of policy. LABAN has also brought up the question of human rights. When they speak of human rights, apparently they don't distinguish between economic rights and what are traditionally known as social and political rights.

Economic right pertains to the right of a human being to a decent way of life, to proper housing — in short, everything that will make him a dignified human being. When LABAN, therefore, speaks of human rights they disregard this particular aspect. Even the United Nations declaration divides human rights into economic and social and political rights. But again I have waited to see whether any of them can discriminate between these two kinds of rights, and I notice that they keep talking about giving the social and political rights — the right to vote, free press etc. etc. etc. Now let's disregard the fact that they have abused all of these rights. Let us assume good faith on their part. But it is our belief that in a small and developing country, we should give priority to economic rights and while giving at the same time a respect for social and political rights. It is the highest form of cynicism for any political leader to say that we should quarrel about the right to speak and the right to vote when the man to whom we are talking is dying from hunger. The man is more interested in surviving. How can you expect him to look to his government for the right to say, read a newspaper, the right to speak on the United Nations or the right to speak against martial law when all he is interested in immediately is, can he have a meal, please? The last time he had a decent meal was three or two days ago.

I say this in the simplest terms because I would like even LABAN to understand what I am saying. There are two classes of rights. The KBL pledges itself to protect those two classes of rights. But whenever the resources of government are insufficient, priority will be given to economic right. And subsequently, the resources will then be utilized for the protection of social and political rights. It has been properly said that when one attends to food first, this does not mean that he is not interested in the right to speak. No, he is merely attending to what is immediately necessary. This doesn't mean that when he asks for a plate, a bowl of rice, he has given up his right to speak against an injustice later on. No, but since he can speak against that injustice after he has eaten the rice, then by all means eat the rice first. And this is what we are doing.

This must sound like an apology for the torture and maltreatment of prisoners. I'd like you to know that we have kicked out of the Armed Forces more than 2,000 men and we have put in jail more than 300 enlisted men and officers.

Whatever it is, it is not the policy of the New Society to be torturing prisoners. And I repeat, this is again one of the policy issues wherein we differ from the LABAN. They have not articulated this in the manner which I have. And I presume that they will not take sides on this again. They will avoid it. But I present it to you as one of the matters that I have noticed during the entire discussion.

I will conclude with the statement. You have some of the candidates here of the KBL, and you have heard and listened. You have heard the candidates of the LABAN.

Now you are corporate managers and presidents. My question to you is: Would you take the candidates of the LABAN as members of your board of directors? After you have listened to them, to their irresponsible statements, after you have heard them propose the assassination of the President, after you have heard their scurrilous and slanderous language denigrate not only the person of the President but your own country, the Philippines and our people, now tell me, do you take them into your board of directors? I suggest that none of you would and neither should you vote for them.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 25th commencement exercises of the Philippine College of Commerce, April 1, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 25th commencement exercises of the Philippine College of Commerce

[Delivered at the PICC, April 1, 1978]

Youth and Society

I GREET EACH and everyone of you. *Noon ako ay ipinakikilala tila bang ako ay masyadong matanda na. Kayo naman po ang nakakakita na hindi pa.* I should have brought the First Lady with me had she been available, but as you know, she is a little occupied: she is engaged in the final phase of this political exercise on which will reflect the maturity of our people.

I am not a participant in this political exercise except as the organizer of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan and its campaign manager. You elected me President on December 17, 1977, so I am through with the elections except for the fact that today we are passing through a crucial period again. I will now proceed to explain to you why I consider this period and these trials crucial not only to us, the older generation, but also to the young generation like you.

The invitation to address you came to me rather late. I was going to send a proxy, Dr. Gerardo Sicat, to speak before you; and then, I realized that the Philippine College of Commerce was one of the colleges that has been marked as the hotbed of activism in the past. So, I decided I had better go in there and find out what was happening in this old college.

Your college is one of the oldest in the country. I understand it was established at about the same time as the Philippine Normal School in 1904; and I met several graduates there circa 1907. So I asked the First Lady to pinch-hit for me in some of the appointments; *sapagka't mahalaga ang inyong anyaya kaya ako ay naririto ngayon.*

There are few events in the life of a man or a woman as unique and as memorable as his completion of studies. And this meeting, to me, is also an opportunity once again to have a forum in which to dialogue with the members of our young generation.

There are perhaps few institutions of learning that are reflective of the currents of ferment and change in our society, or represent the youth in our time, than the Philippine College of Commerce. On this campus it has fittingly been observed, commitment and involvement among the young come early.

When I speak to you therefore, I am aware that I address the members of a new generation of Filipinos who understand and feel deeply the exacting obligations of membership in society; and whose concerns encompass much of what is alive and astir in our country today.

I would like to reply to your generous invitation by addressing myself here to those concerns that bind us in common: the making of reform and change in our society.

The most overworked cliché about the youth in our country is the statement that you, the young, are the future of our nation. Yet no matter how we turn the subject around, no matter how we examine the place of the youth in our society, we come back to the basic and fundamental truth of this statement.

Let me go back twenty-three centuries ago to that father of philosophers, Plato, who said: "States are as men are, they grow out of the characters of men." This merely means that nations, countries and states reflect what their individual members are. When their character is good, the character of the nation is good; when it is otherwise, so also it is.

Every young generation has always seen itself as some kind of a crusader and savior charged with the task of remaking the society of its time. We, of our generation, who fought the last World War, dreamt many dreams and had many visions. When in the loneliness of our camp fires on the mountain tops we sought succor from the desperation of war, we thought of what victory could bring to us, we dreamt of a brighter and a better world. We would change the legacy that had been handed us for many, many generations. We would alter the very basis of our existence. This is true not only of my generation, it must be true of all generations before us and after us.

So you are not the first to think in terms of rising up to change our society, just as I am not the first to dream of a New Society.

At different periods of our national history, we can see unerringly the recurrent theme of crisis challenging the Filipino youth to action and effort. The men who started the first rebellions were young men, perhaps in their early twenties. And Rizal died as a young man. But beyond the well-known patriots and heroes were the small men whose individual contributions to our country perhaps constitute a greater share of what is Philippine tradition. And they were young. We see it in our revolution at the turn of the century, in which so many young men became the leaders of an emerging nation overnight. But we also see it in the efforts of the generations before us upon the arrival of the conquistadores: the young men who reacted to this new culture and sought to create a mix of all the cultures that had been imposed upon the Filipino. We see it in the struggles and sacrifices of the nation during the last war, in which your fathers and my generation participated.

Between youth and society, there exists, you might say, a constant dialectic between the world as it is now, and the world that is struggling to be born. It is a dialectic that is never easily resolved. It poses great demands both on the society and on those who would wish to change it. And the dangers of extremism are always present; extremism as representing dogmatism, as meaning a man who thinks that he has arrived at the ultimate truth and will not listen to any contrary ideas.

On the one hand, a society can be so closed and resistant to change, so feeble and without vitality, that the only recourse is the total rejection of the social order — in a word, revolution. Such was the case of the colonial order, which in time had to give way to the aspirations of our people for self-determination and national independence. Such might have been the case of our society early in this decade, had we not found the key to making radical but peaceful change.

On the other hand, there can be the extreme of wanting change to take place all at once, at the cost of abandoning altogether what keeps the national community in one piece, in the hope that the apocalypse will take care of itself. In this other extreme, faith in the society dies early; people despair of the existing structure as being worth the effort of repair and reform; and they welcome even the most terrifying upheavals and cataclysms for the sake of change.

Such a view became for a while the dominant theme of the protest of the young in this country; as they saw the increasing drift and decay of national life; as they witnessed the growing inability of the government to govern; and most of all, as they saw the resistance of the social, economic, and political order to change. The belief of the young then during this period of crisis was that orderly change was impossible; and in the forlorn hope of national regeneration, their protest soon enough harkened to the call of revolution.

There was much that I personally agreed with in the growing dissent of the young. I could not share, however, the belief that the democratic system had failed in our country. I did not believe that the structure was incapable of absorbing change and new ideas. Regardless of its many weaknesses and demonstrated inefficiency, I saw the possibilities of the system to defend itself and to erect the basis for social equality and economic progress, which for so long had been denied our people. I saw the possibilities of creating a New Society which would be the

implementation of the dreams and the visions that we had while fighting in the great war. And I saw this dream coming about without recourse to the extreme of bloody revolution.

That, in the main has been the fundamental rationale of the program of national transformation which we launched in 1972; and we must judge it on the basis of whether in fact it has succeeded or not in making the reforms and changes in our society. And whether in fact the situation that it has produced have raised national capacities for making continued and sustained development and progress.

I know of course that even after we see all these symbols of progress there will be opposition against it. But let me say that I think we should look into what the alternatives were at that time. I have seen war at its worst and I made a personal commitment. It is an article of faith with me. I have pledged to myself a lifelong crusade against war. It is my hope that our children will never participate in any war the likes of which we participated in 1941 to 1945, where the Filipino people numbering only 18 million lost one million men, women and children.

This is the reason for the revolution from the center, the revolution which I call the “constitutional revolution.” At the same time, this is the overwhelming reason for my resistance to the efforts of the opposition today to utilize the freedom of elections to foment disorder, for disorder can only lead to bloodshed.

I am against utilizing the freedoms of this political campaign to propagate division and habituate our people whether politicians or not, to the use of degrading, slanderous and licentious language to destroy respect for our Republic and its officials and to degrade our Constitution so as to wipe out our dignity and decency as a people. I am not against radicalism because I am engaged in radicalism, I seek the radical transformation of our entire society, but there is a difference. I seek to radicalize our society constitutionally, peace fully, without the use of force. I abhor the pseudo-radical or the man who claims to be radical and poses to be a radical, but who utilizes the claim to radicalism merely to advance his personal interest to the prejudice of the entire nation.

I am against the pseudo-radical who seeks to transfer the abortive rebellion from the countryside of Central Luzon to the primate city of Manila. You see, I have been studying rebellion and radicalism all my life; and I know that in all the successful revolutions and rebellions, there was need to ultimately establish a mass base within the city. It is quite true that Mao Tse-tung in China organized his mass base in the countryside, but ultimately, they had to take the cities. So the advocates of chaos and ruin, I consider the enemies of our New Society. For there is an alternative to violent revolution, and it is the peaceful even if sometimes tedious revolution we call the revolution from the center — the constitutional revolution.

This is the rationale for the program of national transformation that we launched in September 1972; and we must judge it on the basis of whether it has succeeded. Allow me therefore at the risk of being repetitious or redundant to restate the indicators of progress under the New Society.

Let us talk first, about security. What is the status of domestic peace and tranquility? Although the secessionist movement in the South often erupts in ambushade and harassment, there is comparative domestic peace which has been formalized by the ceasefire agreement in Tripoli.

If you will remember, I sent the First Lady to negotiate normal relations with the People’s Republic of Libya in 1976; and so a ceasefire was arrived at. This was done also in Zamboanga in January 1977. The secessionist movement is no longer in control of any definite territory, a municipality or even a barangay or barrio. Whereas in 1972, 1973 and as late as 1974, they were actually in occupancy and in control of provinces like Tawi-Tawi, Sulu, Basilan; parts of Cotabato, parts of Zamboanga del Sur, and municipalities in Zamboanga del Norte and Lanao Norte; as well as threatening even such capitals and cities as Zamboanga and Cotabato. Today, we are moving towards the final settlement of the Mindanao question.

The New People’s Army, on the other hand, has been reduced into roving bands that do not constitute a threat to the stability of our Republic. At the same time we are not threatened by any war from the outside. We have made friends with those whom we did not deal with five years ago; like the People’s Republic of China and the People’s Republic of Vietnam, as well as the Soviet Union.

We anticipate a period of comparative peace, regionally as well as throughout the world. And during this period, we will be able to continue the momentum of development.

Then let us look into what is referred to as the economic indicators. You, who have come from this college will be most interested in these economic indicators; and I am certain that you have been told about them.

The period from 1973 was marked by this strange phenomenon known as a mixture of inflation and unemployment, often referred to as stagflation. You will remember that the big nations, including Japan, the United States, England, West Germany, or for that matter all of Europe, suffered from such global economic crisis.

In the Philippines, we have reversed the trend. We started with unemployment figures of seven percent of the labor force; we reduced it to 4.1 percent in 1977. In short, we increased the number of employed from 12 million in 1972 to 15 million in 1977. The minimum wage was increased from the low level of P4 a day to P14 or P15 a day; we included the cost-of-living-allowance; the additional compensations for overtime and holiday work and other fringe benefits.

In 1973 there was a shortage of grains throughout the world and we had a difficult time trying to feed our people; we imported 500,000 tons of rice at a cost of about \$500 million. And the inflation rate in 1974, due to the increase in the cost of oil and all the raw materials and machineries that we imported for our factories, increased to 34 percent. In 1975 we brought this down to four percent. Although the price of oil has been increasing we have stabilized the inflation rate to a one-digit figure; meaning, below 10, at 8 percent. These are usually the principal indicators of growth in a modern society.

How about our dollar reserves? Our dollar reserves increased from \$200 million in 1972 to \$ 1.4 million in 1977. Our gross national product— you, who are studying economics know about this, which is the total of goods and services produced by a country in one year— grew at an average rate of seven percent, reaching 10 percent in 1974. Whereas countries like Japan, in some cases, had a negative growth rate, our per capita income increased from more than P1, 000 in 1972 per person to P4, 000 in 1977. Capital investments grew from 11 billion in 1972 to P46 billion in 1977.

How about the foreign borrowings that you have heard about? Let's talk about the debt service ratio. This is the amount of money that we use to amortize or pay our indebtedness every year in relation to our earnings of dollars. The usual practice is to average the earnings of the previous three years and that is the level that you must keep. Your expenditures or your amortization expenses usually is referred to as the debt service ratio.

Well, the debt service ratio before the New Society had reached 34 percent. Meaning, all the dollars that we were earning, the average earnings in the past three years, or 34 percent of that went to payment of indebtedness. And this was true as far back as the 1960s. We inherited this. As soon as we established the New Society we knocked down the debt service ratio from 34 percent to 17.8 percent. It was the plan in accordance with our economic plan to further bring down the debt service ratio from 17.8 percent to seven percent in 1982.

At the same time, to show the effects of all of this to the ordinary Filipino, you remember that we have avoided the use of government statistics. So we used the Private Development Corporation of the Philippines. It conducted a survey of what is often referred to as the social indicators, meaning, how has it affected the ordinary Filipino.

Well, in the study of the income of Filipinos, we divided households into low-income, middle-income and high-income household. The low-income households earn from P1, 000 to P3,999. The middle-income is about that all the way to P10,000. And beyond P10, 000 is the higher-income group.

Now, in 1971 or 1972, what percentage of our households, say, in the countryside belong to the low-income household group? Meaning those that were earning only P1, 000 to P3,999 a year. Well, let me tell you what this survey of the private Development Corporation of the Philippines indicates. According to this survey, in the rural areas, the total percentage of low-income households was 80.7 percent in 1971. By 1975, however, the low-income households were 29.8 percent. Now, you who are wizards in mathematics and arithmetic, that is about 50 percent,

isn't it? If it is 50 percent reduction in 1975, you can imagine how much reduction has occurred. Now from 1975 to 1978, *ang mga dalubhasa natin mayroon silang mga projections*, as you know. You have been taught these ideas and projections, determining the amount of momentum, etc., the base control period. So they now say that if these were projected to 1978, the low-income groups would have been reduced to 15 percent, all the way from 18 percent to 15 percent. Now anyone who has any inkling whatsoever about the meaning of income will understand why this is such a quantum leap. And you can also see why so many families are now sending their children to school. Do you see the number of television antennas shooting up in the countryside? Well, that is because of the increased income in the rural areas.

At the same time, according to the salesmen or the corporations engaged in selling household appliances, they are selling more household appliances in the countryside than in the urban areas at the rate of 2 to 1 or even 3 to 1 in some cases. And this is further shown by the studies on savings and deposits. As you know, the savings and deposits may be divided into personal and institutional. What do you mean by institutional? In the big corporations you keep them out because these are the savings and deposits of artificial persons like corporations.

Let us look into the savings and deposits of individuals, the small ones. Do you know how much the growth is? The growth is four times from 1972 to 1978. I understand the last figure is P27 billion.

And so we now listen to the World Bank, as well as the board of governors and the men who are engaged in awarding all these special awards to countries that have managed their economy well. I have very happy news for you. The Philippines has been awarded a citation that it is the Third World country that has managed its economy best of all. So you can see that these are endorsements.

The World Bank is not an institution that you can buy or who will give you a certification like this for friendship or pity's sake. No. It is a very objective and prestigious institution. All these endorsements are endorsements that all countries aspire for.

In spite of all that we are doing now, they say, *Buwagin ang Bagong Lipunan? Palitan ang Bagong Lipunan*, in addition to many other things. The question that we ask is: *Ano naman ang ipapalit ninyo sa Bagong Lipunan?* This is why I wanted a clean, good debate, in the print media but they refused to engage in debate. *Ang gusto nila paroling bomba, bomba! Magnanakaw si Marcos at pati Unang Ginang! Kapag tinanong mo naman ang sagot ay: sapagka't sa inyo ang Meralco. Papaano naging amin iyang Meralco, eh* it belongs to Meralco Foundation. *Baka nagkamali ka ng pagbabasa sa Marcos Foundation at Meralco Foundation. Meralco Foundation, 600,000 ang shareholders. Papaano napasok ang Marcos Foundation?*

Alam ninyo, ako ay parating natatawa kapag sinasabi nila ang tungkol sa pag-aari. Nalalaman naman nila na ako ay nagtatag ng Marcos Foundation. Marcos Foundation owns the properties that I own, except one house in the province and one house in Manila, which of course, I hope to give to my poor wife. *Papaano, wala siyang titirahan kung bigla akong mamatay. Wala naman hanapbuhay ang aking asawa. Kaya't may dalawang bahay at iyong trust fund to send to school. After all, Bongbong is still a senior at Oxford. He is graduating this June. He is so busy he could not stay here, he came here and stayed only two days and said: "I better go back to Oxford, Father, ngayon ay naghahanda kami sa final examinations ng June." Ganoon din si Imee: she is finishing her senior year at Princeton. Si Irene naman ay naghahanda po for her A-levels because she wants to take up anthropology. Kaya mayroon akong trust fund para sa aking mga anak. Kakailanganin ko iyan sapagka't kung hindi they will have to get a scholarship somewhere if I suddenly pass away. Huwag naman sanang mangyari iyan.*

Anyway, you know the Marcos Foundation is of record. It is open to public scrutiny and registered with the National Science and Development Board. And the trustees are well-known persons; some of them members of the Cabinet. *Kaya ako ay nabibigla tuwing may sasabihin sila na kung anu-ano.* But that is part of politics. I always knew that to be in politics in this country you have to have a cast-iron stomach.

Alam ninyo noong unang pumasok ako sa pulitika, sukat ba namang doon sa Ilocos, wika nila, papaano kayong maniniwala sa sundalong 'yan, maraming pinatay iyan noong panahon ng giyera? Marami nga akong pinatay nguni't pinatay naman sa laban. Hindi naman parang pumapatay ng manok. Sagot naman: huwag kayong

maniniwala riyan, anak iyan ng Chinese pirate. Naging anak tuloy ako ni Limahong. Kaya ako ay sanay na sanay na riyan sa pambabatikos na iyan.

Nguni't sa halalang ito ay masyado namang mababa ang uri ng ating mga kampanya. Hinihintay ko sanang magkaroon ng magandang debate. Kagaya noong aking binasang mga figures, statistics sasabihin nila, prove it. All right, I will prove it. I will bring my books and the books from which I quoted. Pagkatapos ay sasabihin ko naman sa kanila: O kayo naman, ano naman ang masasabi ninyo sa aming naipaliwanag sa ating mga mamamayan? Nguni't hindi magkasalubong ang aming salita sapagka'i sila ay patama sa baba; kami naman ay lumilipad ng kaunti sa mataas na uring salita.

But whatever it is, just remember this, ito ang ating isipin: ang Bagong Lipunan ay bayan na itinatag natin lahat; hindi naman mithiin lamang ng lahat ng bayani na nag-alay ng buhay nila sa dambana ng kagitingan at dambana ng ating bansa; at nagbuhos ng dugo upang maiwagayway na mag-isa ang ating bandila. Lahal ng mga mithiin na iyan ngayon ay tinutu-pad naling kung maaari at ipahihintulot ng ating makapangyarihang mga mamamayan.

Now they say we should change all of this. My question is? Inuulit ko, change for what? Naririto at humaharap pa tayo ng krisis, umuulan pa ng kaunti, lalapit itong oposisyon, hali kayo at inaakit tayo. Iwanan ninyo iyan, sunugin natin iyang bahay na iyan. Teka muna, umuulan. Kapag sinunog natin ito saan tayo sisilong? Wala naman silang itinuturong sisilungan, siguro ay sa kahoy.

Therefore, it is relevant for us, especially those, who have had the privilege of study to ask: Can we not look deeply into the conditions of our people today without having to curse each other? and consider well what each and everyone offers whether it is a foreign ideology or a domestic ideology. Saan ninyo napag-aralan ang kaisipang iyan, ang palakaran na iyan, iyang sinulain na pinaninindigan ninyo? May won ba kayong ulirang halimbawa na maaari nating mapag-aralan upang malaman natin kung ano ang mga panganib na ating haharapin? Kung ipalagay natin na susundan namin ang inyong mga mungkahi at payo . . . these are the things that we would like to ask; What kind of misery, deprivation, and sacrifices do you want us again to offer to our country? We have offered too much already in the past. You want us to fight another war; you want us to divide. We have been divided for so long. We were divided when the Spaniards arrived. There were only 200 or 300 na mga nanakop sa atin na mga Kastila. Ilang daang libong mandirigma ang Pilipino; bakit tayo nabigo sa digmaan? Si Lapu Lapu, napatay nga si Magellan, nguni't nagpatuloy pa ring sinakop tayo ng mga Kastila. Bakit? Sapagka't tayo ay nagaaway na parati. Iyan ang ugali na nakaugat sa ating mga mamamayan. Buhat pa noong sapul ay iyan ang napupuna ng mga sumakop sa atin. Ano nga ba ang sabi ni Casimiro Diaz? They dreamt of liberty; they wanted freedom, but they could not unite and so our few soldiers overwhelmed them. This is our entire history as a people.

Kaya ako ay nag-isip. Sa kasalukuyan ako ay nagsusulat ng ating kasaysayan under the title "Tadhana." Bakit Tadhana? Ano ang ibig sabihin ng Tadhana kung hindi destiny? Hindi kasaysayan iyan kundi Destiny, tadhana nga sapagka't ang Tadhana ay nasa kasaysayan, bunga ng kasaysayan. Studying our history maliwanag na ugali natin iyang away. Kapag tumahimik ng kaunti maghahanap tayo ng away.

Sino ba angpumatay kay Diego Silang? Isang Filipino na may dugong Kastila — pero Pilipino. At pagkatapos na mamatay ay tinraydor pa siya. At bakit pinatay? Because he was paid a price. At pagkatapos na mamatay ang kawawang Diego Silang ang humalili ay ang kanyang asawa, si Gabriela Silang. Sino ang humuli kay Gabriela Silang, Kastila ba? Filipino ang humabol kay Gabriela Silang hanggang Abra, at hinuli siya. Sino ang bumitay kay Gabriela Silang? Pilipino.

Ganoon din, bumalik tayo sa malaking himagsikan ng 1896, 1898. Sino ang pumatay kay Bonifacio sa Mt. Buntis, hindi ba kapwa Pilipino? At si General Antonio Luna? Si General Antonio Luna ay binaril sa likod sa Cabanatuan. Sino ang pumatay sa kanya? Pilipino. At sino ang nagluro ng Tirad Pass at nagdala ng mga Amerikano doon? Dinadakila natin si General Gregorio del Pilar sapagkat silang lahat ay yumao sa labang iyan. Ang nagturo na naman ay Pilipino. At sino naman ang lumusob sa Palanan kay Aguinaldo at humuli sa kanya? Pilipino na naman. Dumating ang malaking digmaan, ang Digmaang pandaigdig. Oo nga, mayroon tayong Bataan, Corregidor, at dito ay ipinamalas nating ang tapang at pagkabuong-loob ng ating mga binata. Ngunit pagkatapos sumuko ang Bataan at Corregidor, ano ang nangyari? Nagkaisa ba ang mga gerilya? Hindi po. Ako po ang isa sa mga malliiti na

sundalong nagtago sa bundok at sumama sa underground. At noong papunta ako sa Australia ay pinabalik ako dito sa Pilipinas at ang bilin sa akin na kung maaari ay pagisahin ang mga kumander ng gerilya maski sa Luzon lamang. Kaya noong nagtatago ako sa Bulacan ay tumawag ako ng isang miting ng mga gerilya lider. Usapan namin ay walang magdadala ng baril at ito ay salu-salo lamang. Titingnan namin kung papaano maaayos ang ating mga gerilya. Nagkasundo na walang magdadala ng baril. Kumain kami nguni't pagkatapos ng isang oras ay nagaaway na. Walang ibig maging sundalo at lahat ay ibig maging heneral. At nang hindi magkasundo, kung sino ang magiging commanding general, ayan, nagbarilan na — may mga taong may baril sa sapatos at pati ako ay kaunti ng tinamaan. Ganoon din sa Visayas at Mindanao. Ilang beses na kaming kamuntik mahuli sapagka't iyong-kapwa namin gerilya na may alinlangan sa amin ay isinusumbong ang aming gawa sa mga kalaban. Mayroon ba naman kasamang Pilipinong ganyan? Kaya nasasabi nga, iyan ang ugali ng Pilipino — walang ibig magpatalo. Kung hindi ako ang lider ay wala. Kung ako, ay okay lamang.

This is one of the vices that we must now eliminate. *Kayong ma kabataan, anuman ang mangyari sa ating bansa, huwag ninyong kalilimutan ang simula ng kasaysayan ng ating lahi. Kaya tayo nabigo ng sunod-sunod ay sapagka't tayo ay hindi nagkaisa; tayo ay hindi nagkabuklod-buklod. Daang libo ang ating mandirigmang nakahandang mag-alay ng buhay sa digmaan nguni't pagdating ng araw ng laban nagkahiwa-hiwalay. Iyan ang kasaysayan ng ating lahi. Huwag na natin ulitin ito. At ang mga dayuhan buhat noong sapul ay balak nilang parating paghiwalayin tayo upang madaling sakupin.* Divide and rule, this has always been their objective.

So whatever happens, just remember that your talent, your capabilities, your strength, your youth and your idealism will be nothing unless our people are united for the national welfare. And this is the purpose of everything that we do; not for ourselves alone out for our country and for our people.

Kaya kung ang tugon sa katanungang, Ano ang sagot sa kagipitan na hinaharap ng Filipino, ay rebolusyon, himagsikan, madugong labanan, my answer is: *Hindi, mayroon tayong landas na maaaring daanan.* And that is elections. That is why I offered elections—peaceful elections—to determine once and for all the people's decision. Will our people support the New Society or not? If they are not, well and good; we should abide by whatever the people say.

We live in an age of ideology, in which too often men sometimes mistake ideas for reforms. We are persuaded by the apocalyptic tone in which social reform programs are categorized, to imagine that they can have a magical effect on real conditions in our lives.

Ang mahirap kung minsan, akala naling kapag isinigaw na nating yumaman ang maralila, nagawa na magiging mayaman na ang maralita. Hindi po ganyan ang buhay na tunay. Ang kailangan ay mga plano; ang mga sinusundan na palatunlunan ay dapat na malaman ng bawa't isa. This is the reason why I keep writing books; why I keep explaining what we intend to do for our country and for our people. In the last analysis we must look at what these ideologies offer to our people. They may sound well, but in practice, what do they offer to us?

Change, such as our society has needed and still needs, does not take place overnight; or in one season of effort, not even in five years. Nor do we seek a perfect society, for in this world there will never be a perfect society.

At the same time, our young have been given a share in decision-making. Never have they been given such an important role in government. And so to you, my young friends, and when I speak to you, I hope that I speak to all the young people in the country. Let me then give you a message straight from my heart.

Through all these years, you the young have been for me an integral part of the conscience that awakes me to the wrongs that must be righted and the changes that must be sought. You have been for me one of the many forces in our society upon whom the tasks of rebirth and renewal have been placed.

And I count it indeed as one of the hallmarks of the last five years, that in this period of crisis and challenge, the youth of our country has rallied to the cause of national survival and transformation.

And as we face this crucial test today, I certainly hope that the young will strengthen the effort towards the attainment of the restructuring of our entire society. We dismantle gradually the apparatus of crisis government by establishing those institutions which will enable us to insure greater democratic control over government, while sustaining the processes of reforms and development in our country.

And as I look at you today, I can only ask myself: who among you someday will take my place as President of the Republic of the Philippines.

Pangkaraniwang hindi nakikinig ang mga bagong nagtapos sa graduation speaker, lyan po ang katotohanan. Pati ako noong nag-graduate, wika ko sa loob-loob ko, mas marami akong nalalaman kaysa sa nagsasalitang ito. But I discovered to my dismay in later life, ako ay natuto ng husto pagkatapos ng graduation na hindi naman pala ito totoo. Marami pa tayong kailangang matutuhan sa mga taong marami ng karanasan. And as I keep looking at all these good-looking young ladies here I wonder who among them will become First Lady?

I hope that each and everyone of you will want to become President and First Lady.

This should motivate you to greater achievement. And as I look at you today, I can only echo the old man in Rizal's novel: "Yes, I know that the seed will grow; I will not be there to see it grow into a tree. I will not be there to stay in its shade nor smell its fragrant flowers, nor taste its fruits, but I have sons and daughters who will be there to rest in the shade of the tree, smell its fragrant flowers, and over and above all, taste the fruits of that seed."

So no matter how difficult it is for us to plant that seed today, I shall continue planting it. This is what I hope will happen. In order that you may have more opportunities, I hereby announce that as of today, on your graduation, the Philippine College of Commerce is now a university.

In your presence, I initial all the pages of the decree creating the university known as the Philippine Polytechnic University, and hand it over to the president of the university.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Pasasalamat Sa Bagong Lipunan, April 2, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Pasasalamat Sa Bagong Lipunan

[Delivered at the Folk Arts Theatre, April 2, 1978]

Ang Tinig ng mga Maliliit

MGA KASAMA, SA halalan na ito, aking napupuna na ang ating mga katunggali ay bumabalik sa mga masasamang gawa, masasamang ugaling Lumang Lipunan — naninira ng puri, nagmumura, marumi ang lumalabas sa kanilang bibig. At isa sa kanilang pinupuna at minamata ay ang mga katulong natin na mga waiter, bellboy, chambermaid ng tourism industry. Sa Lumang Lipunan, kung binatikos at minura ang mga maliliit na kapuwa kong dukha at maralita na walang kapangyarihan, sila ay nagpapakumbaba at tumatahimik na lamang at hindi mo naririnig man lang ang tinig nila. Ngunit sa ilalim ng Bagong Lipunan, tila ba ang aking nakikita at napapagmasdan ay nagising na ang kapuwa kong maliliit at maralita at nagkabigkis-bigkis. At ngayon ay ipinaparinig nila sa buong madla ang lakas ng kanilang tinig na hindi maaaring apihin ng sinumang maka-pangyarihan at mayaman, kayat naririto kayo ngayon upang marinig ang tumataginting ninyong tinig at inyong isinisigaw ay KBL, KBL. Hayan ang sagot sa paninira ng mga katunggali natin sa halalang ito.

Ngunit ang aking nasasaksihan sa ating halalang ito, ito po ay totoo sa lahat ng larangan, sapagkat noong kamakailan lamang ay naririto kami at humarap sa mga kinatawan ng mga manggagawa, mga guro, mga kapuwang kapus-palad at sa iba't ibang dako at mga dahop na pook or depressed areas, slums, sa Tondo maririnig mo ang sigaw ng mga maliliit, mga kapuwa kapus-palad na sila ay umaasa sa iisa lamang, na walang iba kung hindi ang Bagong Lipunan.

Nag-uumapaw ang kagalakan sa aking puso na makita na nagising na ang ating mga mamamayan lalung-lalo na ang mga maliliit at mga dukha. Nagising na, nagmulat na ang ating kapuwa maralita, maliliit at mahina at sila ngayon ay nagkabigkis-bigkis, nagkabuklod-buklod at diyan manggagaling ang tunay na kapangyarihan na magbibigay sa ating bansa ng tunay na kapayapaan at kaunlaran sa ilalim ng KBL.

Kayong mga katunggali sa halalang ito, kung wala man kayo sa Folk Arts Theater, panoorin ninyo ang kilos at pakinggan ninyo ang sigaw nitong maliliit na inyong inaapi at minumura. Pakinggan ninyo at sila ngayon ang makapangyarihan sa ating bansa sapagkat nasa kamay nila iyan mahalagang balota, iyang balota na iyan ay kanilang susulatan ng KBL.

Ito ang tunay na uliran, halimbawa, leksiyon na mula ngayon, walang may hawak ng kapangyarihan, anuman ang kanyang katungkulan, ang maaaring mang-api at magmura sa ating mga maliliit, sa ating mga dukha, sa ating mga maralita sapagkat sa ilalim ng tunay na kalayaan, ang maka pangyarihan ay ang ating mga maliliit, mga dukha at maralitang mama-may an at iyan ay pinalalakas ng KBL.

Ako po naman bilang inyong iniluklok na Pangulo ay nagpapasalamat sa Panginoon sa pangyayaring ito. Mabuti nga't nagkaroon ng pagkakataon ang ating mga maliliit upang ipamalas ang kanilang damdamin na nasugatan sa mga matatalas na dila ng ating mga katunggali. Mabuti naman at ang Panginoon ay binigyan ng pagkakataon ang ating mga mamamayang api, mamamayan na noong Lumang Lipunan ay nawalaan ng tinig upang ngayon ay sila ang mamayani at maghari sa kanilang sariling bansa sa ilalim ng Kilusang Bagong Lipunan.

Kaya't mga kasama, inuulit ko sa ngalan ng KBL, ako po ay nagpapasalamat sa inyong lahat hindi lamang ang inyong tangkilik at tulong sa ating halalan na darating kung hindi sa inyong ipinamalas na leksiyon sa mga susunod na saling-lahi. Huwag na sanang mangyari muli na sinumang makapangyarihan at nagmamalaking lider ng

anwnang pangkat sa politika ay apihin kayong kapuwa kong maliliit na Pilipino sapagkat inuulit ko, nagising na ang maliliit, namulat na ang mahina at ngayon ay nagkaroon tayo ng kalayaan sa Pilipinas, kalayaan sa ilalim ng Bagong Lipunan.

Upang malaman ng lahat, aking ipinagbibigay alam sa buong madia, habang Pangulo ang inyong Abang lingkod, kayo po ay may katulong at mayroon kinatawan sa tanggapan ng Pangulo ng Republika ng Pilipinas at aking tatangkilikin at tutulungan ang Tourism Industry.

Sa inyo pong lahat, ang Unang Ginang at ang inyong abang lingkod ay nagpapasalamat, Iboto natin ang KBL, KBL, KBL.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the opening ceremony of the 12th International Symposium on Remote Sensing of Environment, April 20, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening ceremony of the 12th International Symposium on Remote Sensing of Environment

[Delivered at the PICC, April 20, 1978]

The Province of All Mankind

I WOULD LIKE to add to the words of welcome that have already been extended to you by our people and their leaders who have met with you, my appreciation for the honor that your distinguished society has bestowed upon our country in meeting here in Manila for your 12th International Symposium.

We in the developing world will ever regard with great pride and anticipation the instances when members of our international scientific community conduct their discussions and deliberations in our part of the world. It is an event not easily forgotten when we consider that here in our part of the world, scientific exploration and discovery are but beginning to unfold their boon to our uncounted millions.

Your coming here to our country affirms beyond words that the great discoveries of science and technology in our time are the common heritage of all mankind. Although not all nations and peoples today may possess that heritage, still we are persuaded by the sense of internationality of the scientific community to hope that in time all mankind will be able to possess it.

We understand little of what troubles so much of the world today — the conflicts and the divisions among nations, the persistent crisis in international economic life, the clamor for equality and dignity of peoples — if we do not perceive these problems as related to the issue of sharing scientific discovery and knowledge.

And we know nothing of the roots of insecurity in our human world if we do not perceive this to be rooted in the imbalances of power that arise when scientific discovery and knowledge are concentrated solely in a few nations, and fuels rivalry rather than cooperation among nations.

The spirit of this annual symposium on Remote Sensing of Environment — relating as it does to one of the most exciting scientific conquests of our time, and addressed as it is to the possibility of greater concert and cooperation among nations in the sharing of its boon to mankind — manifestly reminds us all that science may yet serve to unify rather than divide our world.

When the first man-made satellite — the Sputnik — was launched some 20 years ago, it was generally heralded as the beginning of man's liberation from planet earth. At that historic moment, the larger universe seemed to open for all mankind new frontiers for exploration, and to add new dimensions and mystery to human existence.

Yet in another sense, borne home to us with ever increasing clarity in recent years, that historic breakthrough in outer space also brought us closer to the greater possibilities in our planet. For even as it began to prod man forward in the exploration of outer space, it also served to provide him a new vantage point from which to contemplate his home. It would seem that the awe of being in outer space renewed us also in the mysteries and wonders of our own earth.

For even as the powerful nations continued to compete with each other in setting new records and milestones in space exploration, what they brought to the view of man was the persistent and stirring sight of a world without

borders. Instead of the divisions and boundaries that we daily live with, we saw instead the patterns of clouds, oceans and land masses, forming one contiguous physical entity — our planet earth.

As the history of this international symposium has so vividly recorded over the past so many years, the conquest of space and other achievements have ushered in the feeling and awareness of the interdependence of nations and peoples. And the technology that it evolved has progressively made us conscious of a whole new set of discoveries about the earth and of what sustains our existence on the planet.

Most of us, who are not scientists, will only dimly understand the complexities of the many discoveries that space satellite technology has produced over the last 20 years, and we shall perhaps never fully comprehend the full meaning and impact of space exploration on the life of mankind. Yet even in this realm of unawareness, we are aware and we perceive the possible applications this knowledge can confer on human life.

Largely because of satellite technology, we know more fully now than we ever did before how fragile is the system that sustains life on our planet.

Largely because of the discoveries beamed back by satellites, we understand more clearly how precious and limited are the natural resources of our planet.

And with every passing year, discovery is built upon discovery, new technologies are constantly being developed that today we have a virtual new science and technology for studying the world via satellite.

And it is in this light that your international symposium is justly viewed as perhaps the vehicle that may yet make possible true global partnership and co operation in the application and development of remote sensing technology.

I look at this symposium not merely as a gathering of experts, not only as a medium for the exchange of insights and ideas among scientists, but also as a mechanism for the sharing of human knowledge and beneficial technology.

The free flow of scientific and technological information has been a cherished tradition of men of science, if not of nations. The full flow of such information, under a system of exchange and cooperation among nations, will not only hasten the development of the Third World; it is likely to promote cordiality and lasting peace among all nations of the world.

So, we have this keen hope buoyed by the present international interest in remote sensing technology. This interest, I am informed, is shared by a surprisingly large number of countries which are not subscribing to landsat data. My report says that in 1975 alone, some 50,000 landsat frames were purchased from the United States by about 120 countries. This unusual and surprising interest in a technology thought to be quite advanced and too sophisticated could hasten its rapid diffusion to all comers of the world, as well as the diffusion of associated skills and equipment for remote sensing. More important, I believe this is likely to have a modernizing influence on the various sectors of society especially in the Third World.

I believe also that because of the global character of remote sensing, it could usher in a new era of partnership and cooperation in technology on a worldwide scale. Even now, there are already international projects in the application of remote sensing technology. One example cited is the “large area crop inventory experiment” of Lacie, whose main objective is to be able to provide worldwide crop forecasts for wheat with the use of landsat data.

I need not mention the potential impact of this project on the management of food resources of the world, for it is quite obvious. I am hoping though that a similar project will be initiated for rice. Since rice, as you know, is the main staple of most of the peoples of Asia, a landsat-based rice forecasting model for the rice-growing regions of the World would therefore go a long way toward averting critical food shortages in Asia and elsewhere.

In addition, the prospect is there for using remote sensing technology in planning transnational development. I am referring in this connection, to those resources that are commonly owned by a number of countries. In our part of the

world, the shared marine areas of Southeast Asia could be the subject of co operative undertaking by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, with respect to the application of remote sensing techniques.

The technology, like many other tools of progress, comes with certain constraints in its use, however. It has become clear during the last few years, for example, that use of orbital remote sensing equipment should be governed by a framework of international regulations.

The open, continuous global view of the earth by sensors on orbiting satellites raises the issue of sovereignty of independent nations. Some zealous countries, therefore, may consider unrestricted satellite surveillance and the consequent dissemination of data about their countries as invasion of national privacy.

The protection of a country's national privacy should, of course, be counter-balanced by the benefits of satellite sensing, such as those offered by the synoptic view of natural and environmental resources and the timeliness of the availability of needed data for dynamic policy decisions. Perhaps, it is high time that an International Forum on Satellite Remote Sensing is called by concerned authorities to resolve misgivings about its technology.

Such a forum could deliberate on the repercussions of remote sensing on national sovereignty, as well as on the formulation of guidelines for the establishment of an operational landsat system that would be financed and administered by an international organization.

The internationalization of remote sensing will not only allay the fears of some countries on possible infringement on their own sovereign slice of earth, but more important, it will assure the growth and continuity of the satellite remote sensing program as a viable instrument of international, as well as national, progress. The Third World, I should point out, stands to benefit most from the steady, continuous flow of resources and environmental data from remote sensing.

I say this because I believe that remote sensing technology is likely to create more significant impact in the developing countries than in the industrialized ones. The reason for this is clear: in most developing countries, natural resources are the primary base for development, but dearth of baseline information on the magnitude and location of their natural wealth is an immense restrictive factor in national planning for development.

Development planning requires up-to-date and reliable data on the extent and condition of, say, arable land, water resources, forest resources, mineral deposits, and the like. The dilemma of the developing countries is that their inadequacy in development planning is confounded by the rapid growth of their population. This phenomenon naturally calls for an equally rapid pace of development to keep up with the demands of the growth process. So then this is the big reason why developing nations must have needed resource data on hand and acquire new ones as quickly as possible.

Besides satisfying the urgent needs of development planning, remote sensing from space platforms also yields vital information on the environment. Our government is well aware of the proven usefulness of satellite technology to monitor the ever-changing conditions of our forests, the erosion of our soils, the pollution of our waterways, and the alterations in land use. Remote sensing technology, in other words, is an indispensable tool for forging our national development plans and in maintaining a desirable environmental quality for our people.

Within the next decade, satellite remote sensing is conceivably to undergo greater refinements with emphasis on faster transmission of a wider range of data. This accelerated improvement of the technology will result in an increasing volume of information available to its users.

However, the expected huge flow of natural resource data would be useless if they are not assimilated in the planning process, which implies, therefore, the necessity for an effective planning mechanism to grow hand in hand with such technological advances. The developing countries will be caught in this imperative, but this is really a boon for it will serve as an impetus for them to modernize and strengthen their planning agencies. Thus, the overall effect of remote sensing technology is to hasten the developmental processes involved in nation-building. In this

light, I look forward to the enhanced capabilities of the coming generation of resource satellites, such as Landsat C and Landsat D, which will further reinforce our ability to manage our natural resources and environment.

It is in recognition of the crucial role today of remote sensing technology that we have, in our own country, sought to create new institutional structures in order to take full advantage of its benefits. Here in the Philippines, we have established the Natural Resources Management Center, which serves as the central agency of our government for developing remote sensing technology in our country. With a modest investment of funds for equipment and training of technical personnel, the Center has made rapid strides in remote sensing know-how and competence. Within three months after its creation, the Center has completed a forest inventory of the entire Philippines. Normally this undertaking would have taken five years, using conventional surveying techniques.

I am proud to add that over and beyond the mere application of remote sensing techniques to resources inventory, the Center is now making significant and novel contributions to our accumulated body of knowledge in remote sensing. So far, the Center has undertaken research and development projects in the use of satellite data for geologic mapping, land use mapping, coral reef studies, bathymetric mapping of coastal areas, and the assessment of our mangrove and wetland areas.

Several technical papers containing our research activities in this area are due to be read during your symposium. I hope that participating countries with similar problems and environment as the Philippines will also present their own experiences and we can all benefit from this presentation. We are ready to share with all the countries here present our technical expertise, modest as it is, but also our administrative and management knowledge in the field which we have acquired recently.

We address this offer especially to our neighboring nations. The global perspective of the earth satellite sensing program should encourage us to create regional cooperation schemes for our common advantage. It may be a good idea, for instance, to set up an ASEAN Remote Sensing Center. In this way, expensive equipment, like a ground receiving station, could be shared for the mutual benefit of Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines.

Scientific endeavors are one of the more non-controversial ways of promoting cooperation and goodwill among men and nations, for it is rightly said that in science all differences in race, social creed and religion are transcended in favor of the objective truth. In this spirit, I dare to hope that your meeting serves to strengthen international and regional bonds, in keeping with the words enshrined in the United Nations treaty which bravely state that outer space exploration is "the province of all mankind."

Albert Einstein said it for us all when he proclaimed that scientific discoveries are "supranational," because "they are the products of the best brains of all countries and all times. In solitude and yet in cooperative effort as regards the final effect, they created the spiritual tools for the technical revolutions which have transformed the life of mankind in the last centuries."

In a finite world with finite resources, in a world threatened by the wanton depredation of the environment, the science and the technology of satellite exploration represent for all of mankind a veritable means for both survival and growth. It will not serve us if our nations are distracted and divided by narrow ends and interests, for only in full and earnest affirmation of the commonality of our goals and the interdependence of our efforts, will the wonders of this technological achievement extend its full benefits to man.

In closing, may I extend to you my very best wishes for a pleasant and fruitful symposium.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Commencement Address of President Marcos at the Mariano Marcos State University, April 25, 1978

Commencement Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Mariano Marcos State University

[Delivered in Batac, Ilocos Norte, April 25, 1978]

A University in the North

SECRETARY MANUEL, THE SUPREME bishop of the Philippine Independent Church, Monsignor Ga, the Governor of Metropolitan Manila, who happens to be my wife, the secretary of this College, President Mangasep, the Governor of this province, my fellow administrators in government, particularly the Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary Tanco, who is here for a purpose. I invited him so that he can check on the agricultural qualifications of the graduates and students have his “pick” for employment. That is a strong hint that he should pick the graduates of this college.

Some of the new members of the interim Batasang Pambansa are here. We have our representative of the educators in the KBL ticket for Metropolitan Manila and that is Dr. Waldo Perfecto, executive director of EDPITAF, the education reform implementing agency. At the same time, we also have the former governor, former congressman of Ilocos Norte, the new *kagawad* or member of the interim Batasang Pambansa, Sison. We also have the president of the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila, Dr. Blanco, who of course, is one of our outstanding educators. She is from Paoay, Ilocos Norte. We have many other members-elect of the IBP.

You know, I have had the idea that this campus should now be worked and planned properly by a development planning engineer. So I brought with me, upon the suggestion of the Metropolitan Manila governor, a new member of the interim Batasang Pambansa and the most outstanding of the graduates on development engineering and development planning, a doctor from Stanford University—Dr. Jolly Benitez.

We have also the new IBP member from Bicol who is a management and economics man, Delegate Villafuerte of Camarines Sur. You will find out later why we have invited this team to come and take a look at this campus. Well, I may just as well announce now why they are here.

Before you, I once again go through the ceremony of signing Decree No. 1270 which converts this college into a university. We will announce the officers of this university later on because we would like to plan this as well as we can. But in your presence, I am going to sign this—may I invite the guests to come and join me, including the president of the College, the Secretary of Education and, of course, the master of ceremonies, members of the board of regents and the team that will make this study.

I would like to announce that this is an example which will be replicated in all the regional universities that we are putting up throughout the Philippines.

This program is designed to decongest Manila and to transfer specialization as well as most of the liberal arts education from Manila to the various regions of the Philippines. And we are starting with this particular program here in Ilocos Norte.

I wish to say that it is an honor for me to be able to come, especially since this university is named after my father. I hereby announce that henceforth, this educational institution shall be known as the Mariano Marcos State University.

Inasmuch as the program is addressed to the less affluent members of our society who may not be financially able to attend a university, and because of participation in hard work such as farming in our region may not attain scholarships under the wide-ranging scholarship program of our government which gives 7,000 to 8,000 scholarships every year, I also hereby sign in your presence a new decree which widens the study-now-pay-later program. I hereby sign this presidential decree creating an Educational Loan Fund which shall amount to P14 million and will be handled by these financing institutions: the Philippine National Bank, the Development Bank of the Philippines and the Land Bank of the Philippines—which shall set aside P8 million each. The Government Service Insurance System as well as the Social Security System will also set aside P8 million each. I sign this in your presence and announce that in the next school year, the available amount which can be borrowed by the students and paid after he has graduated and after he has found employment shall now total P14 million.

I have always dreamt that someday we would be able to establish a university in this part of the country. First of all, I must apologize for delaying your graduation. I was incapacitated for more than two days. And so I had to hurry up, catch up on my schedule. But I do not accept any more speaking engagements at graduation ceremonies. It is only here, it is only on this occasion that I have made an exception.

This is therefore historic. It is historic because this is a commencement ceremony of a college that you did not know was already a university at the time you were still studying. Actually I think it is necessary that a continuous study be done by the group that we now have brought together to convert this practically non-existing building into the university. We have to finish the acquisition of the land. Three hundred hectares would be just right.

And so, I wish to say, for and on behalf of the members of the Marcos Foundation that we are proud to have named this institution after my father, and we feel safe to continue to entrust his honor and his name to this institution's new future and destiny. Rest assured that while I am President, I will continue to support this university. And rest assured that it is my intention to see to it that this university becomes a model, a model for other regions throughout the Philippines.

We must, therefore, start out by improving the quality. There are specializations which we must now bring to the university. This specialization will require augmenting the size and quality of the faculty. We will make provisions for a faculty house for the members of faculty especially those who are not resident here. Because I intend to invite from government offices as well as from other universities the specialists that will be able to transmit to our students the specializations that are necessary for the modernization of our country.

There is much we have to do. I therefore direct the Secretary of Education to now organize this special team to make these studies. And I ask Executive Director Jolly Benitez to now study the development and plans for the university. And likewise the other members of the team, like Dr. Waldo Perfecto of EDPITAF to now participate in the effort at upgrading this college into a university.

The relevance of an institution to a region will depend upon how very deeply we have studied the requirements of the region as well as the requirements of our nation.

There is a lesson that we have learned from our experience in human resources development in the Philippines during the last ten years that I have been President. It is the lesson that socio-economic development must receive and accompany any concerted effort of educational development. I repeat: socio economic development must receive and accompany any concerted effort of educational development.

The findings of the now internationally acclaimed project known as Survey and the Outcomes of Elementary Education has confirmed again the now accepted dictum of an educational development strategy: that unless the people have attained a certain level of socio-economic development, no amount of educational input in terms of buildings, modern materials and competent management can successfully overcome the handicaps of poverty. In other words, the building of roads, including nutrition, clothing, water facilities are as much a part of educational development as are school buildings and for that matter, the setting up of colleges and universities.

For this reason, we have sought over the last five years to effect a two-pronged strategy for educational development. While we have made every effort to build more school buildings to provide better teaching materials, trained teachers as well as to provide better incentives for them, we have also invested large amounts of money in roads, bridges, hospitals, markets, irrigation and electrification. In short, we have sought to improve the basic quality of life of the people in the urban and rural areas because we believe that socio-economic development, as we have said earlier must accompany educational development.

In Northern Luzon, for example, where we are establishing the National Research Center for the study of the tobacco industry because of our conviction that the results of this study on the problems of the tobacco industry will bring about significant changes in the social and economic life of the people in Northern Luzon many of whom depend upon this industry for their livelihood. The same thing is true with respect to cotton, onion as well as garlic.

Great men, we are told by the philosophers are not so much the result of what they know as what they love. The world, in spite of all its advances in science and technology, is not an inspiring spectacle for us and our children because of the continued presence of war or the threat of war, of economic injustices and social inequalities. It is because by and large, our institutions of education—and this includes the family, the churches, the government, the mass media—have failed to develop the will in addition to developing the mind. The cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude, justice have been conspicuous by their absence.

It is my hope that here in Northern Luzon, this is not true. And as I look at the graduates, as I feel the firmness of their grip, I realize that they have become taller than my generation, more healthy than my generation and I hope, also more mentally capable than my generation. But more than anything else, that they have also acquired a greater capacity to love their people and their country than did even my generation that fought and bled and died in order that our country may be free and prosperous.

You know, when there is a tragic absence of love of country and for people, for prudence and this feeling of justice, this feeling of oneness with humanity, we are witness to a world where technology may have an ableness to travel farther, to cure the diseases of the body and yet even to manipulate the behavior of people. But our institutions of development, because they have not paid sufficient attention to the development of those virtues that I speak of have not succeeded in alleviating the miseries of fear and want and malice.

It is my fervent hope that the graduates of this university now and in the future will all be imbued with a passion for justice as they are with the necessary skills for development.

It will be then my joy and pride, and the joy and pride of the parents, of our people to know that we have established in this northern outpost of our country a university true to the dreams of all those who have died, including the man after whom the university is named, my father, and true to the historic and universal traditions of every university worth its name, a place from whence our leaders of the future will come, men and Women who can thus rule others because they have learned the basic precept of learning first to rule themselves their emotions and their passions. That true university, after all, is the school of discipline where the mind, the will and the spirit of men may be enabled to achieve and to create in the image of his maker; who are born or who live in this northern region who must rely on human, rather than material resources have need of this kind of university to transmit the virtues of the older generation to the young, to institutionalize the transmittal of this virtue — from one generation to the other.

I hope and pray that this shall be the Mariano Marcos State University.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Message of President Marcos for a toast in honor of Vice-President Mondale, May 3, 1978

Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
For a toast in honor of Vice-President Mondale

[Delivered at the Maharlika Hall, May 3, 1978]

A New Era for Asia

MRS. MARCOS AND I are deeply honored to be able to tender this dinner in honor of our distinguished guest, the Vice-President of the United States of America, at a time when not only Asia but all of the world looks to the vital role that the United States of America plays in both Asian and world affairs. As an economic and military power, therefore, the United States can, by the mere suggestion of any variations in policy, alter the forward movement of all the efforts of small and developing countries like the Philippines.

We are aware, therefore, that the Philippines is singularly privileged to be the first point of stop of the Asian visit of Vice-President and Mrs. Mondale.

We tender this dinner in this hall that has been renamed Maharlika Hall, the hall of freedom, of free men. *Maharlika* is the old Filipino term for nobleman, free man. This building is also known for having housed the officers of General Douglas Mac Arthur and the late President Eisenhower when he was a major on the staff of General MacArthur. I referred to them because they seem to represent and symbolize an age during which the relationship between the United States and the Philippines was infused with a certain atmosphere which we have often referred to as special relations.

Yes, we have (in the Philippines) shown our oneness with the United States in those deep moments of apprehension when the world was sharply divided. And thus, the city of Manila was devastated during the last war. According to President Eisenhower who passed through from Europe, Manila was probably just as badly devastated as Warsaw.

At the same time, we lost about a million of a population of 18 million. And in later years, the Philippines was to contribute troops for the action and operations in Korea, and even against very deep opposition from our own people, we sent a humanitarian civic action group to Vietnam.

Tonight, we are therefore reminded of the world of MacArthur and Eisenhower. But that is a world that seems to have gone. And the swift series of developments has brought about a new world. And thus, we have the detente that the Western world knows about. We have the energy crisis and the rise to power of the oil-producing countries. We have the Middle East problems with which, of course, the United States is also involved. We have the demand for majority rule in Africa. And the economic crisis that doesn't seem to leave us alone, with its inflationary pressures that have pushed the economists of most countries to the verge of desperation.

These events seem to herald a new world radically different from the world that both MacArthur and Eisenhower knew. This is a world which requires new perceptions and new adjustments. And, accordingly, the nations of the world seek to analyze what such a new era could bring, the United States of America included. The Philippines looks around and sees that the three most important events in our part of the world seem to be: the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union; the tensions that seem to have developed between these two big countries; and the termination of the war in Vietnam. All these events seem to have brought about a short-term type of stability to our region. And, yet, we are all aware of the puzzle which the long-term results of these events will bring.

And thus, we look to the United States for the interpretation of all these developments in Asia. For the Asian world of this new era is a world that shall still be molded to the policies of the big powers. The reaction of the small countries like the Philippines to this new development is, of course, an effort of immediately seeking economic cooperation amongst the states of the region. And thus, we have ASEAN.

At the same time, we have laid greater emphasis on economic development. And, thirdly, we seek a crash program of self-reliance not only for development but also perhaps, hopefully, for security. And fourth, we look to a mutually beneficial readjustment of relations on a more permanent basis with the United States.

We are, therefore, very happy and grateful that Vice-President Mondale who has been entrusted by the American government, and President Carter especially, with delicate and crucial missions abroad, is here and through his wise counsel has brought about a proper perspective in the assessment of all these developments.

As I said upon your arrival, Mr. Vice-President, we are encouraged by the fact that the American leadership and especially you have expressed encouragement also to the emergence of stable, free, independent and strong states that will contribute to the solution of the problems of Southeast Asia and all of Asia and at the same time participate in the effort at maintaining stability in the region. This liberal attitude which also embraces the idea of allowing the smaller states more participation in the determination and control of their economic and political destinies, is something typically American.

And as I say this, I see, too, the proclamation of independence of the Philippines in 1946. The United States established a precedent when it withdrew voluntarily from the Philippines, its former colony — an act of voluntary surrender over a colony which made untenable the entire idea of colonialism throughout the world. We are encouraged by the continuous trend of liberalism, of understanding and sympathy that the United States shows to the world. And, therefore, we have come out openly in support of its efforts to establish the standards of conduct, standards of equity and justice, individual and national, which have been denominated as the principle of human rights. We adhere to this principle and, certainly, have voluntarily joined in the general effort at bringing about not just security, not just trade, but more than this, the dignity of the individual human being which, I gather, is the final objective of the policies of the United States of America.

The United States of America, as I said yesterday, certainly places a primacy on the value of freedom. And as such, I am confident, therefore, that the Vice-President and President Carter himself and the American people sympathize with us and recognize the validity of all these aspirations of the small states to a measure of independence and of freedom, of strength which will allow us to form our own economic, social and political institutions in accordance with our own needs and our own traditions and customs. Perhaps no other country except the United States with its traditions of freedom and liberalism, is in a position to precisely encourage such a development.

Your visit, therefore, rings in this era into Asia, and we are strengthened and encouraged by it. We, therefore, welcome you, Mr. Vice President with this note that you do set the proper perspective for this new era that we now see is coming into our world in Asia. And it is our hope that you will continue with your mission, with your established policy in support of the aspirations of small and developing states.

Today, we have just signed a memorandum of agreement extending aid to the Philippines on such subjects as farm-to-market roads, potable water sources, cooperative marketing and trading, and non-conventional sources of energy. These are matters, perhaps, much too small for a great power like the United States of America. And, yet, they do set the atmosphere and the orientation, and thus, give notice to the world that the interest of the United States of America is not merely in trade and security but, I repeat, ultimately, is impressed on the recognition of the dignity of the individual human being.

For this, I say, thank you on behalf of all the poor nations, the weak countries of the world. I, therefore, request you to rise and join me to a toast to the continued prosperity and success of the American people and their great leader, President Carter, and Vice-President Mondale, and the strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Philippines and the United States.

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Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 56th UP Vanguards Alumni Homecoming, May 6, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 56th UP Vanguards Alumni Homecoming

[Delivered at the University of the Philippines, May 6, 1978]

The Backbone of Our Armed Forces

I AM VERY glad to be at this Vanguard homecoming. I was supposed to be down South, in Palawan. But I heard the miserable state in which the Vanguard leadership was, because they were looking around and could not get a guest of honor, not even the President or the Chief Justice. And so I decided to stay behind and let the First Lady attend to the South in the meantime.

The trouble with letting her go out alone is you always discover that she does not need you. But that no longer is a surprise to me. Anyway, I am very glad that I am here. I always enjoy myself at a Vanguard meeting, not only because of the jokes about age. You know, whatever the Chief Justice says — at last stage, the man is not old, he is dead.

But, you know, a man in public life is like a soldier. Before he goes to an appointment, he psyches himself up for the particular occasion. I remember when we were soldiers — who were in Bataan with me? Well, almost everybody here was. Nick Jimenez was there. He almost killed me, incidentally. You remember that old story. I am glad that he does not shoot straight. Romy Espino was there. General Santos is something else. Do you know that he took me out of Manila after the raid on my headquarters and the raid on the Philippine General Hospital, the raid on my house where they got my brother? He took me out of Manila in a staff car of the Bulacan provincial constabulary command. I was dressed in proper uniform. Of course, I was a lieutenant of the puppet constabulary in 1944. And so, let us give a hand to General Santos.

I see many others here. I see Tony Quirino also. He used to hunt with us. He did not do any shooting though. I wondered then what he was doing when we left him alone. And so many others. Narsisi is here? In the fighting in Besang Pass, he planted the Philippine flag on top of Bukol point at Besang Pass in 1945. Besang Pass Day is fast approaching, and I remember it because it's June 14. We used to go out on patrol, you remember, you used to psyche yourself up. You always psyche yourself up whenever you go out into hostile territory. You think of all the contingencies that may arise. You're going out for three days, and you need iron rations and you alert the men and tell them about the situation. You give them everything. But more than that, you start checking on whom you think is too weak to come along with you on this particular patrol.

The same thing is true with a man in public office. Before you go out to deliver a speech or go out to any appointment whatsoever, you psyche yourself up. Now, I am not saying that before I came to the University of the Philippines, I psyched myself up for hostile territory. Because I always relax whenever I am here. And look what I got myself into. I now have to pay for a building.

But, you know, these people think they put one over me. They didn't, but I promised this several years ago. They were way behind in their collection, so I waited for the building to be finished. Now it is almost finished. And now I can come and claim the honor of helping build this building, although we did not spend very much for it.

You know, the Chief Justice and I were comparing notes, of course, first about the ladies. That is the usual subject of conversation for everybody over 40, I guess. And we all agreed that the girls in the universities today seem to be better looking than the girls in our time. But I reminded him: That is only because your memory is failing you. 1934 is his year and 1937 is my year. I am afraid I commit treason by saying that the girls then were not as good-looking as the girls now. I am certain that my original analysis was correct. And that is, our memories don't go that far.

So, may I congratulate the Vanguard for collecting ladies of such beauty and talent. You know, this used to be the first qualification of a Vanguard. In our time, I mean. We always picked the better-looking girls for sponsors in the university.

Anyway, my generation is that generation that still met with Aguinaldo, Aglipay and the revolutionaries of 1898. I remember talking to General Emilio Aguinaldo. This was immediately after my election to Congress. We had gone to Kawit on a celebration of Independence Day, June 12. I think it was 1947-48. And he told me: You know, the problem with being a soldier is, six months after a war, you are completely forgotten. And I am told, he said, that I should have died during the revolution, because nobody remembers me now. Of course, I immediately dissuaded him from such a belief. But his words stuck in my mind. Six months after a war, the soldiers are forgotten. And he asked me: Were you a soldier in the last war? And I said, yes, I was one of the many who fought in the last war. Well, he said, you better remember what they also told me. To be remembered, you should have died in the war. And this old man, perhaps having turned cynical because of the long years of lack of recognition—you remember, he ran for President against President Quezon in 1936 the first Commonwealth election. And I was talking to him 10 years after that— 1946, 1947 thereabout. This was the old man who had established the first Republic in Malolos in 1898. Half a century later, he was still bitter about the whole thing.

Yet here in the Philippines, we notice however a change in the atmosphere. Because soldiery, while still merely sometimes just a preparation or the beginning of a career, has become an important adjunct of national life. Why? Because we have been fighting since the last World War. You remember, we fought the insurgency immediately after the war— 1945, 1946 up to 1954. and we have been fighting since then. We are still fighting a secessionist movement.

This is why I am very glad that the Vanguard is an active organization. It keeps alive the virtues of soldiery, that of courage, of patriotism, dedication, pride in our flag and pride in oneself, because soldiery more than anything else is pride in oneself, pride in your achievement as offered and dedicated to an ideal as differentiated from all other activities. Your achievement, for instance, when you go into a profession, well, you have pride in that profession of yours. But it is more circumscribed. It is narrow in perspective than that of the soldier. The soldier offers it to the nation and this somehow marks his profession with a higher form of nobility.

And I speak of this because everywhere I go, especially when I am among the younger elements of our people, the first thing that enter my mind is: I wonder who among the young kids, the men and the women, will follow in our footsteps. I just asked the Chief Justice: whom do you think among these young men and women will become a chief justice to follow after your example? And, of course, he also asked: Whom do you think will become a President? My answer is, anybody who is a Vanguard has the potential to become President.

You received this with hilarious acclaim and laughed at it. But let me tell you. The world is becoming materialistic. The world is becoming very, very gross everywhere else, not just in the Philippines but everywhere else. The modern world is forgetting its ideals. The modern world is forgetting such things as the old virtues. The modern world is forgetting that there are things greater than affluence and popularity. That after all is said and done, when you are buried or burned, if you are cremated' you cannot bring anything with you except perhaps some kind of a claim to have contributed to a lasting structure. And what is the most lasting of structures? It is the nation. It is the country. It is the flag. That flag will always be there, and the nation will always be there and the country will be there—long, long after you and I are gone. Long after all these transitory preoccupations have passed away, there will be a country, there will be a nation.

And the one and only question that will be asked to each and everyone of us probably will be: What was our contribution to that nation?

And the Vanguard, whatever anyone says, like such other organizations, is an organization that has contributed greatly to the building of a nation. Look at those who are here present. Is it strange that the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines is here? We are at present engaged in trying to reorganize the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The Philippine Constabulary, for instance will be reorganized from the four-zone concept into, say, ten

regions, eleven regions, thirteen regions, whatever it is, that we may agree upon. And the complement of the joint staff under the Chief of Staff has now up to eight.

What does all this mean? That we have been moving along? And who are helping out in this? Of course, the PMA graduates. But the greater number of officers in the Armed Forces, believe it or not, are still reserve officers. They come from the Vanguard. They come from the University of the Philippines Vanguard.

These are like the doctors and the nurses who go to New Jersey from the Philippines. If you pull them out, all the hospitals in New Jersey will close. The same thing is true if you pull back all the reserves in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. You won't have an Armed Forces of the Philippines.

This comes as a shock to many people, but it is true. And if, by and large, those reservists, these men who are actually running the Armed Forces of the Philippines at the lower levels — because most of the men who are in the reserves never get to the position of Chief of Staff. You have here two examples of those who have reached the position of Chief of Staff. The only full general in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the only men who are qualified to put four stars on their collars are the chiefs of staff, beginning with these gentlemen here. However, the great bulk of them are the lieutenants, the company commanders, and they go as high as battalion commanders. And they constitute the backbone of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

Let me tell you what happened in 1973. In 1973, the secessionists took over the great number of provinces in Mindanao. You remember that? When I was in Marawi City — for some reason, the city was taken over by the secessionists ahead of time, they mistook their cue, I guess — in October 1972, I was shocked at the realization that there was a secessionist movement, there was a rebellion in the middle of Mindanao. Marawi City had been taken over. Detachments were wiped out. And then this spread. Lebak, Cotabato was taken over sometime at the end of February 1973. Then Jolo followed. Basilan. Then Tawi-Tawi. Then Zamboanga del Sur. Then the attack on Cotabato City. And Cotabato City was endangered for a while. You know who saved the day for the Republic of the Philippines? The reservists. When we asked the civilians to tell us exactly what they wanted, you know what they said? We can't wait for the reinforcements because we know you are busy with the NPA in Luzon. But give us arms. Break out the armories in Mindanao and give us the arms and we will handle the secessionists.

And so in a period of two weeks, we organized 16,000 reservists in Mindanao. This will be one of the chapters that will be written about the participation of the reservists — men who probably trained with the Vanguard. Because when I went down to Cotabato, I met some of these officers, mayors, judges. I saw, of course—some of the judges were kitchen police, the usual thing, you know, when trouble comes, during a crisis, the more forceful elements take over and the wiser ones step back. The wiser ones always stay in headquarters. But we organized 16,000 men.

And that is why, I am very happy to note that the Vanguard lives on. This reminds me of the political campaign. Now, look, we are through with the campaign, you know.

Anyway, 1973 to 1974 thereabouts was an interregnum which was occupied with the utilization of reservists, I am very glad that the Vanguard continues to uphold the ideals of the organization. And let me congratulate General Ver's reelection to office.

You know, if you keep him busy with the Vanguard, the Chief of Staff might recommend his retirement. I am just kidding, of course. That is a very sore point with the generals right now.

We have 77 generals in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. We are retiring about 44 by the end of June and we will probably start retiring 17 by the end of May.

I am certain that the reelection of General Ver is going to prejudice my office. But just the same, if it is necessary, I order him to accept this. However, let me say that, indeed, the election of General Ver to the position of national commander of the Vanguard certainly is well deserved for he has set up so many of these projects that we are proud of.

Anyway, we just had a visit from the Vice President of the United States. I know that you are interested in this. I note that some of the newspapermen followed me. They probably want to know what the footnote is to this document, this joint statement, and why it took such a long time to be agreed upon.

You know, we were supposed to meet the whole day of the third day, which we did. We met the whole morning, from 9:30 to 12:30. In the afternoon, we met again, and then we appointed a committee to work out the joint statement. From 2:30 up to 5:30, they could not agree on anything. Before the state dinner which we tendered in honor of Vice-President and Mrs. Mondale, we had to break from protocol and work on it again at about seven o'clock — seven to eight. This was referred to Washington. And, of course, on our part, we also made all these noises about referring it to the National Security Council. The truth of the matter was that I already had the authority of the National Security Council. I didn't want them to believe that if they were going to refer it to Washington, I was not going to refer it to somebody else also. And so all this *palabas*, you know.

And the question that arises now is: What was this all about? You know, the joint statement is simple: the two leaders met, etc., etc.; it was agreed that there would be an acceleration of the bases agreement. Why? Because I noticed that they had been dragging their feet on these negotiations. The United States has a treaty. *Alam naman ninyong mayroon tayong kasunduan sa Estados Unidos*. Embodied *sa tatlong kasunduang iyan ang* mutual defense, military assistance, and military bases. Three treaties. And in 1966, you remember, I asked that the military bases agreement, which was supposed to be for 91 years, be reduced to 25 years. Do you remember that? I went to Washington and we entered into an agreement. It was reduced to 25 years. But that was the time when the United States had a monopoly of atomic weapons and, therefore, I asked that if we didn't want it anymore, we should be able to dispense with it. Because I am thinking in terms not only of myself and of our generation, but also of the generations to come. The perspectives and perceptions the next ten years would be different. Suppose I were no longer there? And I presume that that would be correct. What would the successor say if we did not give them a little leeway or option? Thus I suggested that we would review all of this now and every five years from now.

I noticed that many of the newspapermen did not note this particular aspect. Do you know that that was one of the most difficult points? Because we have an understanding: they can stay in the bases for 25 years. That is a Guantanamo situation. You remember that the United States has a base in Cuba? Cuba kicked out everybody, but they couldn't kick out the United States from Guantanamo base. Do you remember that? And the United States is still there in Guantanamo base. Why? Because they refused to recognize Castro and his regime and they have refused to deal with him.

Now I suggested that this agreement therefore be put down in writing. They agreed. Now, the other important thing was the question of sovereignty, as you know. Sovereignty enters into many, many questions, not just the question of compensation or jurisdiction; and there had always been skirting, postponement, delay and evasive actions which were too obvious for satisfaction. I therefore insisted that there be an understanding on this because I sort of suggested, you know, you don't want to go home without something and unless we agreed on this, you could not get anything. Because sovereignty, to me, I said, is not negotiable. There had to be a prior statement about sovereignty before we could continue.

And so we came to this agreement. What does this joint statement mean? By the way, are there any newspapermen around here? Are the Malacañang people represented here? That is all right. You can ask me questions later on. Well, anyway, the Clark Air Force base is 52,000 hectares, Subic Naval base is 17,000 hectares. It excludes the bay and the training ground across the bay in Olongapo. We have now succeeded in getting an agreement to be signed which will mean that all of these will be returned to the Philippines physically. And then we authorized the use of certain facilities in another agreement by the Armed Forces of the United States, under conditions that we are going to agree upon. What does this mean? This merely means that, in all probability, Clark Air Force Base will be reduced from 52,000 to 4,500 hectares. It also means that Subic Naval Base will be reduced from 17,000 to about 8,000 hectares. It does not include, of course, the watershed and, the training ground across the bay.

But whatever it is, it is of such primary importance to us that I feel there should be some understandings as to how these matters should be handled by both the media and our people.

I also would like to announce to you that this will now go to a panel. On our side, this panel will be headed by a Vanguard brother, no other than General Romeo Espino, the Chief of Staff, who will now work out the details of taking over from the American commander.

I think that this will be historic in a sense because for the first time we will be able to raise a Philippine flag inside the bases which we consider Philippine military bases. In short, the entire complex, whether it is Clark Air Force Base or Subic Naval Base, will now be considered Philippine military bases.

On the economic side, what has come out of this visit is, I would estimate to be about \$340 million worth of tariff cuts. We were able to obtain better treatment for our products, more specifically coconut oil and Philippine mahogany plywood. Remember that our coconut oil used to pay 8 percent tariff, while palm oil, our competitor was paying zero or nothing in the United States market. Plywood, with Philippine mahogany facing, was paying 20 percent tariff. This is going to be reduced to 8 percent which is equal to the tariff on the other plywoods coming from other countries.

At the same time, there are other products that will be worked out. We are now going to move into another textile agreement; you remember that we have a textile agreement which is supposed to expire this year. And they were going to let it expire without any further arrangements. Textile is becoming one of our principal exports. Then we will also have a restudy of the countervailing investigations. You remember that our exports of garments have what are known as incentives, BOI or Board of Investment incentives. And these were considered cash incentives by the United States so much so that the exporters of garments in the Philippines were compelled to pay an amount equal to the incentives that are given by the Philippine government. In short, they were going to wipe out the incentives that we are giving to our infant industries. We called attention to this fact as being unfair and unjust, because it does not injure American industry and there are several other items, including sugar on which there is now going to be a reopening of negotiations and studies.

At the same time, I would like to announce that the American government has now indicated its desire to meet with ASEAN, with the Philippines as the lead in the US-ASEAN negotiations. And the next meeting will be in Washington on a ministerial level, if approved by the ASEAN ministers that will meet in Bangkok next June, or July, I think.

These are the results of this visit. More than anything else, however, we have been able to, first of all, show that we adhere to the principle of human rights. That the matter of how to conduct our internal government is a matter that belongs to us alone, and that it has no connection whatsoever with foreign affairs. If there is a war, which is internal like insurgency, if they want to come and intervene, first let us know because we don't want them to intervene. It is the policy of the Philippines that we shall never ask foot troops from anyone, including our ally the United States, to come to the Philippines. If, however, there should be any massive attack in the form of the complexion and quantity or magnitude of the Japanese attack the Philippines in 1941, then we will look into this matter. But as of now, we, of course, have told everybody that it is our policy to stand on our own feet, to be self-reliant. We can handle anything that we may meet in the matter of insurgencies or secessionism. Anyway, it is the policy of the United States not to intervene on these matter. Therefore, when it comes to anything which involves internal order inasmuch as they are not going to help, anyway, they should not intervene in the decisions that are to be made. And this was accepted.

Then the final matter is the question of basic policy about the encouragement of the emergence of free, independent, stable, small states capable of contributing to the solution of the problems of Asia and towards the maintenance of stability in this region. And that is in the best interest of everyone if the Philippines is permitted to develop into a really free, independent, and strong state. This is, of course, to say there should be no efforts at the destabilization because it will hurt them as much as it will hurt us.

So, my friends, let me close these remarks, as the Chief Justice has called our statement, with again the reminder that the Vanguard is almost like the—I was going to say, almost like what the College of Law used to say. You remember what the College of Law of the University of the Philippines used to say? The College of Law was always so proud of the fact that the government was ran by the College of Law of the University of the Philippines. Well, Probably you can say, the Armed Forces of the Philippines is ran by the Vanguard of the University of the

Philippines. It is not therefore far-fetched to say that the Vanguard should therefore maintain its high standards, its quality of instructions and its ideals. For it is here where the achievements of the Armed Forces of the Philippines start. I have always said the Vanguard and the Philippine Military Academy constitute the twin posts on which rests the structure of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. If one were lost, if the PMA alone remains, I am afraid we would have a tilted structure. If PMA were lost and only the Vanguard, then you might also have an imbalance. And, therefore, we should maintain this structure on these twin posts.

I therefore always wish the best for the Vanguard. And rest assured, so long as I am President of the Republic of the Philippines, I will support the efforts of our Vanguard fraternity.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

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Address of President Marcos at the inaugural session of the interim Batasang Pambansa, June 12, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inaugural session of the interim Batasang Pambansa

[Delivered on June 12, 1978]

A Bold Experiment

SA BISA NG aking sinumpaang katungkulan bilang Punong Ministro at gayon din sa panunumpa sa katungkulan ng ating Gabinete, pasisimulan natin ngayon ang pamunuan, paglilingkod at pagtatatag ng isang bagong pamahalaan sa Republika ng Pilipinas.

Makahulugan na isinasagawa natin ang lahat ng mga ito sa dakilang araw ng pagdiriwang natin ng ikawalumpung kaarawan ng ating Kasarinlan

Batid ng lahat ng ating mga mamamayan kung gaano kahalaga ang araw na ito sa ating pagkalahi at pagkabansa.

With the oath I have just taken sa Prime Minister, and the oath taken by the members of the Cabinet, a new Government enters into the service of our Republic.

It adds to the awesome charge of this assembly that it should open its first session on this 80th year of our Independence.

None of us can fail to appreciate the real significance of this moment.

None cannot but glory at the significance, political and otherwise, of the events not only today but in the last five and a half years. For the first time the Filipino people are truly sovereign over their land. After almost 500 years, for the first time in our history, no foreign colonizer holds any right of sovereignty power any part of our territory.

Barely a month ago, the American government formally recognized the supremacy of our sovereignty over the military bases.

We celebrate, therefore, our day of Independence with an act of freedom. I have organized the government in accordance with the Constitution, which has formulated and ratified at the instance and with the mandate of our people, without the intervention of a foreign power. We adopt a form of government completely derived from all the others that we have known, a mixture of the presidential and parliamentary forms of government.

Today we manifest in formal form our shift from the authoritarian form to liberalism, against the trend of history which claims the irreversibility of the drift towards authoritarianism and centralism.

We have just overcome, if at a price, foreign-backed secessionist movement that sought to dismember the territory of the Republic. The problem remains, but the loss of our territory has been denied by our people.

We have overwhelmed the leftist-rightist rebellion that sought to win political power by force. In the process we have converted the former reactionary and status quo mechanism of martial law into a liberal instrument of reform and laid the foundation for the restructuring of our entire society.

We have revived our ancient ideals and institutions not merely as inspirational reminders of a noble past but as a workable pattern of government and of daily life.

We have returned pride to the Filipino. We have converted economic and even security crises, chaos and fratricidal bloodletting into motivating force for national unity and cohesive community action.

Proud of his past, aware of his heritage, the Filipino has turned crisis into opportunity and has willingly rectified past errors to retrieve a lost society from disintegration.

Nationalism and self-reliance are once again proudly proclaimed as articles of our faith.

We have rediscovered and practiced the ancient virtues. As it were we placated the once angry gods of our fathers without offerings of self-denial.

In January 1973, a few months after the proclamation of martial law, where our people ratified the new Constitution, the interim National Assembly should have replaced the Congress, which the new Constitution had abolished. But it ratifying the new charter, our people expressly rejected the interim National Assembly, convinced perhaps that it carried the seeds of the old vices.

For as long as crisis government combined the powers of the executive and the legislature in the Presidency, there were those who felt no pressing need to set up a transitional lawmaking body.

But it was never the intent of our people, nor my wish, that the consolidation of legislative and executive powers in the Presidency should continue indefinitely or result in the disappearance altogether of a legislative assembly. Rather, it was our common faith that as the emergency eased, as the situation of the country stabilized, and as reforms took root in national life, we would set in motion the processes for the orderly transition from presidential law making legislation by a lawmaking body.

It was for this reason that in the referendum-plebiscite of October 1976, our people ratified the amendments to the Constitution, establishing the interim Batasang Pambansa in which we now have the honor to participate.

With that amendment, coupled with the propitious developments that marked the later years of crisis government, we were able in April this year to hold elections for the interim Batasang Pambansa. Thus, you and I are here today.

When we reflect upon the difficulties we have had to hurdle to convene this body, we cannot fail to note how grave is our responsibility and how anxious are our people about this transitional parliament.

Not without anxiety did our people choose to have a new legislature in place of the old, whose passing they were not inclined to mourn; and not without anxiety do they now view the work of this assembly as it commences its historic work.

We have been summoned to great tasks, for which we must now give the very best of ourselves.

The Constitution (Article XVII, Section 5) directs us “to give priority to measures for the orderly transition from the presidential to the parliamentary system, the reorganization of the government, the eradication of graft and corruption, the effective maintenance of peace and order, the implementation of declared agrarian reforms, the standardization of compensation of government employees, and such other measures as shall bridge the gap between the rich and poor.”

While the provision specially conceives of the interim Batasang Pambansa

a bridge from the presidential to the parliamentary system, behind it is the implied meaning that it must also serve as an organ for the institutionalization of reforms, especially agrarian reform, as a vehicle for social, economic and political change.

For there can be no separation of the objective to achieve an effective parliamentary order from that of attaining a truly progressive, dynamic democratic society.

Thus, if in the past we have had legislatures that tended to conserve rather than reform, legislatures that preached caution in response to crisis and urgency as well as challenge, legislatures that nursed dependence on others rather than encouraged national self-reliance, and legislatures that competed with the executive branch instead of working as its unfailing partner and ally — and this the prejudice of the national welfare — this assembly must see itself as a reformist body, committed to change and the transformation of our society.

This is an assembly that must embody for us the unity of purpose and effort which enabled us to surmount chaos and crisis in our national life and to mobilize the national will for transformation and development.

And this is an assembly, I dare say, which must reflect the nation we are today and light up our path towards the future.

For this body is itself a child of our New Society, born in the womb of crisis challenge and reform which have marked our national life during the last five and a half years.

And what we have learned, what we have sown and reaped during this critical and crucial period of ferment, constitutes the starting point of the work of this assembly. Indeed, it forms the foundation of this body, without which our lofty goals would be hollow and frail and our efforts mired in the paralysis and chaos that proved the downfall of the old society.

The crises we have overcome and the struggle we have had to wage are too recent to be forgotten. We cannot and should not forget the dangers that faced the Republic, nor the price we had to pay for our survival and our march to progress. For we were a nation under siege.

It was under those circumstances that we declared martial law on September 21, 1972, giving rise to what we have since called the crisis government.

Up to now, it is sometimes wondered why our response to crisis had not been limited to a simple struggle against the enemies of the state. The answer is obvious. We knew the crisis to be rooted in social inequities, in condition of oppression and want, which our democratic processes could only palliate. Behind the arms borne against the state were grievances so deep and glaring that many found common cause with the insurgents and the rebels without understanding why. Behind the sudden coalition of anti-government forces was the loss of will and paralysis on the part of government and government officers which served to encourage the ambitions of many who coveted power no matter by what means. And beyond the barricades, an entire society asked for not just surcease to the chaos on our streets but earnest effort to rally its flagging energies to the tasks of national transformation and change.

The cause of national survival itself demanded sweeping social change and reform. And we saw that any measure to quell the insurgency and rebellion would only be a half-measure, a victory half won, if it did not attack the cause of rebellion itself.

Before the combined challenge of leftists, rightists, and secessionists, we summoned the full might of the state in a determined effort to stem the tide of national collapse and to stop the wave of violence and terrorism sweeping the countryside. It was certainly one of the happier aspects of that unsettled period in our history that when government manifested its resolve to survive, our people stood firmly by its side. And we witnessed none of the distress and chaos which so often marked the proclamation of emergency in other countries.

And to the call for change we summoned all that was within the power of the crisis government to muster. In the first month alone of our crisis government we incorporated into the law of the land vital and radical measures, which since 1946 had wallowed in the agenda of the old Congress.

We declared the entire country a land reform area and decreed the emancipation of the tenant from his bondage to the soil.

Sixty-six percent of eligible tenant-farmers have been covered by certificates of land transfer, while land consolidation, compact farming, cooperative development and resettlement occupy the first category of priority projects of the government. The program which makes the tenant-farmer not only a free man but a leading participant in the national effort to make the-country fully self-reliant remains the cornerstone of the reforms of the New Society and will continue to mobilize the best efforts and substantial resources of the government.

We decreed the massive reorganization of our government, so sweeping in scope that in barely a month's time thousands were removed from office and an almost new governmental structure took over the reins of the bureaucracy.

We formulated a new national development plan and in the process created the National Economic and Development Authority which unified the apparatus of economic planning under one roof and set the stage for the mobilization of national energies for the tasks of economic development.

In support of the new plan, we launched a comprehensive food production program and new industrial priorities beamed towards export expansion and regional dispersal of industry. The food production program has since been applauded by other countries.

We initiated programs for the redistribution and democratization of wealth, ginning with policies designed to extend a new deal to labor and the peasantry and culminating in the passing of a new Labor Code and the implementation of massive rural development program.

In the belief that social development and individual welfare cannot be postponed until the time when full economic modernization is attained, we bought the expansion of job opportunities, social amenities, and social services, particularly those covering the basic necessities of food and health.

To consolidate the gains in peace and order, we effected the full reorganization of all police agencies under the Integrated National Police.

And this was thatched by measures to strengthen the administration of justice, including among others the revitalization of the civilian courts. Commenting this was a new era of placing such courts directly under the Supreme Court of the Philippines, free finally from politics.

Complementing this was the commencement of a national program for self reliance in national defense, an objective made imperative by developments in Asia and encouraged by the exemplary performance of our Armed Forces, without which the efforts during the period of emergency might have failed.

In the field of our relations with other countries, we effected a fundamental recasting of our foreign policy, established relations with all countries regardless of social system, and for the first time enlisted diplomacy in the service of our development goals.

And perhaps most noteworthy of all, we committed ourselves to the tasks of returning power to our people, of rebuilding our political life at the grassroots level through the creation of the barangays and the citizen, assemblies or the sanggunian.

In all of these areas, our actions went beyond the writing of policies to be implementation of programs and the achievement of goals. And the vision of our New Society did not fail to touch the smallest sector of the nation.

Taken together, all these spell a building of national capabilities, a consolidation of the national will for our development effort, which in the even injected new dynamism and purpose into our national life.

There are indelible accomplishments to be seen in the record — the surge of the national economy, the rise in incomes, the perceptible improvement of individual welfare, the new civility in our social life, and the respect we have gained in the family of nations; and over and above all, the feeling of confidence and pride that you now see and feel demonstrated and manifested throughout the land by our people. But what is most compelling about these achievements is the fact that they are gains that have not ceased and do not cease to grow. They point us irreversibly forward, towards larger goals.

These gains may be reduced to the following principles:

First: The survival of the public order and of the individual rights it secures rests on the ability of the government to maintain its independence from those who would seek to manipulate it, fragment it, or subvert it. Our recalled experience has taught us that only when the government was able to liberate itself from the entrenched influence of the oligarchy, the political warlords and the criminal syndicates, could it cope effectively with the open challenge of rebellion and anarchy. A weak government is a menace to public order, national security and to individual rights.

Second: Representative government is representative only when the many and the poor are organized to articulate their interests and to participated government. It has been our experience that political power resides as it did the political broker of old and not in the people when the farmer is not organized, or the worker is not organized or the barangay is not organized major sectors of our society to organize the masses in their communities and their sectors, we cannot achieve complete participatory democracy.

Third: The struggle for national development, for true and complete from and human rights, must be waged and won in the rural areas more than anywhere else. It is in the rural areas where the great majority of our people live and where poverty and underdevelopment are most deeply rooted. It is the geography of our central concern and the great redirection of public resources from the urban to the rural area initiated by the crisis government which must be maintained. Unless we do so, the entire nation, including its urban areas, will ultimately be overwhelmed by deprivation.

Fourth: The twin problems of poverty and inequality which have long plagued our society have led us finally to concentrate on the basic needs of the poor and on the basic requirements for the expansion of their economic opportunities. From all the years of perilous self-government that we as a nation have experienced, from all the false starts and wrong turns and the distorted decisions and all the misdirected efforts and misspent resources of the past, we have learned painfully and at great cost, but we have learned finally and well, I hope, to return to the basic tenets and needs and basic concerns of the poor and the underprivileged. And these are the things needed for the body— food, land, housing, schools, roads, medical care, electricity, water, and the protection of the law, but over and above all, justice, as well as a belief in one's history and tradition, the arts and the protection of our environment and geology. These are the proud achievements of the crisis government, and I have no doubt these will be the continuing achievements of this assembly, that on every item of this list a major breakthrough has been made and will continue to be made. And it is the great responsibility of this assembly to see to it that these breakthroughs are secured and made the avenues for continued advance.

Fifth: The sure sign of our maturity as a nation lies in our ability to align the structure of our foreign relations in consonance with our domestic goals and needs. In the readjustment, diversification and expansion of our foreign nation, in the search for new friends on the basis of new relations and the establishment of new relations with old friends, we shall find a new source of national security and an added resource for national development.

Finally, as important as the form of government is the degree of government which can effectively be exercised in aid of national development and in aid of the individual Filipino. The planning and management of national

development became an effective function and was institutionalized, as I said, upon the establishment of the National Economic and Development Authority, but more than this, brought down to the ordinary man through the local governments and the local regional and local planning agencies and their councils. Its effective was promoted by a comprehensive reform and reorganization of government and administration, including the reform of budget management, taxation and of financial institutions. The increase in the revenues of government from less than P5 million to almost P30 million over a period of five years is itself final, conclusive proof of the effectivity of such reform. And its successful implementation was assured by the moratorium on the policies of old, which enabled the government to be free enough, united enough, strong enough and resourceful enough to carry out the program as planned to its envisioned results. The secret for this was the injection of rationality into the planning system.

These principles of government that I have referred to are not unrelated measures designed to merely conciliate specific grievances in our national life or to serve narrow interests of specific sectors. They form one united whole, a seamless whole, and their application which has permeated the whole of our country and touched every sector of society shall be the role of this assembly to see to it that all these reforms shall touch the life of every Filipino in our country.

So it is this coherent, rational program of government that offers the basis for continuity in the process of reform and development during this period of transition towards a mixed presidential-parliamentary form of government.

We have often wondered how we moved from crisis and adversity to stability and dynamism over the short period of five-and-a-half-years, how we met targets well beyond anything we had known in the past. So much so that is the year 1974, at the height of the economic crisis, the rate of growth our economy reached the unprecedented level of almost 10 percent. Progress was won through the effective exercise of emergency powers. Yet, from the very beginning, such exercise was conceived to be merely temporary in nature and bounded by periodic consultations with our people.

The momentum of national recovery and transformation now requires the growing permanency of democratic processes—processes that should institutionalize reforms and install them as the governing vision of our society.

Conceivably, we can continue on the road of reform and nation transformation, trusting solely in the efficacy of crisis leadership, more especially the leadership of the President, and even perhaps achieve our goal with greater efficiency and speed.

But let me be the first to remind this assembly and our people that this is of course which, while admitting of less perils, exposes us to the risk of prolonged acculturation and attachment to constitutional authoritarianism.

And we must affirm, especially now as we commence the work of the assembly, that here in our country, we are prepared to meet the challenge of making democracy real, and that we can demonstrate in practice that representative government can serve as an effective means for making reform development as effective, as dynamic, as strong as our crisis government better in the long term because it enshrines what is most fundamental to a society: the consent and participation of the governed. This, then, is the burden of the Batasang Pambansa: to show to the world that it is as effective if not better than the crisis government.

How to give permanence and continuity to the reforms initiated and instituted by crisis government is then the task that should occupy our precious talents and energies. For it goes beyond mere polimics and profoundly touches the substance of challenges, problems, cares, and hopes which mark our national life today.

It now remains for us to fashion policies and programs capable of translating ideas into action, hopes into national realities, and constituting a comprehensive program of government, perhaps faster than even the crisis government.

And therefore, these are marked out in a five-year development program, as well as in the ten-year development program, and the program prepared up to the year 2000.

The basic rationale behind the simultaneous preparation of these development plans is that we need a broad perspective of the desired path of growth for the national economy over the long run. Within the longer context, developed planners have a basis for estimating the amount of time required to attain the planned objectives and for formulating and instituting the appropriate strategies to support the program of government.

In the implementation of this program of national development, it shall be necessary to seek the participation of the whole government machinery at all levels—national, regional, and local—especially during the stage of preparation.

What we have achieved during the previous plan period, although substantial and impressive, I must repeat, is comparatively limited compared to what we in the assembly still must achieve. The development strategy having been approved to be sound and effective, the assembly can now follow along the lines already initiated.

In our two major strategies for development, for instance, the stress is on advanced agro-industrial growth on the one hand and on the other, the development of our human resources. In these two major strategies of the crisis government, we see the levers which we can confidently work toward the development not only of a small part of our country but of the whole country, all sectors and regions.

When we speak of human resources, we do so with the expansion of social services and opportunities as our major tools for change.

Progressively, as greater productivity and economic efficiency will allow, should direct more and more of our resources to this essential aspect of national development—our human resources.

These activities in the economic sphere are all reducible to specific targets for achievement during the next five years.

Allow me to point out, in terms of the Real Gross National Product, that the economy is envisioned to grow at an average annual GNP growth rate of 7.7 percent during the next five years, that is, from P83.250 million in 1978 to P112, 214 million by 1982.

Real per capita income is envisioned to grow by 4.7 percent from a level of P 1, 796 to P2, 157 in 1982.

Conversely the growth of population is projected to significantly decline from the present 2.0 percent growth rate to 2.3 percent by 1982.

We fully envision that within the next two years, we shall reach the turning point in the national economy, and this the assembly must watch as a criteria point. This point will be wherein the agriculture and industry sectors will exhibit, almost equal shares of output to total net domestic product.

This view of the development challenge underlines in each and every case our basic economy policies, particularly those governing the role of private enterprise in the economy. There have been questions raised as to the roles of private enterprise. Let me restate it again. It remains our fundamental policy that private enterprise must serve as our primary agent in the realization of economic achievement, and government must enter only those areas of economic endeavor in which private enterprise is not prepared or able to serve needs and meet desired targets.

But let me remind everyone that while we encourage private enterprise and initiative and recognize it and oppose the abolition of private property. Constitution requires that the government regulate wealth in the interest of the general welfare. And it must ever be our concern to temper the operation of private enterprise with the claims of social justice.

Second we must now devote greater emphasis and resources to the satisfaction of social needs and the promotion of individual welfare. With the new stability and growth of our economy, we can now extend the horizons of the

concerns from the provision of the basic necessities of life toward the branding of social opportunities for every man, woman and child in this country.

Under our Five-Year Development Plan programs for social services as health nutrition, and welfare will be expanded on a nationwide scale, special stress on the provision of relief and assistance to the very poor among our people.

The expansion of social opportunities in the form of employment and cation, already a major focus of effort during the last five years, will be principal vehicle for the promotion of social welfare. And when we speak social welfare, we speak not only of a few areas in the country but of the country. This is one of the basic reasons for the organization of the Department of Human Settlements and Environmental Management.

Despite the yearly growth of our labor force, we shall keep the unemployment rate at a low level of 4 percent annually. The expected sectoral shifts in production and other economic activities are envisioned to affect the sectoral composition of employment. The greater part of the new entrants to the labor free will gradually move away from agriculture into the industry and services sector. Incentives to more employment and labor-incentive activities will be based on a sound and favorable policy on wages and incomes.

Equally vital to a sound employment situation is the development of our human resources through education and manpower training. This social program represents today one of the heaviest commitments of government, and it will continue to be a high priority in the new Five-Year Plan. I commend this priority program to this assembly.

We reject the claim that education is not getting its proper share of the national budget. Indeed, allocations to education have increased considerably during the last five years, compared to previous years. And we have instituted programs that go well beyond classroom training to provide skills training to out-of-school youth and to adults. Investments in education are after all the real for the engine of development.

As an added new concern in the social sector, which again comes directly under the Department of Human Settlements, we should now attend to the needs of the population, to urban reforms, and to the quality of our human settlements in general. Our new housing program will involve not only the provision of shelter but also the improvement of the entire environment, especially in marginal areas. Over the five-year period, we envision the provision of direct housing and the upgrading of sites and services to benefit directly 547,000 households throughout the country.

And, of course, we must endeavor to secure public order and civility in our al life, and maintain the greatest vigilance and care over the security of the public.

Despite the creditable success of our peace and order campaign and under-insurgency efforts, threats to national stability remain.

We must not be deluded into thinking that the insurgency has been nipped barely because part of its apparatus and its leadership has been successfully dismantled. They are rebuilding as usual; the same situation is true with respect.

In southwestern Mindanao and Sulu, we have had to meet the most violent position to authority in these past few years from a secessionist movement, which apparently is supported from the outside. Our government has committed valuable resources in order to win the peace. We have suffered from adequacy of resources, we have suffered casualties and failure in our efforts—which however, is a transitory failure in our efforts at maintaining the peace.

But today, the gains that we have fostered encourage us to believe that the peace can be won honorably and justly to the satisfaction of all parties. Negotiations with the rebels have involved as of now not only the regular channel the foreign office but even the personal diplomacy of the First Lady. The negotiations which we regard as conversations

between our government and some Filipino nationals produced a ceasefire agreement which surely save lives, although it has lately run into some difficulties.

These conversations we should be prepared to pursue. As a matter of the three of our ambassadors have been designated to meet with the leadership of the rebellion in a mutually acceptable venue. The one problem that presents itself, however, is the report confirmed by various sources that there has been fragmentation in the leadership of the secessionist movement, making difficult for us to ascertain which faction would be in a position to enforce an agreement that might be arrived at.

It is important, however, that the Batasan now place itself behind the socio-economic and political reform program for the affected areas in Mindanao Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. It would be helpful if we could now work on formal establishment of what had been promised to be two autonomous region within the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic, as referred the plebiscite of April 1977 under a new local autonomy act. I, therefore commend to this assembly the drafting and passage of a local autonomy.

As I have said, essential to this vision of domestic tranquility and development is the maintenance of a sound policy in our relations with other nation of the world.

Our foreign relations today are governed by an outlook that looks up foreign policy as a tool for national development, that looks upon every as a friend and ally, and that regards our place in the family of nations as deserving of respect.

Dominating our foreign policy agenda are our trade and security needs with the United States, our trade treaty negotiations with Japan, and increasing number of decisions we are called upon every day to make with partners in ASEAN.

With the United States, what is involved is the review of a historic ship that has grown in war and in peace; and the searching question above how long, and under what terms, shall we allow American forces to make if at all, of our military bases in Clark and Subic, among others. In the market trade, we are anxious to find out how well disposed the United States giving our products equitable treatment, and how willing it is to remove and non-tariff barriers to trade.

With Japan, we are embarked on the renegotiation of a treaty of navigation and commerce, which ought at the very least to correct the provisions of the treaty which ran out in January 1977.

With ASEAN, we are concerned with making regional industrial complementation and detailed cooperation work, so that within the region we can begin to develop our own technologies and be in a better position to meet our own needs, and not always be disadvantaged in dealing with the big trading and the industrial economies.

With the rest of the world, we have varying degrees of exposure—some sustained initiatives in the European Economic Community, developing contacts with members of Comecon, the Middle East, and the entire membership of the Third World.

As always, development diplomacy shall continue to serve particularly our nations in the negotiation of treaties and agreements with other nations. It shall pride us in resolving those irritants that remain of a passing era that made us the charge of another country. It shall define our place among the nations of the third World. It shall enable us to maintain fruitful relations with the Communist countries. It shall strengthen our actions and commitments to the building of the ASEAN community.

Finally, and perhaps most important because this assembly is itself a manifestation of it, we must attend to the continuing normalization of our political life and the methodical construction of a truly democratic political order.

This is a road which we must travel with patience and determination, free of blinders that had once hampered the fruitful workings of democratic processes in our country, and free of these constraints that tend to divide rather than unite us in our political life.

We need above all to be clear-headed about the kind of political change we want, and the kind of system we must erect.

All too often, some of us mistake political normalization for the mere relaxation of those controls exercised by our crisis government. All too often, some of us imagine that a simple return to the free-wheeling tendencies of our political order will suffice to install political change.

I reject this notion of political change as feeble, sterile and illusory. For we not struggle this long, nor did we achieve our gains at such great cost, only revert to a political order empty of vision and vitality.

No. Political change should in fact strengthen and enhance the quality of government in our country. Political change should be a means for the greater anticipation of our people in government, and not merely the servant of the ambitions and hopes of a few.

In this spirit, therefore, must we construe the mandate of our people that this assembly serve as a signal bridge in the evolution of our political life.

Now, included in the authority and mandate of this assembly is the authority to convert itself into a constituent body for the purpose of amending the Constitution. Some have suggested that the Constitution be amended immediate to return our transitional government to any other kind of government. My proper reply to this is that we owe it to ourselves and our people to treat the Constitution with more-respect and reverence. It is neither a transitory nor permanent solution to our problems, but we should proceed with our political experiment with parliamentarianism or the mixed presidential-parliamentary system and give it a few years before we begin to talk, if at all, of going back to system we had chosen to abandon. It is my considered view that our experience as an independent and sovereign nation should ultimately give the form of government we desire, and need.

As of now, our gradual passage into parliamentary government has given a mixture of the presidential and parliamentary systems, which, however, temporary, lends us some, powerful insights of the needs of modern-day government. We have much to discover and learn where we are, and our position should allow us to grow in our concept and practice of government without the limitations of previous experience. We ought to be bold in our imagination and in the process of experimentation we should not fear to innovate, nor fear to discover a system uniquely our own.

I therefore, commend, this assembly to its work.

The Constitution grants to the President and Prime Minister the continued power to legislate.

I wish to announce now; and make clear that I have no wish to deprive the interim Batasang Pambansa the opportunity to discharge its legislative authority on any issue, especially those of great import and urgency to the nation. My greatest accomplishment as a leader will lie not in having been to save the nation from the incapacity, of an inept legislature, but in being able to say at the end of the day that because of ,an alert and competent legislature not have to use any of my standby powers to effect necessary and urgent legislation.

This message is clear. Political will is as necessary today as it was during last five years to mobilize the energies of our people for development change.

The establishment of the interim Batasang Pambansa extends authority from the solitary seat of the Presidency to a broader spectrum of national leadership; but it is hardly the intent of our people that the sharp power should diffuse

the national political will to develop and modesty. Neither is it our desire that the political order toward which we are should produce a bifurcated vision of the national future.

The converse is true: We have great faith that a broad representation of national leadership will result in the convergence of interests and energetic strong and resolute in the pursuit of national idealism and more effective than even the crisis leadership.

It is in this light that we must respond to those questions concerning continuation of martial law, the duration of this assembly's work, the holding of local elections, and such other political questions as have arisen with the convening of this assembly.

The questions are not to be answered separately from how this transitory body discharges its mission. They cannot be resolved except in direct and earnest examination of evolving political life, of how democratic processes actually operate.

It will be unrealistic to assume that the task of this assembly can be completed in one or two years.

It would be presumptuous for anyone now to tell any member of this assembly to finish the work mandated by the Constitution within a certain period of time. This is a discretion and wisdom that has been allocated to the members of this assembly, and no one should deprive the members of such an allocated power.

Equally, we can only make an educated guess as to when it would be possible, and propitious, or wise, for us to lift martial law, especially since the discretion of imposing and lifting martial law is in the hands of the President. The fact that the Batasan exists assures us that the proper time, we would lift martial law without being sucked into a legislative vacuum, which would otherwise surely happen if the Batasan did not exist to take over the lawmaking function of the crisis presidency. But the fact that the Batasan is here, ready to discharge its responsibility, unfortunately does not make for an automatic lifting of martial law.

Therefore, neither am I prepared to speculate on the holding of local elections at this time. But I would like to announce now that I have no intention of immediately calling local elections. We have not recovered from the divisiveness brought about by the last one. To speak of local elections now is to invite disaster, for that would guarantee the rechanneling of the energies of the IBP members and of the citizenry towards factionalism and petty party or group conflicts.

I have already received reports to the effect that even without any call to local elections, warring factions are now forming and girding for political combat to the detriment of public welfare. For certainly, the members of the Batasan, being political leaders, would be interested more in working for the factory of their local political organizations than in the task of legislation if local organizations were to be called now.

It is imperative that prior to the calling of local elections, we first take steps lengthen leadership in our local governments. The elections last April were revealing of the inefficiency of many in our local governments, and of the loss of trust in many of them by their constituencies. The incumbency of incompetents in local governments, in the event of an election prematurely called locates them in an unwarranted position of advantage that could result in the distortion of the process of strengthening the political leadership.

It is meet, therefore, that the President be allowed the time to take the necessary step of removing those who are no longer effective in office, and of ensuring the flow of our programs from national to local level, before the nation holds local elections.

What this assembly should now devote itself to is the strengthening of the structure and administration of local governments. For it is when powers and responsibilities are effectively administered by the local governments that a real sharing of the apparatus of government power is effective.

Local autonomy should rank high in our agenda in this assembly, and if consider what we have achieved since 1972 in this respect, political change will be considerable.

We should endeavor to channel more opportunities to local government for their participation in the implementation of development programs. And beyond enhancing their role, we must take care to look and examine deeply how in fact individual local governments are faring in the total development effort For it is a fact that the record varies considerably from region to region, province to province, largely because of local leadership differences.

This is the reason why the Department of Local Governments and Community Development must now work it out with the new Department of Human Settlements and Environmental Management in their respective jurisdictions and functions.

For this reason, our people will expect this assembly to devote some its energies to deliberate well on the proposed Local Government Code, which the Cabinet will submit to this assembly soon. This assembly will be called upon make an assessment of how the regions as administrative units in our nation administration have either succeeded or failed, whether they have contributed to the social and political integration of the nation, or whether they have spawned new seeds of divisiveness.

What is true concerning the strengthening of local governments must be true of the strengthening of the government bureaucracy.

The weaknesses of our government bureaucracy were born of a communist political system. The enervation of the political system was due to bureaucracy that could not effectively discharge the tasks of government

The principle implied by this sad experience is a very simple but often neglected one; it is a fact that effective government is the single, most important input into the kind of political change and development we covet. Government performance needs what is encouraging and promising in our politics and on the other hand, no amount of elections can install a strong political system the task of government is poorly administered.

Thus, the professionalization of the civil service should rank higher than priorities.

I am happy to announce that I have just signed a new administrative code which embodies all the laws governing the reorganization of the bureaucracy, the conduct of government, and the deportment of those in the government service, which shall henceforth be our principal guide in the continued reform, professionalization and revitalization of the machinery of government.

But the morality and competence we aspire to see in the members of the service must also be thatched by those of us who hold elective office. And it should not be the least of our concerns here that this assembly does not go the way of its predecessor.

In this cluster of concerns, there are enormous challenges and problems to engage and test the mettle of this body. There is enough work to do for each and all of us, without our having to be detained by the petty rivalries of politicians, without our having to search for imaginary monsters to destroy and false causes to try our energies.

The challenge is before us, and the initiative is for us to seize, to ensure that this assembly will fulfill its historic mission.

As we proceed to ingegrate the executive and legislative branches, of government, we shall then nurture the seeds of renewal in our national life and find a secure and permanent home for our vision of the future.

And let it never be forgotten that this is a burden and a challenge that are ours alone to bear. The time when we could look to others for the fulfillment of hopes and aspirations is long past. Only in self-reliance, in the confidence that we are equal to our tasks, shall we reap.

For this challenge of national self-strengthening, we shall have great need of unity of purpose and effort within this government and this assembly. We all have great need of unswerving faith in the new institution we are summoned to erect.

And we must draw sustenance from the larger sense of community and union among our people.

It shall be the policy of the government to mold a truly national consensus behind all that we undertake in the name of the people and the country, confident that our course will lead us irretrievably to our destiny.

Towards this end, our government will not take the following initiatives.

You perhaps have noted that with respect to the opposition, we have taken the initiative to remove the irritants that have strained their participation in our political life. We are prepared to listen to their counsel.

It shall remain the paramount concern of our government to unite the country behind the cause of justice and dignity, to lift those who live in conditions of poverty, ignorance and lack of opportunity, so that together they may form one united political community. And regardless of differences in views, we shall strive to be one nation, in which one will be free to discharge with another without undermining national unity. We shall be a nation with one purpose, no matter how differently individuals express themselves.

“*Isang bansa, isang diwa*” shall henceforth be our national motto and virtue of a decree I have signed, it will now be incorporated in the great seal of the Republic, and be made known to every Filipino as the slogan of every individual as it is of the nation.

This is not to say that our nationhood shall live merely in slogans.

We shall now seek to enlarge the democratic dialogue among all sectors of society and shall exert all efforts to ensure that violence does not subvert or place the free exchange of opinions and ideas, that dialogue should begin in this seat of representative government and must extend to every forum in our country.

For this, the rule of law must stand supreme in our society, and we must look to the strength and independence of our judiciary to keep the channel of justice inviolate and secure. Much has been achieved in revitalizing the civil courts, and certainly under the administration of the Supreme Court of the Philippines. We shall continue with measures to strengthen them. To this end while the Presidency has the power to replace judges by accepting resignation. I now announce that I have no intention of utilizing this power.

Napakalaking karangalan para sa inyong lingkod na mamuno sa makasaysayang yugtong ito ng ating kasaysayan, lalung-lalo na sa walang katulad na panahon ng pagbabago ng mga balakid at hamon. Karaniwan ang isang Punong Ministro ay halal lamang sa isang nakararaming lapian sa isang parlamento o batasan, nguni't naiiba at namumukod sa lahat ang inyong abang lingkod nainihalal ng ating bayan sa pamamagitan ng Saligang Batas. Labis akong nagpapasalathat sa bagay na ito at natitiyak ang lahat na tutumbasan ko ito ng ubos kaya at walang pasubaling paglilingkod.

Ibang-iba ang pangyayari at kalagayan sa panahong ito, subalit waring inuulit natin sa araw na ito ang Hang mahahalagang yugto sa kasaysayan ng ating Republika. Binubuksan natin ang kapulungang ito taglay sa diwa ang kakulugan ng Kongreso sa Malolos ng 1978. Walang agam-agam at pangambang kabiguang nakalambong noon sa unang Republika. Binubuksan natin ang kapulungang ito na angkin tiwala ng Unang Asemblea ng Pilipinas noong 1907. Nasa atin ang kakayahang magsarili at magpalakad sa ating sariling pamahalaan taglay ang talinong bunga ng karanasang natipon sa nakalipas na mga taon. Wala na ang agam-agam na kailangan pa nating sundin ang kagustuhan ng alinmang panginoong banyaga.

Binubuksan natin ang kapulungang ito na taglay ang pananabik ng Kongreso ng Commonwealth noong 1935. At ang nasa isip ay ang katotohanang tayo lamang ang maaaring humawak ng kapalaran ng ating lahi. Binubuksan

natin ang kapuluang ito na taglay ang thatayog na pangarap ng unang Kongreso ng Republika ng Pilipinas noong 1946 pagkatapos ng digmaan. Wala nga lamang ang guho at pinsala ng digmaan na naging dahilan ng sapin-sapin suliraning pangkabuhayan.

Ang kasaysayan ng ating lahi ay isang walang katapusang pagharap sa mga suliranin upang thatamo ang katatagan at makatugon sa hamon na lumikha ng isang mabisa at angkop na tagapagbatas. Tuwing tayo ay makakadarama ng ginhawa ng pagkakaisa, katapatan at katatagan, lagi tayong nahaharap sa pagsubok na makapagtayo ng batasang tunay na makatutugon sa mga hamon ng krisis ng pagsubok na muli nating haharapin ngayon.

Nasa harap ng kapulungang ito ngayon ang katipunan ng mga hamon at pagsubok sa nakalipas na mga Kongreso, at ito na sana ang pangwakas na pagsubok kung makakaya natin gamitin ang demokrasya bilang mabisang sangkap ng katatagan at kaunlarang pambansa. Bagaman at kailangan pa ring magpatuloy ang pansamantalang pamahalaan, taglay ng kapulungang ito ang binhi ngthatatag at masiglang lehislaturang tutugon sa ating pangangailangan kung ihahandog natin dito ang lahat ng ating talino at kakayahan.

Tayo ngayon ay isang bansang pinalakas ng mga pagsubok na ating pinagdaanan, higit na nagkakaisa pagkaraan ng mga sigalutang dinanas, at higit na handa sa anumang uri ng pagsubok atsuliranin. Natapos nating lampasan ang mahihigpit na balakid sa nakaraang lima at kalahating taon. Sa liwanag ng makabuluhang yugtong ito ng ating buhay bilang bansa at lahi, magagawa natin ang ating tungkuling pagtahak sa landas ng katuparan ng ating thatayog na pangarap na pag-unlad, pagkakapantay-pantay at ng tunay na demokrasya.

Sagutin at tungkulin ng kapulungang ito na simulan ang pagtahak sa naiguhit na landas.

These measures should provide a fertile ground for the orderly and effective operations of this assembly, and I should hope that this body will in time embody and reflect for our nation the efficacy of democratic discussion and deliberation as a means for the achievement of national purposes and aspirations.

We, in this assembly, are the final repository of this trust, which if we discharge with care and dedication, will give permanent meaning to the struggles that we have waged all these many years, and will strengthen our people's faith in the future of this nation.

None of us can fail to be exalted by the trust that brought us to this interim Batasang Pambansa — the first legislative body to convene since our proclamation of crisis government in 1972.

And for me, no honor can be greater than to preside over this historic mission of the Government at a time of great opportunity and challenge.

A prime minister usually owes his position to his party; but by their generosity, our people have given me a direct constitutional mandate. For this, I am truly grateful, and I shall try to deserve this mandate by serving the nation to the best of my energies and my gifts.

Our conditions and circumstances today are vastly different, but there is a sense in which this occasion recaptures certain moments in the history of our Republic.

We open this assembly with the same sense of new beginning as the Malolos Congress of 1898, but without the sense of doom that hovered over its deliberations and shadowed the frail existence of the first Republic.

We open this assembly, confident like the first Philippine Assembly of 1907 of our capacity for self-government, but a little wiser from the experience gained over the years and without the anxiety or the need to conform to the wishes of a colonial master.

We open this assembly with the same sense of anticipation as the Commonwealth Congress of 1935, with the added awareness that we and we alone are charting our sovereign passage into parliamentary democracy.

And we open this assembly with the same high hopes as the first Congress of the Philippine Republic of 1946, without the destruction and ruins of war that made for untold economic difficulties that often dictated compromise.

The history of our nation indelibly etches for us the crucial tie between the struggle for national survival and stability and the challenge to create an effective and representative law-making body.

At crucial points in our history, when we had achieved at long last a strong sense of national cohesion and vitality, we have had to face the test of erecting a legislature that would serve the test of crisis and adversity.

Time and time again we faced this test. Today, we face it again. It may be that we face in this assembly the culmination of all the challenges and the frustrations of the past, the trials that had engaged our historic congresses, the fateful test of our national capacity for making constitutional democracy our unfailing instrument of national vitality and purpose. For the circumstances surrounding this historic assembly, while yet admitting the need for the continued enforcement of emergency government, bear the seeds of a strong and dynamic legislature that will surely germinate if we give it the full commitment of our talents and energies.

We are today a nation made stronger by the trials that we have weathered, more cohesive for the waves of conflict which we have experienced, and better prepared for challenges by the many crises which we surmounted during the last five-and-a-half years.

In the wake of this eventful period in our national life, we can and we must chart the course that will fully attain for us our greatest hopes for freedom, for progress, for equality and for true democracy.

It is the unique and historic charge of this assembly to set that course. It is, I hope, the charge which we as a country will meet confidently. I have no doubt that the members of this assembly will discharge this mission with dedication, with patriotism and with success.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

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Address of President Marcos at the 33rd anniversary of Besang Pass, June 13, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 33rd anniversary of Besang Pass

[Delivered at Fort Bonifacio, June 14, 1978]

A Vindication of Filipino Soldierly

IN COMMEMORATION OF the 33rd anniversary of the fall of Besang Pass, we are gathered at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, this symbolic resting place of our fallen comrades.

In the Battle of Besang Pass proper, without taking into account the previous and preliminary battles that were fought, 1,441 men fell and about 5,000 were wounded. A total of about 21,000 troops were committed to this battle. But more were actually engaged in the operations all over Northern Luzon. It is in remembrance of all these men, living and dead that we gather here every 14th of June, which has been proclaimed as Besang Pass Day.

The nation remembers the surrender of our troops in Bataan and in Corregidor, surrenders under the United States Armed Forces of the Far East or the USAFFE. It celebrates the martial spirit with which such a surrender was done because they symbolize the capability of the two nations, the United States and the Philippines, to meet the crucible of war together.

Besang Pass, however, was a battle principally fought by Philippine troops, led by men who had participated in the surrender of Bataan and also in Corregidor.

It is therefore meet and proper that whatever our daily preoccupations, whatever the immediate and the urgent demands of the times, we pause at noon of every 14th of June to remember the day we planted our flag on top of the Pass, which opened the back door of the enemy, the Japanese, under their commanding general, General Tomoyuki Yamashita — and ultimately led to his surrender at Loog Valley later on, sometime in August, 1945. For while Manila had been liberated as early as February 1945, fighting continued in the northern provinces.

It is our hope that those who follow us will remember Besang Pass, for it was indeed a battle that is a unifying symbol of all the battles that are being fought or were fought by Filipino troops, both regular and irregular.

I see the presence here of other underground or guerrilla commanders. Besang Pass symbolizes all the battles that they had fought, the Bulacan Military area, the Markings guerrillas, the LAPHAM, RAMSIS, Central Luzon guerrillas, and all the others who fought and who ultimately participated in the liberation of the entire Philippines.

From my point of view, it is best that we remember the victory of Filipino troops which Besang Pass was. For the American troops under General Kruger held back while the Filipino troops took over the fight and the battle. With the few artillery units and air support coming from American units, the Filipino troops dominated the action.

It should be our purpose to now continue with the program of identifying the points on which these battles were fought and setting up the monuments for them. I believe that part of our celebration should be for all of us to go back to Besang Pass which I intend to do next Saturday.

I regret that today's preoccupation, the sessions of the Interim Batasang Pambansa, do not allow me to lead you on the pilgrimage to Besang Pass. I understand the Governor of Ilocos Sur has prepared some choice lunch with five head of cattle each from the three provinces. This will be at Tagudin, the old base hospital and the initial command post of the 121st Infantry. I believe we can attend to these preparations next Saturday.

It is my desire that you transmit to the preparation committees our hopes that we will be able to reach this destination and this objective after we have done away with the obstacles in our path.

So to your question as to whether there is lunch today, my answer is: There is lunch on Saturday. There will be lunch on Saturday at Tagudin at the site of the old base hospital. To old guerrilla warriors like you, who I know often ate only once a day, this should not be a strange thing. Of course, you and I have grown too far for such self-denials. But it is, perhaps, nice to think about them once in a while. And as the Spanish say: "*Basta conmentencion.*"

We had the good fortune and we count our blessings that we are alive today, 33 years after the battle to come and remember the capture of Besang Pass, which for many of us who surrendered in Bataan was a vindication and a just retribution against the enemy by Filipino soldiery.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos at the commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 23, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

[Delivered in Malacañang, June 23, 1978]

The Canons of Our Foreign Policy

YOU AND I who work in government, as well as those who belong to the foreign ministry, are executors of the purposes that saw the birth of the first department of foreign affairs under the revolutionary government of 1898. Great and sweeping changes have since visited our country and of course, all of the world; yet in a fundamental way, the substance of our concerns in relation to other peoples and nations remains the same as it was 80 years ago when we first sought our place in the family of nations.

The revolutionary government of 1898, if you will remember, set forth as the urgent task of its foreign affairs ministry the defense, the protection and the enhancement of the country's sovereignty and independence. It declared that what was won by struggle and by revolution — the right to be a free and independent nation — must be secured through the maintenance of friendly and fruitful ties with other nations.

Today, 80 years later, those purposes stand as the bedrock of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Events did not prove kind to the early bid for national self-determination of our people's revolutionary government. Let me say that while the first efforts at self-government failed and success eluded the very best — the likes of Mabini, Aguinaldo, Luna and the other great minds that set up the first Republic in Asia — yet even as the tides of new colonial empires swept into our part of the world, the will to independence was never again to be quenched, for once the fire was lighted it was to spread and in time the Republic would be born again and along with it would rise the structure of a new foreign office, more secure than its predecessor had been.

And today as we celebrate the founding of this ministry, we can without reservation declare that this institution has survived its frail beginnings, that it has succeeded in giving substance to national sovereignty and independence, and that it embodies what had long been the dream of our forebears — a free nation able to hold its own in the community of independent nations.

Perhaps it would be one of the exercises in our schools of diplomacy later on, and perhaps of other disciplines, to speculate what might have happened if the more talented members of the present foreign ministry had handled the foreign affairs under Aguinaldo.

You must know that the military have these exercises. They often take up the subject of how the revolution could have failed and as an exercise try to determine exactly how, with a more capable leadership, the revolution would have ended. And perhaps such exercises could be the basis for studies by our diplomatists.

Be that as it may, today it will be said that it has been a long road that we have traveled, that not so long ago we were not a nation in full possession of sovereignty and independence. It will be said that even after national independence was recovered in 1946, as has already been remarked, our foreign relations actually existed in limbo, entrusted to, if not dictated upon by, others.

But today, it will be said that we are finally sovereign in our land, that our Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not failed its supreme trust to defend, to protect, and to enhance the sovereignty and independence of our Republic. And I repeat, from the first Republic.

For however long it may have taken us, we have finally learned the lessons that attend the governance of a nation's foreign affairs, truths which, ignored and misunderstood, can erode what is vital to these but when heeded and accepted as a guide are the touchstones to success.

From here have proceeded the major accomplishments of our diplomacy in recent years. Underlying all that we have accomplished is the perception at last (that our place in the family of nations is ours alone to attain, that what we regard as our national interest and aspiration can only be advanced by ourselves, and that our foreign relations can never be safely entrusted to anybody else except to ourselves).

When considered in the full perspective of 80 years, these last six years stand out as an eventful and historic time in Philippine diplomacy. We need not indulge in a lengthy recapitulation of what has been achieved in our foreign relations during this decade. More important for us is a full and confident understanding of the main currents that have guided our foreign policy during the last six years and which might light up our journey into the future.

This is best stated in terms of the principles that underlie the actions we have taken and must continue to take.

The first principle — foreign policy reflects the conscious exercise of national independence and sovereignty on each and every issue, and on each and every initiative.

The time when foreign policy decisions were dictated and conditioned by the options of others, when we entrusted our affections or our enmities to any other nation, is long past. The lapses of the past may be explained by the circumstances in which our leaders then found themselves — the consequences of a world divided into mutually hostile camps. However one may explain it, we cannot belittle the ill effects upon our sovereignty as a nation. Nor can we ignore how vastly different the world has become; we inhabit today a new and critical period in international life, in which interdependence with others begins by giving due regard to one's sovereignty and political independence.

In our part of the world, the need to take such a posture became a natural consequence of a series of events: developments in Indochina, the emergence of new centers of power and influence in the world, and the changing foreign policies of other countries. But with or without such events, the policy of dependence on others could not have been prolonged indefinitely.

The second principle — our foreign policy must be the servant of our national aspirations to development and progress.

Mainly because we had erroneously tended to regard foreign policy as removed from our domestic concerns, our foreign relations in the past played only a minor role in the shaping of national realities. Also mainly because of this, we were slow to realize the real consequences of neglect and drift in our foreign policy.

Yet in fact, we know only too well today that foreign relations can be a tool in promoting our development and national security. These are the two sides of the same coin. The other word for security is development, which we may help to attain through our economic and cultural relations with other countries.

To see national development as a major determinant of foreign policy is to accept in other words the unity of our interests and purposes as a nation. When we aspire to have security, we aspire to national development. When we aspire to have political stability and stable relations with other nations, we promote national development. And when we advance our economic relationships with all nations, we employ diplomacy at a level where it can touch the lives of our millions of people.

Following this second principle, we therefore subscribe to a third guidepost in our foreign relations: the need to maintain fruitful and beneficial ties with all nations, whatever be their ideology.

We have put an end to the prejudices of the past that conditioned us to regard almost half of the world as a hostile camp. We have established diplomatic relations with all the socialist countries. And we have seen the kind of mutuality and cooperation possible between states of different social systems.

Here we have seen only the beginnings of what can be a long and fruitful relationship. And our experience already confirms our hope that it will be a propitious and beneficial one.

The fourth principle — for the same reason that we attach great hopes to contact with the Socialist world, the whole spectrum of our relations with other nations must be based on mutual respect, mutual beneficiality, and mutual regard for each other's independence.

Relations between nations grow and prosper on the basis of what they contribute to each other's development and progress. The complementarity of national outlooks is an aid in this regard, but it does not ensure equality in the relationship.

For this reason, we face as a continuing task in our foreign relations the adjustment of our ties with many countries, to a plane where we as a developing country can reap as much from these ties as can those countries which are more developed and advanced than ours.

The fifth principle — as a reflection of the struggle of the developing world to development, our foreign policy recognizes, its oneness with the movement to reform the international economic order.

There is a limit to what bilateral relations can do in advancing the national interest. Conversely, we know today that the combined strength of the developing countries, whether taken regionally or conceived on a global scale, represents a force for change that can result in untold benefits in terms of progress and peace among nations.

Thus, at regional level, we seek community with our Southeast Asian neighbors, through the building of a strong ASEAN community. In this initiative, we have already realized the beginnings of a vital regional groupings, and if we keep at it we will soon reap the full advantages of regionalism.

In the same spirit, we consider our identification with the Third World countries a vital aspect of our foreign policy, conducive to the construction of an equitable international economic order and to the building of a truly international human community. Many difficulties in here today in the bid of the developing countries for a better deal with the developed countries, but the intensity of the movement for reform can no longer be stemmed.

Finally, we recognize as a fundamental pillar of our foreign policy our participation in, and support for, the objectives and the work of the United Nations. Our country looks to the United Nations not only as the world's most important force for building world peace; it is also, as it is now proving to be, an essential instrument for the progress of nations, especially of small nations.

To aid its work has been a national commitment ever since the birth of the world body, and that commitment has involved us in almost all of its major initiatives during the past thirty years.

That commitment will remain, powered by the belief and the confidence that the United Nations is proceeding on a course that embodies the interdependence of nations today.

On the basis of these principles, therefore, we have so shaped and guided our foreign policy as to make it a truly vital part of national life today and to earn for us a respected place in the family of nations.

What we make of our foreign policy now and in the future will surely depend on how well and how prudently we guide our foreign relations in keeping with these principles for its conduct.

This is the charge of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs as it moves on to its ninth decade.

That charge embodies a trinity of ends, broader now than those which confronted its predecessor in 1898, the revolutionary years, and these are: first, to assert and protect the sovereignty, independence, integrity and security of the country; to contribute to the accelerated development of the nation and finally, to promote regional and global stability.

In the pursuit of these ends, we must take more concrete steps to make our domestic policy more responsive to such global problems as food and energy shortages, overpopulation, resource depletion and income disparity. For while the international system has a big responsibility in the quest for global order, individual states must share a significant portion of this burden. The largest part of today's global economic problems, after all, originates within states and remains within states and should therefore be remedied partly if not completely, within states.

This is not to say that such problems should be less the concern of the international system. (Indeed, global problems require global solutions.) This is rather to emphasize that until and unless internal policy resources are properly utilized, effective global solutions are unlikely to be reached.

Complementing this effort, we must strive to expand and intensify our relations with the outside world. We shall seek to increase our trade with all countries of the world. We shall continue to welcome and protect foreign investments as a means of boosting Filipino entrepreneurship in the creation and development of new industries. We shall seek greater exchange and contact between our people and the rest of the world.

We hope to conclude this year the negotiations of our agreements, military as well as economic, with the United States. This should put relations between the two countries within a new framework of mutuality of understanding and respect.

We must also accelerate the pace of our economic negotiations not only with the United States but also with Japan, for these are our two principal trading partners. In both cases, the new economic agreements should contribute to the growth of a resilient Philippine economy.

The consequences of our revitalized foreign policy open to us many new areas for exploitation and study, heightening relationships that once were dormant, requiring adjustment of old and historic ties, and necessitating initiatives on our part on many fronts.

These challenges will fully test the mettle of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and of all of you who constitute it.

If during the past six years, the Ministry has gone through major reorientation and change, it must be ready now for the kind of changes required by the times.

It is true that while we have established several new missions abroad, the ranks of the Ministry have not been substantially augmented. But it is not so much the problem of numbers that should occupy our attention now as the quality of our foreign service.

In saying this, I am not oblivious to the accomplishments of the service. On the contrary, I have come here today to extend to you my personal congratulations as well as the congratulations of millions of Filipinos who know the great achievements of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There is a need however to further professionalize the service in view of the active role the Philippines has assumed in international affairs and the complexity of Philippine concerns in our bilateral and multilateral relations.

In line with this, it is surely in keeping with precedent that the foreign office now take the lead in implementing the new presidential decree requiring the naming of deputy career ministers or career ministers to help head and run the Ministry. I shall be ready to make the appointments upon the recommendation of General Carlos P. Romulo.

This means the Ministry will be entitled to perhaps even a political minister, if that is so recognized as a need, as well as a career deputy minister and a political deputy minister.

Now the Ministry has also embarked on the study of possible reforms to improve its organization and staffing. I also came here today to say that I eagerly await your recommendations and the results of these studies. It is my intention to do my best to have the Ministry's proposals implemented and institutionalized immediately.

I am particularly interested in the efforts of the Ministry to reorganize itself to provide greater coverage and expertise to the various areas that merit our interest. I would like to see that the individuals handling the various country-desks become real and unassailable authorities in their respective fields.

I assure you that the Office of the President will extend all available support to attain this objective.

To attract talented and perceptive individuals to the foreign service, I am ready to raise the salary scales of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The salary scales of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should now be brought up to at least the highest scales that can be found in government.

I am likewise announcing today that I support the moves of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to institute a promotion system that will encourage initiative, productivity, dedication to duty, comparable to the promotion systems of the top foreign services in the world.

I would have brought with me the list of those promoted in the foreign ministry, but in your giving the First Lady an award, the promotions might look as if it was a "*kaliwaan*" gesture or a matter of give and take. So we will suspend the promotions until later. Twenty-four hours, anyway.

Now, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has often recommended a rotation system of its personnel as an incentive for good performance and to avoid the possibility of its personnel assigned abroad being more attached to their country of assignment than to their native land.

Maximum support will be extended to the Foreign Service Institute to insure the professional development of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs personnel. It should henceforth be our policy that before anyone is assigned abroad, he must first be required to undergo all the necessary training and preparation at this institute.

I also realize the urgent need of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a new building that will adequately house its entire staff. You know, I may have disturbed a hornet's nest here because the other coordinate branches of government, both the legislature and the judiciary, will call my attention to the fact that they too are entitled to a little more attention than they are getting now.

But whatever it is, it is quite true that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the premier ministry in the entire government, and therefore the dignity of the position and of the Ministry requires that it be properly housed.

These grave questions affecting the reorganization of the Ministry, the professionalization of the foreign service, and the improvement of its facilities, all require measures that should be both speedy and within our means. I look to the leadership of the Ministry to take the initiative in this major effort at revitalization. And, as I said, I have come here today to pledge support for such efforts.

Our web of relationships in the world today has never been as vast, as important, and as critical to the nation as it is today.

No doubt it is vastly more complex than what Mabini ever dared to imagine when he first commenced to organized the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1898.

But it would surely please him to note, were he living today, that his vision of a Ministry defending, promoting and enhancing national sovereignty and independence, lives and thrives in the institution that he helped to establish, and that this institution has grown as surely as the nation it serves.

Nothing stands still, least of all the interaction and relationships of nations, and I would surely hope that long after our responsibility will have passed to other hands, there will continue to stand this Ministry of Foreign Affairs, guiding the Republic through the currents of challenge and change in the world because you and I had contributed our modest bit to the building of this Ministry.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the third anniversary of the Philippine Association of Defense Contractors, June 30, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the third anniversary of the Philippine Association of Defense Contractors

[Delivered on June 30, 1978]

Self Reliance in National Defense

THE OPPORTUNITY TO participate in this national symposium on the Self-Reliance Defense Program of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and to join the Philippine Association of Defense Contractors in the observance of its third anniversary, is a very welcome honor for me, and I would like first of all to express here my personal appreciation for your very kind invitation.

There is no national issue today that is more urgent or more important than the subject of national self-reliance in the sphere of national defense. Over the last five years, development within the country and developments in the region and in the world have overwhelmingly compelled national concern and attention about the status of national defense capabilities. And it was in response to the currents of contemporary events that we have sought to adjust the national posture in regard to national security, and sought to build up our defense capabilities to such a point where the nation can be fully self-reliant.

The subject of your symposium therefore cannot fail to touch the very center of national leadership today.

When four years ago, we issued the landmark decree, Presidential Decree No. 415, which launched the Self-Reliance Defense Program of the AFP, we set the fundamental guideposts of the program. And these were, specifically, first, the development and acquisition of the material requirements of the AFP; second, the maximum utilization of indigenous materials for such defense buildup; and third, the overall development of national production capability with respect to defense material and weaponry.

Now four years after, those guideposts remain as the essential pillars of the program. It cannot be the least of our concerns today to consider how in fact we have fulfilled the spirit of the landmark decree, and how our objectives in national security have been advanced.

With respect to the acquisition of new material and equipment by our Armed Forces, it will perhaps be readily seen that our defense capabilities have markedly improved over this four-year period. We will note that there has been a substantial improvement in the quality of our arms, with respect to vital defense items which we can secure only through foreign sources.

Yet, it is a fact that we have never pinned our hopes for self-reliance solely on our ability to acquire arms and munitions from abroad. For our very limitations as a nation, the vital struggle for resources by many sectors of national life, had always decreed that we be prudent in the use of our resources. Thus, as a matter of national necessity, we recognized that defense self-reliance must be based as far as possible on the production within the country of our defense needs, and only in a limited way should it depend on the procurement from foreign sources of defense items which we cannot as yet produce.

Viewed in this respect, the health and vigor of our self-reliance defense program rests finally on how far and how well we are succeeding in promoting indigenous production capability, and in erecting a creative partnership between the military establishment and the industry sector.

This is the reason why a major part of the enabling decree sought to provide for incentives and support to the growth of civilian defense industries. This is the spirit of all that has transpired with respect to government assistance to those who contract projects related to our Self-Reliance Defense Program.

In the awarding of SRDP projects, for instance, we give specific preference to government corporations, Filipino-owned corporations, and to multi-national corporations with majority Filipino ownership.

Second, it is a matter of policy to contract SRDP projects with private corporation, in preference over the option of in-house manufacture by the Armed Forces. The AFP as a rule engage only in the manufacture of those items which cannot be produced by the civilian sector.

Finally, it is a matter of policy for the AFP to farm out the manufacture of components and parts of weapons to different contractors, in order to spread the economic benefits of the SRDP program and achieve precision through specialization.

Our overall vision was the development of civilian defense industries, which over the long term, can meet the defense requirements of the country. Only with respect to defense items that cannot be produced at home, would we resort to importation. And the same goes with the importation of technology, whenever local technology is not feasible.

Alongside this conscious effort to encourage private sector initiative in production for defense needs, we have formulated a comprehensive research and development program. In the Research and Development Center, we have now a fully working agency designed for meeting the requirements of our ground forces and for conducting research on material needs common to the AFP.

In liaison and in cooperation with civilian organizations, this stress on research and development has advanced the level of national capability for defense production.

When we consider the results, we have reason to be happy about the progress of SRDP. For what was but a dream four years ago now thrives and lives in the production activities of both the private sector and the AFP today.

Overall, there can be no question now that we have a viable framework for the achievement of the goals of national defense self-reliance. Our goals are feasible. Our program is workable. Our resources, military and civilian alike, are sufficient to meet targets.

The more delicate aspects of the program in here in the problems of management, in the maintenance of momentum and initiative, and in the fine interaction between the military establishment and the private sector.

And it is my belief that it is to those various aspects of the program that this symposium must look and inquire deeply. Our supreme objective now must be to increase the overall level of efficiency, sufficient to meet the growing targets of the program.

If in the past, our targets were smaller, today they are considerably larger. If in the past, there were only a few contractors and a few projects, today there are many. If in the past, we were striving to grip the handle on the SRDP program, today it is our utmost concern to steer it towards its proper direction and proper role in the national defense system.

The problems that must engage you here are those that come with growth. That is your achievement, but that is also your challenge now. And it is true both for those who command the leadership of our Armed Forces and those among you in the Philippine Association of Defense Contractors.

It is my hope that you will be equal to this challenge, and that your discussions here will result in new ideas and new initiatives that will advance the Self-Reliance Defense Program of our Armed Forces.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos at the opening ceremonies of National Science and Technology Week, July 10, 1978

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening ceremonies of National Science and Technology Week

[Delivered in Malacañang, July 10, 1978]

A Tribute to Our Men of Science

FIRST OF ALL allow me to extend my gratitude to Dr. Melecio Magno for bringing out the fact that I have helped in a modest way in building up science and technology, especially education in science and technology, in the country today.

In keeping with the devotion to the principle of passionate anonymity, the discipline to which the scientists have vowed to adhere, the proceedings today are without the usual pomp and ceremony with which great decisions and great achievements are celebrated.

And yet, it is universally accepted that science and technology research play one of the most vital, if not the most vital, role in development not only in the Third World but in all countries of the world.

I notice too that most of those whom we have voted into the academy are of such age that even the President must feel infantile in comparison to each of them. To each of those who have worked in science and technology quietly and unknown go the accolade of the entire Filipino people and the appreciation of their President.

The Republic of the Philippines comes to you today to acknowledge its indebtedness to each and every worker in science, in research and in technology.

If the unknown soldier has a monument, perhaps, we should also build a monument to the unknown scientist. For our country moves like all the countries of the world, with science and technology providing the cutting-edge of change, of innovation, of movement, of advance in our society.

Dr. Magno referred to social engineering as part of the area in which research has been done by those who have helped the National Science Development Board in the last several years. However, social engineers do need the sharp edge of your capability, of your advances, of your ivory-tower discoveries that must be brought down to the level of the rice fields, the muddy fields in which the growth of the nation is actually decided.

Perhaps, it is now time for our people to realize the importance that science and technology play in their ordinary lives. For indeed, very few among our people caught in the urgency of daily routine, very few of them realize that there is a corps of silent workers on whose dedication or devotion, on whose discipline, on whose talents and genius depend the advancement of our entire society, the growth of a nation and the stability and strength of a Republic.

Today, therefore, it is my honor and pleasure to come and commend the scientists and to announce the total commitment of the Philippine government to science and technology.

The auspicious occasion today which highlights our observance of the National Science and Technology Week, significantly coinciding with the 20th anniversary of the National Science Development Board is merely a symbolic testimony to the priority given to science which is a vital part of the official policies of this administration.

This is an occasion for celebration not only because the agency has endured the passage of a long span of time, or because the agency has grown far beyond the puny legal creature that it was at its birth, but because it has gathered a

record of marked achievement particularly during the last six years when the country experienced a period of crisis the period of development, and of reform.

We are wont to claim that society is engaged in reform and yet on many an occasion, you and I have agreed that many of these reforms, even political and social reforms, have often been reduced into economic terms; and economic “reforms” have often depended upon the success of your researches.

It also signifies our ever increasing and enlarging participation in the common efforts of mankind to bring an end in time to the ancient scourges of hunger, disease, illiteracy, superstition, and now the new danger, the scarcity and insufficiency of energy.

At the same time, the larger sums allotted by the present government to scientific research and the dissemination among our people of science consciousness principally through the national educational system and other media will, I sincerely hope, ensure our faster progress henceforth in harnessing all available talent, old and young, as they do in other countries, for the achievement of our defined goals in social and economic growth for our country and people.

Under the science tax, we allocate about P60 million every year specifically for science research. I was astounded, however, to hear that the impression seems to be that the amount spent for science and technology is limited only to P60 million. This is not quite true. The total budgetary amount reaches the sum of P300 million every year.

It is my intention to see to it that this amount will increase by at least 15 percent every year until it reaches P1 billion every year.

Let me add here that the utilization of science and technology as handmaidens of our development efforts symbolizes our sincere efforts, as I have said earlier, our own contribution to the common effort of the progressive world to use these “handmaidens” in the solution not only of local and domestic problems but also of regional, and perhaps, of world problems.

You have participated as has been explained by Dr. Magno in the campaign for self-sufficiency in rice. And now you are participating in the energy program.

If I were asked, what problems confront the country today which need priority, this would be the two areas that I would point out — food production and energy.

On these two areas depends our survival. On these two areas depends the attainment of all that you and I dream about for our people.

If we fail in food production no amount of energy will help us. If, however, we should attain food production but lack energy, then we may also fail in attaining a balanced agro-industrial economy.

And thus, today, I am happy to note the aggressive participation of science in food production research. The chairman of NSDB has spoken to you of the various achievements in this field particularly on rice and corn.

Incidentally, I forgot to mention the fact that corn mildew was something which all countries have been trying to solve for the past several decades and no country has succeeded except the Philippines. For this, we must congratulate again our scientists.

There are several fields in which we can be proud of our scientists. Aqua-culture, the production under laboratory conditions of high-quality products not only for our fishponds but for the blue farms, the sea farms that we anticipate will follow the rice program, the Masagana 99 and the Maisan.

At the same time in aquaculture, we have been able to produce *bangus* fry also under controlled conditions. I have had occasion to see for myself these breakthroughs because these are what could be marked as the most dramatic achievements in food production. Then there are the different varieties in soya bean culture and mung beans.

Talking about mung beans, when I went to the sugar areas last May, I asked that there be inter-cropping in order to save the sugar industry. And I was told that our variety of mung bean does not grow well in the shade of sugarcane. But now Los Baños has come out with a variety that grows better under the shade of sugarcane than in the sunlight. So I think we can move forward in the intercropping program of the sugar industry. And this indicates merely one of the achievements which may save an entire industry. The same thing is true with other products.

If we have therefore moved forward since the declaration of martial law and the establishment of the crisis government, if we have moved forward with accelerated thrust and momentum, we dare to say it was your minds and hearts, your determination, your discipline, your dedication that provided the propellant for such progress.

Science and technology truly are the movers of progress. But the key to progress is held by the men of science more than the general public would comprehend, and this probably can be attributed to the fact that the man of science is subjected to certain disciplines and the spirit of self-sacrifice and idealism, which I certainly would like to see in every Filipino.

Discipline is a virtue that has to be developed in all our people, if we are to grow as a nation.

Just as we elevate the soldier who has offered his life in combat, so too would I like to elevate the scientists today, not only for the achievements that have brought about progress but because they represent to me, and to those who understand, a symbol of the Filipino that we would like every Filipino to be— disciplined, dedicated, idealistic.

For men of science have a greater understanding of nature, a deeper knowledge of the ways to control those natural forces that surround us. The satisfaction of a job well and honestly done are inspirations and rewards greater than comfort, gain or security.

Finally, in all their actions men of science seek to help their fellowmen — whether friend or foe.

In international circles the spirit of cooperation and understanding is better exhibited and demonstrated by men of science than by statesmen or would-be statesmen and politicians like me.

It is for this reason that one of our models of the men and women we seek to have in the New Society is the man of science. Thus in our New Society, science has received the attention long denied it. And I believe everybody now knows this for a fact.

An article of faith I have long cherished is in the arena of national development. That area is more crucial than the definition of priorities — priorities in the choice of strategies and in the allocation of resources.

In this process, man is the most crucial factor since man is both the means and the end of the development effort. The means because it is man's ability to control his physical and social environment which promotes progress. The end because no effort is worthwhile undertaking unless directed towards promoting the welfare, the security and the integrity of man.

We need therefore to husband our resources and discipline our efforts. Each one of us must recognize our role and accept our responsibility as defined in the context of an orderly society.

The urgency of greater efforts is underlined by factors not within our control. An expanding population that makes demands on all our natural resources, worldwide shortages that can be relieved only at the total destruction of the same natural resources — unless we face these challenges with missionary zeal, the day may come when our backs

may be pushed once again to the wall. When that should come, then it may be impossible to accomplish all the dreams that we have for our country, even with the help of the most innovative and enlightened legislation.

Even more important, from my point of view, is that all of us will be held to account one day for the manner we husbanded our resources. Did we bury these blessings given abundantly to us in the ground, so to speak, either through disuse or misuse or did we make them bear interest for future generations to enjoy?

Since the establishment of the Republic in 1946 there have been only a few laws for science development. But it is with pride that I say that since the establishment of the New Society, we have seen the approval of many pieces of legislation to foster science research and technology.

We have changed practically overnight the state of science and technology in our country. The attention of the government has in turn aroused the private sector to an awareness of the importance of research, evidenced by the increase in research expenditure yearly of individual firms as well as by increasing assistance given by various firms to training projects in the sciences and to the promotion of science consciousness.

The budget of your agency has increased four-fold in the last five to six years. Its increase has been at a much faster rate than any other department, any other ministry, any other agency in the entire government.

At the same time, we have participated in international research activities utilizing Filipino scientists like the Southeast Asia Fisheries Development Center or the SEAFDEC.

Your agency has been utilized as a model for streamlining so that your work could be facilitated and your needs better attended to. Of course, I understand your condition is still far from ideal.

More than anyone else, we are probably more aware and conscious of your problems, more than, perhaps, even yourselves.

We appreciate the patience that you have demonstrated and the difficulties you have endured with your present salary scales which are admittedly not commensurate with those of men and women of your skill in other places.

I understand that when the program for the upgrading of the salaries of the teachers became public there was a quiet inquiry as to whether this would cover those who are engaged in science and technology. And the answer is a resounding "yes."

It is only proper that a country which entrusts many of its burdens on the shoulders of scientists should relieve these men and women of the cares that they encounter from day to day so that their hearts and minds could concentrate on the task at hand.

One very promising development I have learned is how serious efforts are now being exerted by the NSDB to increase the size and improve the quality of scientific manpower. Sometime ago, I suggested that we spread out the scholarships to emphasize basic training in science and research. And I wanted to establish regional science high schools. However, we have been limited by the lack of faculty members as well as other facilities. And so I ordered an increase in the number of students in the National Science High School in Quezon City. There has been an increase from 400 to now 1,000 students there. It is my intention to keep on establishing facilities for an increased teaching in science and technology.

Talking about salary scales (I have it in the latter part of my speech), I wanted to tell you that I am surprised that there has been no announcement of the program that I signed into law way back in December or October of 1977. On November 10th, I signed three presidential decrees. This was PCARR's fifth anniversary, if you will remember, which I had the occasion to attend as I have attended all celebrations on science and technology in the last seven or eight years.

You will remember that on the occasion, I signed a decree which was entitled "A decree providing for incentives and administrative reform to promote efficiency and productivity of scientific and technological research." This has not been released officially, apparently because there was a question of funding. And there was some kind of technical obstacle because the auditor's office and the budget commissioner wanted to know whether we should give priority to this and eliminate some other items in the budget. I repeat that announcement which was made sometime last November.

I announce that now this shall be given priority over all the other programs of government. This involves, one, the hiring of retired scientists and technical personnel. As you know, we have a very strict retirement law. But now I have authorized in this decree, the re-hiring on a contract basis without any limits as to compensation of qualified scientists. Next, not only is the NSDB authorized to re-hire, it can enter into a program for hiring the services of scientists on the basis of a contract in all research projects under the umbrella of NSDB. This was prohibited by existing law before. If Dr. Salcedo will remember, this was one of our problems when he was still chairman of the NSDB.

Incidentally, I am ordering scientists exempted from civil service requirements. This includes the possibility of hiring close relatives, meaning relatives of existing employees or contract workers, because I understand that there are research teams who are either father and son, husband and wife, and the civil service rules do not allow employment of such teams. If you employ the husband you have got to kick out the wife; if you employ the wife, you kick out the husband. But at the same time, while I did authorize civil service eligibility of the highest order for all the scientists there were some technical obstacles which now we do away with under this decree.

Then this decree authorizes sabbatical leave privileges for scientists which could not be given before and also honoraria for research, technical and support personnel. I suppose this is the most important part. This program for upgrading the salaries of scientists was applicable to PCARR originally. I have now ordered it to be extended to the entire group of institutions and agencies under the National Science Development Board.

The operating provision is, the amount of honoraria that may be paid to such researchers and scientists directly shall conform with a schedule formulated by the NSDB or the PCARR on the basis of research output and in consultation with the National Science Development Board and related research and educational institutions and approved by the governing council. This makes the NSDB practically an autonomous agency in government.

At the same time, I authorize payment of hardship or hazard allowances. Again the operating provision reads as follows: "Hardship or hazard allowances may be paid to research, technical and supportive personnel who are engaged in research that cause hazard and hardship to health and life in amounts pre-determined by the research agency concerned."

I understand, too, that there have been difficulty about movement and mobility of research personnel. I, therefore, authorize duly receipted expenditures for both travel and lodging of research personnel traveling outside their official station on mission orders. You are beginning to be treated more and more like soldiers.

And now we have travel insurance for researchers and technical personnel. I authorize the purchase of locally produced or manufactured articles because there was some rules before which apparently were dictated by some of the old laws which did not allow the purchase of locally manufactured research articles. This we are doing away with.

I believe that all of us consider the upgrading and expansion of the educational facilities in science and technology and research as one of the priority programs under EDPITAF. I am glad that Assemblyman Perfecto is here, and the Minister of Education also, so they can attend to this.

There are also some obstacles which have not allowed an expeditious procurement of your equipment and supplies for research in the past. This is properly attended to in this decree. I will not bother you further with such things like purchase of large cattle for experimentation and the like, construction and repair of infrastructure without public

bidding. These are the details which often are not only awkward but actually stop research, obstacles that stop research.

Now, I would like to announce a few appointments. First, I would like to announce the new vice chairman, and executive director of the NSDB. This is no other than Dr. Segundo B. Roxas. As Commissioner of the NIST or the National Institute of Science and Technology, I would like to announce the appointment of Dr. Vedasto R. Jose. I also would like to announce today the conferment of the National Scientist Awards to three of our most eminent scientists.

First, in accordance with the recommendation of the board the first National Scientist Award to Dr. Juan Salcedo, Jr. for his outstanding achievement in the field of public health and nutrition. Next, for his contribution to the field of physical chemistry, the National Scientist Award is given to Dr. Alfredo C. Santos. And for distinguished achievement in the field of engineering and inventions, to Dr. Gregorio Y. Zara.

The members of the academy, the National Academy of Science and Technology, have recommended the following to constitute the executive council of seven members. They are: Dr. Paulo C. Campos, Dr. Alfredo B. Lagmay, Dr. Cecilio Lopez, Dr. Tito A. Mijares, Dr. Alfredo C. Santos, Dr. Carmen Velasquez, and Dr. Gregorio Y. Zara.

The members of the temporary screening committee, National Academy of Science and Technology, are as follows: Physical science, Dr. Melecio Magno; biological sciences, Dr. Carmen Velasquez and Dr. Paulo Campos; mathematical sciences and engineering, Dr. Tito Mijares; and social sciences, Dr. Alfredo Lagmay.

I spoke of the areas which are considered crucial to the survival of our country: food production and energy. I am glad that the Minister of Energy is here, Minister Velasco. You are well aware that 95 percent of our source of energy come from oil and that oil is at present totally and completely important.

It became necessary to support national development goals through the provision of an adequate, stable, secure economical and environmentally acceptable energy supply and through its judicious and efficient consumption.

We have begun to develop the domestic energy base through the extensive exploration for indigenous oil and non-oil energy to meet the requirements of a developing economy. There are three basic strategies to be pursued. First, the building of the necessary institutional arrangements for better national energy management. Second, a short-term work program calling for an accelerated indigenous energy resource exploration, imported supply assurance, stockpiling, fuel allocation, pricing mechanisms and conservation. And third, a long-term measure essentially involving the development of domestic alternative energy sources with emphasis on renewable forms.

Institutional arrangement for resource utilization and for energy exploration and development, of course, initiated the effort. We redefined the contractual schemes that had governed ineffectively oil exploration in the country. This merely means we have divided up the country into concessions and given the right to the concession owners to develop such concessions in the own good time.

But now we have moved into another phase. We now enter into service contracts requiring exploration within definite periods of time. And it was during this period that we realized that simultaneously with oil exploration we had to move into other sources of energy including geothermal, hydroelectric, coal, and others.

Serious oil exploration commenced in earnest with the promulgation of Presidential Decree No. 87, otherwise known as the Oil Exploration and Development Act of 1972.

As I said, prior to this decree, oil exploration was governed by the antiquated Petroleum Act of 1949 which actually hampered the entry of technically and financially capable entities. There were instances where under the old law, foreign and alien explorers were inhibited from entering into exploration contracts with government as well as with the private concession owner.

Foreign expertise and high-risk capital were needed to pursue an intensive exploration effort. Among the incentives that we gave was tax exemption of equipment, repatriation of capital investments, and retention or remittance abroad of foreign exchange earnings in excess of operation requirements.

Since 1973, we have entered into 25 service contracts, culminating in the drilling of over 39 wells, 29 of which were offshore.

And in vindication of the soundness of the new exploration thrust, significant successes in exploration activity were recorded during the last two years. In 1976, of the 10 wells drilled, Nido I in Northwest Palawan and Sampaguita I in the Reed Bank discovered oil. Similarly in 1977, three wells proved to be oil finds: South Nido I, Cadlao I and South Nido West I all of which are in Northwest Palawan.

All these discoveries have confirmed that the Philippines is clearly a part of the Asian oil belt like its oil-producing neighbors — Indonesia and Malaysia. And very soon we will be extracting oil like these countries.

I was informed by City Services and Oriental that we should be drawing oil from the Nido discovery by April of next year. They may intend to start out with 40,000 barrels a day which more or less may be about 20 percent of our daily requirement.

With this delineation of oil reserves, oil exploration in the country will therefore continue in high gear in the years ahead. Assuming the same success parameters in the next ten years, the Ministry of Energy projects an aggregate production level of 19.3, 34.0, and 45.2 million barrels of oil annually in the years 1982, 1985, and 1987 respectively. This would contribute up to 15.2 percent, 20.5 percent, and 23.8 percent of the projected annual oil requirement.

Whatever high importance we give to oil, we recognize that a strong and adequate energy base requires the exploration and development of alternative energy sources, and this is where science and technology comes in. We must move possibly towards the reduction of national dependence on oil from its present level to about, say, 69, or even less, percent in 10 years.

Under the energy program that we have set out to attain, oil is therefore complemented by the development of other indigenous resources, like coal, geothermal, hydro, nuclear and other non-conventional sources.

I need not go into coal because as you know, we now have an oversupply of coal because many of our factories had not been able to convert into utilization and it may be necessary to export some of our coal.

We have discovered some of the country's coal potentials. We have hired the services of a London-based coal consulting firm and after engaging in an extensive evaluation of the country's coal potentials, the firm estimated the country's probable resources to fall within the range of 0.8 to 1.2 billion metric tons, a magnitude which far exceeded all previous estimates.

Potential recoverable reserves are expected to be greater. To tap these potentials in the most efficient manner, I signed the Coal Development Act of 1976. This coordinated all the efforts on coal production. We seek to attain coal production of 1.2 million metric tons in 1980, 1.9 million in 1982 and 3.3 million in 1985. The current rate is only 300,000 metric tons per year. We are trying to develop the local coal market for a program of converting the major oil consuming entities like cement and power-generation plants.

The National Power Corporation has included in its power program the commissioning of some 1245 megawatts of thermal capacity within the next 10 years shall be partly or wholly coal-based.

The pace and extent of the development of coal supply has brought about a temporary oversupply situation, and we have considered exportation as an interim measure to sustain the momentum of the coal industry which is at present at an early stage of development.

The third energy resource that we seek to develop is geothermal energy. The Philippines as you are aware lies along the circum-Pacific fire belt, regions where volcanic activity was and continues to be intense. Because of our peculiar geographical location, we are also endowed with a geothermal potential which can be used for electric power generation and other energy uses requiring heat.

Through the National Power Corporation as early as 1971, we have engaged the services and financing of a foreign group who possessed the technology and experience to develop our geothermal potential in Albay and in Laguna. The Chairman of the NSDB has referred to Tiwi and Bae. The government-owned Philippine National Oil Company followed suit in 1976 in Tungunan, Leyte, Negros and Davao. Since then a total of 52 geothermal wells have been drilled with a total proven generation capacity of 248 megawatts by the end for 1977.

It is the plan now to move the copper-smelter plant to the area near Tungunan, Leyte.

A pilot non-condensing plant of three megawatts capacity is currently operating in that area. The first 55-megawatt geothermal plant of Union Oil and NPC, or National Power Corporation is scheduled to undergo test runs by December of this year.

Geothermal power is projected to provide 4.4 percent of total energy requirement by 1982, with a targeted installed capacity of 548 megawatts.

With equal vigor, we are also pursuing the development of hydro-power resources, they being vital not only as a source of power but also as a source of water for domestic and agricultural use.

Tapping the country's uranium resources to fill the uranium requirements of the first nuclear power plant which shall be operational by late 1982 is also one of our energy priorities. We have taken the nuclear option in the face of receding oil reserves.

Finally, we have invested time, money and effort in the development of non-conventional sources of energy, including solar and biogas energy resources. We have particularly directed these efforts to provide the rural sector with readily available energy which they can produce from indigenous materials.

Largely because of these efforts to tap indigenous resources, the nation now finds itself in a position to supply a significant portion of our energy.

Perhaps, it is worth noting that the 25 percent contribution from indigenous energy resources which we shall attain next year had been originally targeted by 1987. In the last formulation of the energy programs submitted to me, therefore, we shall be nine years ahead of schedule.

In view of these accomplishments, I now order that the target of 50 percent source from the indigenous energy initially programmed for the year 2000 also be advanced to the year 1987. In that year, total energy consumption has been projected to reach the equivalent of 119 million barrels of oil. Our target as of today, therefore, is to supply 95 million of that from locally produced energy fuels. To put this magnitude into perspective, of course, 95 million barrels is even more than the total energy we consume in 1977 which run to about 85 million oil barrels.

In the effort to increase our indigenous sources of energy, you will note that from five percent, we have jumped to 25 percent. This five-fold increase, however, will stabilize to 20 percent only through 1982 if there are no additional oil strikes. In 1983, the share will go back to 26, on the strength primarily of increased coal, hydropower usage, and nuclear energy.

These projections assume a nine percent annual growth rate in energy consumption and a lower 5.5 percent annual growth rate in petroleum requirements due primarily to our massive fuel diversification effort.

As a mere study, perhaps, I can tell you that if we have to maintain the 25 percent participation of indigenous resources of energy in our consumption of power, to sustain a 25 percent reliance on indigenous energy resources from 1982 would require the discovery of at least two more oil fields by 1979, each of similar size as the Nido complex.

A 50 percent indigenous energy target by 1987, however, will call for the discovery of four more oil fields between 1980 and 1984, with each field having the equivalent capacity of Nido.

Falling short of these oil projections, heavier reliance will have to be placed on our other indigenous resources — either coal, geothermal and probably both, in order to pursue our programs of gradually displacing imported oil supplies.

The emphasis we give to energy source diversification in our National Energy program lends focus to the importance of power development.

Perhaps, you have noted that before 1974, the usual infrastructure capital expenditures were for highways, irrigation and school buildings. These were the three principal items of about three to four billion annual capital expenditures of the government.

We have now increased our capital expenditures to about 11-12 billion excluding loans from outside. We are now spending most of it for power. The priority given to highways and irrigations, of course, still remain, but we have balanced all the other expenditures in order to give priority to power development.

Now, as of 1977, what was the recorded aggregate installed operating capacity of our power facilities? It was 3,084 megawatts, and these provided support to industry, agriculture, and commerce, and served an estimated 35 percent of total households in the country. The low level of service coverage is a major factor for the backwardness of several regions of the country.

Our national energy program must provide for an effective answer to this service backlog. And it is in these terms that we have designed the power development program.

All in all, our goal, and our commitment, is the total electrification of the country by 1990 within the framework of the national energy program.

Over the plan period from 1978-87, an incremental generating capacity of 6,518 megawatts is programmed for operation. By 1987, therefore, cumulative capacity will be 9,602 megawatts, representing an average growth rate of some 13 percent annually.

And the growth rate will expectedly stress areas which are at present experiencing low-capacity levels, such as the Visayas, and generally speaking, the rural areas.

Finally, it can be remarked that the national energy program has substantially improved the quality of national consumption of energy. Full emphasis is given now to energy utilization for developmental activities, and energy conservation has considerably reduced wasteful consumption of our energy resources.

I am certain that the achievements charted by our national energy program embody in the main the soundness of the path we have chosen, and they provide secure basis for confidence that we can cope with the crisis and challenge of today and the future.

In this effort, however, we will need the participation of our scientists and researchers. I am certain that we do not need to call your attention to the crucial need for the cooperation of each and everyone — not only the scientists but every man in the Philippines in the effort at curtailing energy utilization to most essential requirements.

I go back, therefore, to the fact that today, as we remember the scientists, it is our hope that our people, the country and the Republic, will remember that everyday there is a group of men and women dedicated quietly, anonymously to the advancement of our nation in the quiet of their laboratories and the ivory towers of intellectual endeavors. We, too, fight the battle of survival. And I may say, more than anybody else, I realize the vital and crucial role that you play in this battle.

To you, therefore, I repeat, go the accolade of the entire Filipino people and your President.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the inauguration of the Baguio City Convention Center, and opening ceremonies of the Karpov-Korchnoi World Chess Championship, July 17, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration of the Baguio City Convention Center, and opening ceremonies of the Karpov-Korchnoi World Chess Championship

[Delivered in Baguio City, July 17, 1978]

The Stuff of Greatness

EVERYTHING THAT HAS to be said has been said by the speakers before me especially by the distinguished mayor of the city. Perhaps if I were a wiser man, I would follow the dictum of all those masters of eloquence and say that we welcome you and hope that this tournament will be successful as I see it will be successful, and then sit down. However, being head of state and head of government there are many responsibilities that one cannot dispense with.

For and on behalf, therefore, of the Filipino people, on behalf of the government of the Republic of the Philippines, I welcome you to our country and to this city, the summer capital of the Philippines. Let me express to you our pride and appreciation for the privilege that has been bestowed upon our country in being chosen as the site for the World Chess Championship match for 1978. As has already been explained by Dr. Max Euwe, it has been six years since the world last witnessed the holding of a match for the world chess crown, and three years since a new world champion was proclaimed. All this time we have waited for this event to take place. And now at last, we gather here along with many millions more around the world to witness the opening of this great sports competition between two great luminaries of chess.

It lends some significance to this event that it is being staged here in Asia. And as Dr. Max Euwe has commented, chess started in Asia.

Chess saw its origins in this part of the world. This is not often remembered any more mainly because, in the course of centuries, chess became the cherished possession of many peoples and countries across the seas. In the course of countless transformations the game found even stronger roots in other lands. But Asian this game was at the start, long before it became the global preoccupation that it is today.

It is, I think, a reflection of the growth of interest in chess all over the world in our time, that here in Asia the game is in the midst of a fitting revival and renaissance, of which, perhaps, our country may justly be considered a modest and a humble exponent.

At various times in the past, we have had the great privilege of hosting major international chess tournaments. I understand since 1970 about twelve of them, at which the great luminaries of chess including incidentally the world champion himself, Mr. Karpov, had been participants. More than this it has been a special effort of our government to encourage and promote the game in our country as we encourage and promote all sports and athletics.

To see those efforts today crowned by the privilege of staging the World Chess Championship is therefore a very great honor which we cherish. And we are greatly indebted to Mr. Karpov and Mr. Korchnoi for granting this rare opportunity to the Philippines and to Asia.

To you gentlemen, we express our most profound thanks, our very deep wishes for your respective success in the present competition. Your achievements in the game are justly celebrated all over the world. There is not a chess

aficionado who does not know Mr. Karpov and Mr. Korchnoi. Fittingly those achievements have thrust you yet again into the trials of this prestigious contest for the greatest prize in the world of chess.

We are certain that long after your match is over it will become part of the annals of chess and it will continue to give pleasure and enjoyment to chess lovers as much as it will please, enchant and engross those who will witness your games while they take place in this city.

For there is something imperishable in the achievements of great chess masters such as you exemplify and symbolize. They are of the stuff of art, of genius and of greatness. They are what make chess so well-beloved and celebrated as a sport.

This was true of the games of the great masters who preceded you in the competition for the world chess championship. So will it be true of this world chess championship match in 1978.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my very great pleasure and privilege to now declare open the World Chess Championship Match of 1978.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Third Annual Convention of the Local Administration Development Program Alumni Association, July 25, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Third Annual Convention of the Local Administration Development Program Alumni Association

[Delivered at the Manila Hotel, July 25, 1978]

Men in Government

HAVE WE EVER asked ourselves why we are in government? Many of us are in government perhaps because circumstances, the tyranny of which is probably more exigent, more demanding, more exacting than any other kind of tyranny, often compels us into politics. But it does require some kind of a motivation, a faith, a cause, or an ideology to continue through the rough-and-tumble of politics, especially of local politics.

When I was starting out in life immediately after the war, I thought that I had gone through the most intense and passionate adventure probably available to man— that of being in a war. And therefore as a young man I sought to duplicate such an adventure in time of peace. The practice of law to which I was dedicated brought its monetary rewards that are the fruits of trial law, or of corporation law. As we used to say at the time, one practices corporation law to fill up one's pocket. One practices criminal law to satisfy one's conscience. And this, I did. But even then the adventure was part of the young and ever-visionary the man who felt that there was something lacking. And so pushed into politics because of the death of many of our leaders, including my father, I imagined that the best starting point would be local government; for there is no one closer to the people than the administrator of a town. The mayor attends to almost anything. And so I debated whether to run for governor or for membership in the House of Representatives.

But be that as it may, I address you who have decided with us to remain and continue in government. And throughout the long years that I have spent in public life, I have arrived at the conclusion that government is the great adventure of modern times. It used to be that the most noble, the most dedicated was the ministry in religion or soldiery in combat. They still are, but considering its impact upon the lives of people as well as the capability to fulfill visions and dreams, government is the answer.

Public service, taking risks for your people, is staking not only your life, your worldly belongings, but also your honor. For you people this is the great romance of the age.

Let us look around us: all the men of Jesus, the men of talent now go to government, and look to the government for this particular adventure and romance.

But government is not for the fainthearted. Government is for the daring. Government is not for the egoistic, for public service is self-abnegation. Fulfillment comes out of the attainment of the people's dreams. It is your role, first, to look around, visualize, conceptualize, debate — grouping the yearnings of a people and articulating them into vision and dreams that can be implemented, achieved, attained, and converting these into a fighting faith, a cause, an ideology. For if everything else fails — in most developing countries the inadequacy of resources is the starting point of all efforts and of all enterprise— when such resources, when all other means fail, then you and I must fall back on the passion of a vision, on the motivation of a cause, and on the sustaining faith of an ideology.

I am certain that the course through which you have passed has given you the capability, the expertise, and perhaps the understanding of your role in the New Society, your role in a developing country like the Philippines.

Perhaps you are curious to find out why I came here. As I look around, at the age of 60 at those who are successful, for the men who will take over the reins of government, I remember Napoleon saying when he was asked after the fall of his regimental commander in a very pivotal battle, who would command the regiment, his answer was: "Whoever without order shall assume command and lead them in combat shall be the commander of the regiment." And then he also said: "In every corporal's knapsack is a marshal's baton."

I also say: In every mayor, in every Sanggunian Bayan's role or position is a prime minister or a president in the main. I look around whether it is in the Batasang Pambansa or the governors or the city mayors, the Sanggunian Bayan, to* find out if there is that spirit of adventurism, of romance that pervades the activities of the men in whose hands lie the power of achievement or success in our country today. For without you the New Society is nothing.

You constitute a great reservoir of motivators, of crusaders for the New Society. More than anybody else you understand what the New Society is all about. You understand the need for change. Understand that you and I are like riders in a bicycle, once we start moving we must keep up the momentum. Otherwise we fall. For that is the very meaning of movement for change.

Today, I note a vague uneasiness about the continuous momentum. And once again you sometimes hear the voices of timidity, of hesitation, and they preach the gospel of fear, of pessimism and they ask you to hesitate. We have passed the day of hesitation. Do you remember that saying which you and I loved to repeat in days of danger and combat? It goes something like this: "On the beach of hesitation bleach the bones of millions who on the dawn of the day of victory hesitated, rested, and resting, died."

Today, we have gained enough momentum for us to say, the society has an orientation and has a momentum, and has enough inertia, that whatever be the political, social or economic accident, it shall reach the goals that we have projected for it, if there are men who understand the objectives of the New Society.

It is for this reason that I have come, not just to look around for leaders who will assume the new obligation, and take over this new adventure, and engage in this lovely and beautiful romance, but also to see if I may in my modest way add to your inspiration, dedication, self-abnegation, to the resoluteness which, joined to the brilliance and insight of talented men, will bring about achievement.

Yes, government is an adventure, but at the same time, government is a plodding, tiring, and often thankless task. I have said that it shall be your role to risk not only your good name, your future and the future of your families—and in the very end perhaps be damned for it instead of being thanked by the people. That, too, is part of the adventure.

I am therefore very happy that you have invited me to come today to see how the — you call it an alumni association — how the local administrators have fared. It's a little less romantic than I would like to have it. No, you are the fighters for our new society. You are the apostles, the men who will spread the gospel. Of course the apostles of Christ were also members of an alumni association.

I am happy that there is such a course. In fact, we should have such a course for all public officers, including the members of the Batasang Pambansa, as well as the Cabinet members. I am often appalled by the lack of, should we say, understanding of the workings of government. Let us not talk about the New Society. The New Society is alien to some of our people in government, and this is one of the things that we must immediately remedy.

I am aware that the gap between, say, the plans, projections, the visions and the dreams of the political and economic leadership, the economic managers or the political leadership, and the implementors is often so unbridgeable that one is often tempted to throw up one's hands and say that it will take not just one generation but two generations to bring about a complete unity between planning, implementation, and the monitoring and further refinement of such plans. For as you very well know, today, we already have set plans for almost every contingency, every situation, every problem. Name the problem and the plans are there. The projections are there. But the important thing is, who knows about these plans and how to implement them. And when this old crop of leaders is eliminated by time—oh, yes, there is no compromising with time. Ultimately time succeeds in eliminating both the

bad and the good, and that is the worst part about it. But ultimately there must be succession and this is one of the obligations of national leadership.

One is aware that such plans that have been conceived, worked out with so much effort and at such a price could be lost to the succeeding leadership. This is the tragedy. This would be the tragedy of our times. And thus every leader of course hopes that he will find among his countrymen, men who shall immediately grasp his dreams, his visions, his hopes, and be more pragmatic to be able to understand the mechanics by which such dreams and visions can be attained. And this is the effort in which, I presume, we the older leaders are engaged now.

Whenever I listen to anybody speak, immediately the question arises in my mind. What would he be doing if he were in my place? Would he be the timid type? Would he hesitate whenever there is any risk or danger to his reputation? Would he abandon the comfort of his home in order to wage battle against the vices that threaten to wreck our society? Would he be willing to risk everything in a single throw and take his loss like a man? Is he the type of leader who would pass the buck and say it is the other fellow's fault, rather than assume responsibility for it and say, we committed quite an error there, but we are willing to change. However, if you think that it is too great an error, then let us pick another leader.

These are the tests of manhood in the political leadership, about which of course, only events can inform us.

Today, as I have said, we are moving by the test of past performance. We have certain set guidelines. Thus in 1974 when the oil crisis set in, all the small countries immediately turned inward and took stock of their available resources as against the dangers with which they were confronted. And the Philippines was no exception. We immediately determined whether inflation, unemployment, or recession was the greater danger. Because as you know, with the increase in oil prices, naturally there was a tendency for prices of goods and services to increase. Oil prices increased from \$2 per barrel to about \$12 per barrel. Let us say that it was a four- or five-fold increase. There would therefore be a corresponding increase in the prices of almost all the goods, at least, the essentials. And luxuries would be the worst. And you know that an inflationary situation prejudices the small people more than the rich. And since we have in our country a greater majority of poor people, then it would have caused a serious economic dislocation. So, what was the answer to all of these? The classic, traditional, scholarly answer which you find in all the books on economics is, pull back. Stop all the expansionary investments, cut down on government expenditures and try and cut your losses as it were. Pull back, shorten your lines, as you would put it in military terms, and forget about moving forward. Just stay put.

Many of the small developing countries adopted this in 1973 and 1974. The Philippines took the opposite course. We adopted the policy of dynamic flexibility, which meant that while attempting to balance the budget and while attempting to limit expenditures to productive enterprise, we have authorized borrowing in order that we could influence, incite and promote greater production—production which, in accordance with the law of supply and demand, brings about some of the prices. The key product, or as some of the economists call it, index commodity in our society, in Asian society, is rice.

Why is it the index commodity? Because it is the central requirement for daily living. If you don't have rice, then you have almost nothing. When the price of rice goes up everything goes up. When the price of rice goes down, everything goes down.

The simplified solution therefore was, keep rice at a very even keel. We produce enough rice. And thus you note that we borrowed from the Central Bank. We actually went through the process of risking a little inflation in order that we could lend money to our farmers. We developed the small industries in the countryside. We lent out billions and billions of pesos and this was to generate more economic activity. Rather than stagnancy, we opted for energetic modernization. And energetic production. And thus you have a country which has a steady increase of the gross national product or per capital income, whichever indicator you wish to utilize.

But whatever it is, we have compared ourselves with other countries and we can say: from past performance, the policy of dynamic flexibility has come out better than the policy of constriction and of timidity.

The New Society therefore stands for innovation, for ingenuity, for boldness, for courage and for self-confidence. One of the weaknesses of Filipino tradition is the tradition of self-doubt. You and I from as far back have always been made to believe that we were incapable of achievement. Even the historians referred to the Filipino as being incapable of running a successful revolution. You remember what the Spanish governor-general answered the King of Spain when he was asked: What do you need in order to put down the revolution or rebellion in the Philippines? And his answer was: I need three things. First, gold; secondly, gold; and the third is gold. And he bought out some of the revolutionaries. This has always been a mark on our character as a people. And I fear such timidity has become ingrained in the Filipino character — this hesitation, this self-doubt, this feeling of guilt, this feeling of inadequacy, incapacity to dream, to achieve and to aspire and win.

Well, the New Society has sought to change all this. This is the meaning of the New Society.

When we speak of self-reliance, what do we mean? When we say we must be self-reliant, we say we must be confident. Hesitancy on the dawn of the day of victory, this is the fatal relapse.

Today, as we move forward, if I were asked what my advice is (as if I were an older man advising the younger generation), my advice would be: Forget about this weakness and this flaw in the Filipino character. There is no such thing. That was created by our colonizers. We must have confidence in ourselves. More than anything else, let us not doubt our enterprise. We're too far gone now to start doubting ourselves. We have started it and we must go through with it. If we're moving too fast, well, we can check it there. If you feel that we are precipitate, too hasty, then prudence dictates monitoring and feedback on the results. And from what I see, the results of this enterprise require a maintenance of the momentum. In short, my advice would be, let us keep the momentum of modernization. Keep the momentum of this enterprise. We cannot stop now. And at the same time, let us keep our flexibility.

One of the things that we have learned in dealing with the crisis that we have in the world today is that none of the set answers, the classical traditional answers even by the economists can fit any given situation. Flexibility, ingenuity, innovation is the answer. We must innovate. We must be flexible in order to attain our visions and our dreams.

I am quite aware that you probably have in mind the creation of the new Department on Human Settlements. What is the role of the Department on Human Settlements? Well, you are aware that it is the purpose of the national government to allocate the fruits of its achievements for the national welfare, not only for the urban centers, not only for a few, but for the many.

We always speak of the revolution of the poor "as if a verbal obeisance to its righteousness is sufficient. These days I notice even a cynical attitude towards this revolution of the poor. Whenever we have any doubts, why don't we go back and ask ourselves, how did this whole thing start? And when we started this peaceful revolution, what did we have in mind? Next, we come to another flaw, a supposed flaw in the Filipino character — *niñgas kugon*. The psychologists and the historians always speak of the fact that Filipino has no steadiness and no strong resolution to carry through a given purpose. And I say, that is a lot of bunk.

We started out to emphasize the fact that indeed we must admit there is a gap between the rich and the poor and we must bridge it. And we intend to bridge that gap as we have started to. And thus we have the classical answers to it: land reform, labor reform, educational reform, political reform including the barangay — which is why you are all here — and now human settlements. We must spread the fruits of achievement. That is the meaning of human settlements. You cannot limit the reward of resolute conduct, of brave, bold innovation to only the City of Manila, the primate city of the Philippines. We cannot. For the test of the New Society is not found in the most prosperous enclaves. But such a test should be worked out. And the answers must come from the poorest of our towns.

Thus, human settlements seeks to spread these resources in order that all the towns may feel that they do belong to this revolution. For undoubtedly there still are many towns that do not feel the impact of the revolution, the peaceful revolution that is the New Society. Let us admit it. Yes, there have been increases in the income of farmers. But, I repeat. If we were to test our new society by the standards of the poorest towns of our country, what would be the

answer? This, then, is your role. This is why you are here. This is why you are organized. This is why you now constitute this great corps of motivators, of innovators, of crusaders, the apostles of the New Society.

Perhaps many of you will say: Mr. President, you keep telling us about risking everything for the New Society, and later on, you might remove us from office. Well, I came here to assure you that I won't remove the innovators, the efficient, the effective, the bright, and the bold from this government. On the contrary, I shall extend them the protection that can come from the power of the presidency and the prime ministry.

But for those who are corrupt, dishonest, ailing, weak, timid, hesitant, well, I think we better get together and say, don't you think you are intended for another mission? You were meant for another mission in life, and it is not public service. Now the question has been raised as to: Are you going to call elections for the local officials? My answer to that is: Let the Batasang Pambansa settle down first before we even talk about local elections.

But don't mistake me, we will have local elections. But one of the things that I have learned at a price is never try to solve all the problems at the same time. Never, don't ever try it. You are not God. Even God took seven days, you know.

So let us work on this problem that we have now, the creation of a legislative assembly, the creation of the Legislative branch of our government, the transfer of powers to that legislature. And possibly work into it accomplishments of the eight missions of the interim or the Pansamantalang Batasang Pambansa.

Anyway, as I look at the entire country today from the prominence of the Presidency, which still is the primary office — You know they always ask me: How do you want to be addressed, Mr. President or Mr. Prime Minister? And I said: I want to be addressed the way the Constitution addresses me. Well, they said: But we cannot put "Prime Minister" in parenthesis. Well, in that case, I said: Let us settle it and stay with the old name until we have changed it. "President" comes first, "Prime Minister" comes in parenthesis in all those amendments that we approved in October of 1976, you remember? So, I guess the proper address should be still "President." Anyway, I am not used to changing loyalties.

I was in a jocular mood when I said that perhaps it's time that we also adopted a course for the high ranking officials in government other than the local officials. There are many things that you have learned in this course for the Institute of Public Administration of the University of the Philippines is well-known, reputable and one of its kind, not only in the Philippines but also in Asia.

You know what I'd like to see is, well, the DAP is there — the Development Academy of the Philippines — notwithstanding some criticisms that have been levelled at it lately. Then we have the JET for the Career Executive Service — the Junior Executive Training Course. And you have all kinds of courses. Sometimes when I am a little tired attending to those voluminous papers that they keep pushing at my face everyday and attending to the requirements of all the communities and all municipalities — I wish I were back to my old love: teaching. Just go around, do nothing but teach a course on public administration. Can you imagine the wealth of information that I can transfer to the would-be leaders of this country. And I have not given up yet, I might just compel everybody to attend those courses, you know.

However, may I say that the idea of these courses was an inspired one. I congratulate the Department of Local Governments. I understand they are still financing the Institute of Public Administration on these courses. I do wish more of the ministries would finance courses of this nature for their respective ministries.

Now with respect to the Batasang Pambansa — I was not kidding when I said that. I think all of us have the interest to go back and study, you know. Although, I probably would be the uninhibited type of student, standing up and questioning the teacher every time he said something wrong which, of course, was the habit in my time. My generation was allowed in the University of the Philippines to stand up and question the teacher on anything that they doubted. And we often did this. This often led to some clarifications as well as strained relations between the students and the faculty. Whatever it is, I do believe that the idea of going back to school should not be considered ignominious by high ranking officials. I always go back to school, I read. And reading is just like listening to a

lecture except that you cannot question the one who wrote that tract which you may not believe in. But I read all kinds of manuscripts, books, articles. I don't always believe anything that I read, especially if written by the Western press. But it pays to know both sides of the question. The unfortunate part is, we tend to terminate scholarship with our formal education. And this, of course, is my last point.

Scholarship will always be the basis for innovation, for ingenuity. Let not anybody say that ingenuity is inspired by the heavens. Ingenuity is the result of hard work. Innovation is the result of continuous, tireless study. And when anybody stands up to question the decisions of government, he may not know that into that position went perhaps not only one year but several years of study. And there may be fast and apparently precipitate decisions made by the political leadership. But the truth of the matter is: you have anticipated such a situation, you have anticipated such a problem long before it occurs. And you have indexed in your mind your options. If this thing happens, I am going to do that; if the other thing happens, I am going to do this. But if they don't happen, I'll probably not do anything, I just lie low and watch the developments until that thing happens and I will do this. So, what may sound or look like hasty, precipitate action is, if you look farther, actually a deliberate decision, perhaps a risk. But it is a calculated risk, because you have thought it out.

I recommend this system of scholarship to all of you: Anticipate. You know the problems in your localities, you can anticipate. You know more or less what will happen next. I was, for instance, surprised when somebody from the opposition in the Batasang Pambansa asked: Why should we have any contingent fund? I was tempted to tell him: Does he know that there are at least 19 typhoons every year in the Philippines? And that whenever those 19 typhoons occur, the President receives hundreds of requests for releases. Now, don't tell me I have to call a session of the Batasang Pambansa in order to approve a contingent fund for a typhoon especially when it hits Cebu or Mindanao!

But this is a part of the growing process. For instance, the question: Why should you give aid to the local governments? I wanted to send a note to the Ministers of the Budget to say: Don't you remember the history of that particular item? That item was the result of the re-allocation of the funds arising from local taxation as well as those collected by the Internal Revenue through the income tax. The re-allocation of the income tax. You remember that? You remember that many of you lost out in this re-allocation, especially the big cities and the big provinces. Rizal, for instance — how much did it lose? It lost about P20 million. And so it was necessary to put in a lump sum appropriation from which to draw these amounts. And while it is a lump sum appropriation, actually there is a detailed listing of how this is going to be spent. Because from past performance, you know that you are going to spend so much for, say, 19 typhoons, you are going to spend so much for 50 fires, you are going to spend so much for aid to Mindanao where there is fighting. Tawi-Tawi, for instance you can be sure they cannot support themselves. The province of Tawi-Tawi has been receiving annually aid from the national government of anywhere from 2 to 10 million pesos. Now, if you were to remove this particular item, Tawi-Tawi will probably return to the rebels. I have no doubt about it.

But these are the things of course at which the Minister of the Budget, being a former dean of the College of Business Administration, may not be adept — the rough-and-tumble game of politics. Now, if you are new around here, you probably would have stood up and raised hell with everybody. But this is part of a democratic dialogue. Everybody is free to say the most stupid things. But that's the meaning of democratic dialogue. You can be brilliant if you would be brilliant. You can be stupid, but that doesn't mean everybody will listen to your stupidity. This, too, is the meaning of the democratic dialogue. Provided that we don't engage in violence, provided that we don't promote bloodshed, the democratic dialogue should be able to embrace and include every aspect of exchange of opinions. And this is why we must encourage it.

So once again, I congratulate you for your assiduity, your dedication in going through this course. Let us try and get all the local officials through this particular course. I am certain that as the years go by, you will be able to look back to this course as the beginning of a great adventure. For you will widen the perspectives of everyone that goes through this course. You will see what others cannot see. And for the pragmatic visionary that all politicians are supposed to be, there will be the beginning of achievement.

So, to each and every one of you, may I say once again: Government is for us the great adventure, public service the romance of the age, but government is not for the faint-hearted.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

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Address of President Marcos at the 77th anniversary of the Philippine Constabulary, August 8, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 77th anniversary of the Philippine Constabulary

[Delivered on August 8, 1978]

Civility and Public Order

SA KAARAWAN NG Philippine Constabulary at ng Integrated National Police na nagkatagpo sapagka't ang araw na ito ay ikapitongpo at pitong taon ng Philippine Constabulary at ganoon din sa ikatatlong taon ng Integrated National Police — binabati ko ang lahat ng mga magiging na kawal at mga katulong, lalong-lalo na ang mga sinabitan ng sagisag ng kagitingan at paglilingkod sa Inang Bayan.

The salute you have just given your Commander-in-Chief expresses beyond words the loyalty and support that this service has unfailingly shown through all these many years, to the Presidency and, more than this, to the Republic and to the Constitution. It is with profound appreciation and admiration that I return the salute of the corps.

Today's celebration fittingly brings together the Philippine Constabulary and the Integrated National Police under the auspices of a single celebration, with the Constabulary marking its 77th year, and the Integrated National Police its third year of existence. That the two should observe their anniversaries together is only a reflection of the unprecedented links that they have developed during the years of crisis government in the service of our people and our nation.

There is a special significance to this celebration that we should hold it for the first time in this new home of the Philippine Constabulary Brigade, Camp Bagong Diwa. This camp marks the farthest southern and eastern boundaries of the old Fort William McKinley now known as Camp Bonifacio. This camp was the farthest from the central headquarters of the Philippine Army when the Philippine government received this military reservation from the United States of America.

To call this new camp by the terms in which we now express our national purpose and aspiration is to underline the strong bonds of this corps to the Republic, and to underscore the distinguished contribution of the service toward the attainment of "Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa."

The record of the Constabulary and the Integrated National Police is well known to all; the awarding of the medals, certificates, the commendations indicates the share and contributions of the Constabulary and Integrated National Police to the tasks of nation building. We do not have to relieve the early years of crisis government to appreciate the distinguished record of the service in the maintenance of internal security and public order at a time when our nation faced disorder, rebellion, anarchy; and when in such desperate straits we needed the strength of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the Constabulary was called upon to be the first striking force to enforce the law. History fully records the magnitude of the challenge we faced in the troubled days of 1971-72 and the response of our Armed Forces, particularly the Philippine Constabulary, to the grave dangers to national security. The first group authorized men to enforce the edict of martial law belong to the Constabulary, the planning groups that wanted the proclamation of martial law with the civil government leader included the leader's of the Philippine Constabulary.

We do not need to review the sustained efforts of the Constabulary and the Integrated National Police to improve the climate for peace and order in our country, and how progressively our institutions for law enforcement and crime prevention have established new civility and order in our national life. These, too, are well known to all, because they are palpably felt by everyone.

In each and every area of internal security and public order — be it in the continuing fight against subversives, in the remaining conflicts in Mindanao, or in the day-to-day tasks of maintaining order in our cities and countryside— we are aware of the courage, dedication and the patriotism of the men of this service, and we all feel this courage and dedication in the substance of our national life for they have become the models for the citizenry.

Less evident, but no less real, is the contribution that your achievements in law enforcement have made to the larger effort of national strengthening and development. And it is this which I wish to underscore in paying tribute to the Constabulary and the INP today.

We may indeed regard this 77th year of the Constabulary and this third year of the INP, as a milestone in their respective histories, because they coincide with a year of major change and transition in our political life.

The holding of free elections in our country, and the convening of the Batasang Pambansa, are no less the achievement of our government decision makers and our people, than they are the achievement of our police and constabulary forces.

We cannot stress enough the umbilical link between the degree of order and civility we maintain in our national life, and the democratic processes of government that they make possible. Political processes and institutions are mere illusions without lawful authority to sustain them in the life of society.

Of this incontrovertible dictum we know so much from experience, that only the most anarchic and selfish interests today would dream of political change under a climate less civil and secure than what we have in our country.

To my mind, civility and public order are the first prerequisites of political development. Our failures in the past did not arise so much from the poverty of political ideas, as from the neglect and erosion of order in our society.

Within a developing society like ours, the importance of this is all the greater, because as in any developing society, there are many forces at work tending toward division, conflict, and tension. There has been no time for the orderly growth of laws alongside the advancement of the human state. Institutions, far from being the outgrowth of the way people live, are in fact grafted to highly stratified social orders, whose inequities soon enough rise to challenge and even destroy those institutions. The level of human poverty and misery is so severe that in the event, even the most rosy of democratic prescriptions die on the lips of the citizen who is deprived and hungry.

And it has always been at best dubious, if not wicked, to think of establishing a democratic political order according to principles and experiences derived from alien settings.

It is only when we understand how important is the achievement of public order to political change and modernization that we can see and finally appreciate the current efforts we are making towards the full normalization of our political life.

Many of course have contended that once the threats to national security were met, we should have immediately proceeded to dismantle martial law and call for national elections. Many have believed that because we sought to give reforms time in which to grow on our soil, the directions of national politics were towards the tightening rather than the relaxation of crisis government.

The currents of political life today give the lie to all these idle prognostications, for we have now in fact a confident program for political development that is stable and secure, and will, as I fully believe, lead to the full establishment of democracy in our country.

For if there is now some confidence and optimism that our present steps towards political modernization will succeed, it is because we have taken the time to slowly sow reforms in our society, not the least of which is the establishment of the habit of public order and civility in our society.

And if there is promise in the work of the Batasang Pambansa today, it is not so much because it is grounded on what we call democratic principles, as it is because the idea of popular government is grafted to a national polity and a national life that will be able to sustain and strengthen it as an institution, a natural institution of our society.

We can well imagine what might have been the result had our decision to normalize been premature. Introduced for instance before we could give roots and life to our peace and order efforts, it could well have resurrected the greatest evils of the old political system, not the least of which was the intimidation of the national electorate with which the Constabulary and the Integrated National Police are too well acquainted. It could well have brought back the bloodbaths of past elections, which were the outgrowth of a politics based on influence and privilege.

The Constabulary is well aware of these aspects of our political history, because invariably it had to play the very difficult role of policeman to our anarchic elections of the past.

Now, with the program for political normalization finally in process, we can see what has been our signal gains.

Today, we know that we can build a stable and democratic political order without having to suffer the fratricidal conflicts of the past.

We can create political change without sacrificing what we have won through crisis government, and without losing direction in the national development effort. The loss of lives from the ranks of the Constabulary and the Integrated National Police shall not be in vain.

The sense of an orderly evolution in our political affairs is to be seen in the actions of our Batasang Pambansa today, as well as in the fruitful workings of the barangays and the Sanggunians, the local governments, and the regional councils.

And it should come, I believe, as good news to the officers and men in the Constabulary and the INP that we have succeeded so far in the program of political normalization, without reawakening the conflicts of our political life that were the nightmare of the men in uniform in the past.

That there is dissent, tolerated and listened to, is a fact. But it seems to me now possible that a constructive opposition can rise and serve our society, and that we need not fear that it will be another anarchic force that will seek to dismantle all that we have taken pains to build by utilizing violence to obtain political power.

We shall be detained, of course, from time to time by various obstacles to our programs of political normalization. We shall have to face up to many residual problems that require utmost care and effort. We shall have to attend to the problems and anxieties that will arise as soon as we are able to hold elections at local government level.

But to my mind, if we keep steadily on course, neither timorous about political change nor harried by the carping of those who profess to know better, than the present political leadership, we shall irreversibly move towards the full establishment of our own form of government, call it semi-parliamentary or modified parliamentary government, whatever it is that we consider apt and necessary for our democracy.

Our crisis government will be the first to promote the full realization of a democratic political order, but it will also be the first to abort any untoward development that will unmoor us from the reforms of the last five and a half years.

The fruitful realization of our goal of political normalization rests on a progressive heavy buildup of national capabilities, not on an apocalyptic or radical change from the current state of national affairs. This should be apparent to all the citizenry now.

It will require a steady and vigilant eye on the climate of internal security and order.

It will require purposive work at barangay and local government level, so that steadily power at the base will become a force not to be ignored at the top of the political ladder.

It will require the same aggressive push in the economic sector, with emphasis on the advancement of backward communities and the grassroots.

It will require continuous and steady gains in the social sector, so that men, women and children will come to know what it means to have rights and initiatives in a democratic society. And the counterpart of such rights, the duties of the citizenry to the nation and to the country.

Most of all it will require a sense of oneness among our people — oneness in identity and in purpose — so that thereby we will have one direction as a nation.

The semi-parliamentary system we are building provides for a transition from crisis government that will not sacrifice the gains of the past five and a half years, but instead consolidate and develop them. No other system so uniquely combines the principles of undivided and rational planning, concerted implementation, and full accountability that have been so instrumental in our surmounting crisis after crisis.

And if today, we stand to reap these fruits from our labors, let it be said that you of the Constabulary and you of the Integrated National Police have been in part their creator, and will surely be their guardian.

And let it be said too that those members of the corps who have fallen in the line of duty — in the countless missions that the Constabulary has had to undertake against subversives, secessionists, and criminal elements and those who would utilize violence to attain their ends, will find their full vindication in a political order worthy of their deeds and their sacrifice.

The work of our police and constabulary forces will continue to be the life-support of the best of our vision in the political, economic, and social spheres. And it appears to me no small source of reassurance that the service continues to strengthen itself in its organization, in the expansion of its services, and in the improvement of its overall vigilance over the nation.

Camp Bagong Diwa is but one of the many projects undertaken by the Constabulary, but in a way its story captures the spirit of the entire service. In a miniature scale, it is symbolic of the peaceful transformation of our national life from anarchy and chaos to the emergence of the new Society.

Formerly a part of the vast Fort Bonifacio Military Reservation of the Philippine Army, and before that of Fort William McKinley, this camp used to be the haven of squatters who live disorderly lives. The squatters were relocated, given new homes at Dasmariñas, Cavite and provided the opportunity to pursue decent means of livelihood. Then the PC moved in, and what was once a 47.8-hectare wasteland grew into the military camp that it is today. Two of the engineers who participated in the planning and development of this Camp have just been awarded the medal to which they are entitled.

This positive example of the constructive work of the Philippine Constabulary assumes greater significance when we consider that Camp Bagong Diwa is the home of the PC Brigade, the mother unit of several battalions committed in Mindanao. The honor guard was composed of the 61st PC Battalion, on its 2nd assignment to Mindanao and is leaving soon.

And it is to my mind fitting that this camp should gather us here as the Philippine Constabulary and the Integrated National Police enter into another year of service to the nation. This week, the Constabulary/INP take another positive step toward further strengthening the foundations of peace and national security, with the full activation of 13 PC/INP Regional Commands, corresponding to the 13 administrative regions of the country.

With the breaking up of the former four PC/INP Zones into 13 Regional Commands, each of the 13 regions becomes more manageable in size. In effect, this organizational setup will enable each regional commander to give adequate attention and control over his area of jurisdiction insofar as law enforcement and maintenance of law and order are concerned. More important, however, is that with the regionalization of the PC/INP commands, greater cooperation and coordination of development efforts can be achieved among the PC/INP, the civil officials, and the population as a whole.

I have no doubt that the regionalization of the PC/INP command will enable us to synchronize even more effectively the work of our law enforcement forces with the tasks of development planners and government administrators.

It is a development which in itself already encapsulates the total thrust of national development effort — which says to all that our vision is a total one, that our tasks are a single cooperative venture, and that all of us in government and in the Armed Forces sustain and support one another.

Before I forget, I would like to sign in your presence the decree which authorizes the payment of police hazardous duty pay under certain conditions.

It is indeed true that in many instances the police are the first force that meet the enemy. And while the Constabulary personnel are entitled to hazardous duty pay, as well as the other civilian officials of the government, the police have never been given this right. I now sign a decree which entitles personnel of the Integrated National Police to hazardous duty pay when engaged in the following hazardous duties.

- (a) Combat operations in critical and embattled areas of the country against insurgents, rebels and/or terrorists.
- (b) Crime prevention or suppression operations against armed criminals.
- (c) Fire-fighting operations which require the rescue of persons that are trapped inside burning buildings or structures.
- (d) Exposure to radiation hazards and to danger in connection with the disarming and disposal of bombs, mines, grenades and other lethal or explosive devices and chemicals.

In your presence I sign this decree.

In view of the alarming increase in death and injury to persons and losses and damage to property from fire, I now sign a Letter of Instruction creating a National Fire Safety Council addressed to no less than 15 officers, 8 ministers, and 7 other officers in government, including the private sector, to constitute a Fire Safety Council. I sign it in your presence.

Inasmuch as one of the causes in the proliferation of arson seems to be in the delay in the prosecution of the same, I hereby order that the crime of arson and other crimes involving destruction as defined under Article 320 to 326 of the Revised Penal Code will now fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of the military tribunal. I sign this in your presence.

In order to give the Constabulary and the INP the equipment in which to fight the fires that had caused so much problems in the past few months, I have ordered defense establishment, the Constabulary, and the Armed Forces to procure all the necessary fire-fighting equipment. I hereby order the Ministry of the Budget, as well as the Secretary of Finance to support this with both budgetary and borrowed funds in the procurement of about 120 fire-fighting units for the whole country. I sign the approval in your presence.

Once again, *inuulit ko na naman, binabati ko ang ating mga katulongat kasama, at ganoon din ang mga kawal ng Constabulary at INP.* I close with this ideal and this theme — *Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa*. We shall always be the foundation and the basis for the progress of our country.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 58th Conference of the International Law Association, August 28, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 58th Conference of the International Law Association

[Delivered at the Philippine International Cultural Center, August 28, 1978]

The
to Human Rights

Integrated

Approach

I WOULD HAVE preferred to have remained in languor listening to the witticisms of, say, Justice Fernando, who is so wise that he can violate Francis Bacon's dictum that the jurist must be more wise than witty, and whose introduction of the First Lady I consider a concurring opinion that binds him to the New Society. For, of course, he has been the most objective of the jurists, rational and scholarly. He has not always agreed with the decisions of the President. And so I consider his statements as binding, not as coming from a hostile witness, but as a statement against interests like *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines, which he quoted.

Or I would have inclined to remain the soul, the dream and the vision that the governor of Metropolitan Manila so poignantly painted with the brush of a romanticist. But being a tough-minded lawyer, and you can ascribe that to my ill-spent youth in the pursuit of the law, I am afraid that I have acquired the uncomfortable or uncomfoting habit of measuring visions against reality and rationality.

This is my role today. Actually the term "keynote speech" is some kind of an anomaly. I have never yet felt that I have fulfilled the role of delivering a keynote speech properly especially when I have such great speakers before me, who apparently saw the text of my speech beforehand.

Much as I would have preferred to join the First Lady in the pursuit of the will of the wisp — our will of the wisp, no matter to what ends of the world she may bring me, for that too is my dedication and aberration — it is part of man's despair that while it is the woman's role to dream and to live fondly in hope, man must keep his feet on the ground, cling to Mother Earth, and sharpen his wits and weapons around him for the mundane, the grim task of survival. This I must therefore undertake in today's ceremonies.

Allow me therefore to formally extend welcome to each and everyone of you Our country, of course, is honored to be the host of the 58th conference of the International Law Association. This conference the first to be held in Manila in your association's 105 years of existence, calls to mind vividly two other meetings of luminaries in the law — the World Peace through Law Conference and the International Conference of Appellate Magistrates.

Our present circumstances, which among others permit us to host another conference, do remind me of the cynic's assertion that any gathering of lawyers is a danger to mankind. As you can see, we have survived several gatherings of lawyers.

The gentle cynicism aside, it remains true that the lawyers of the world, by and large, continue to be committed to the laws with the memorial objective of bringing to bear the rule of reason and sanity — in a word, rationality — to the conduct of human affairs. One may indeed characterize the mission of the law as the ceaseless struggle for rationality in a world of conflict and confusion. This struggle, let me add, achieves a special urgency in our day and in our world. The acceleration of change in which the future overtakes the present in a world grown smaller and yet more complex finds the lawyer's universe of precedence continually challenged by the unprecedented.

Indeed, it has been asked whether the law is still able to keep pace with reality.

This observation has a peculiar relevance to the law among nations, or international law, which we note is not as pervasive in both vitality and effectiveness as perhaps, say, domestic law. The primary reason of course is that domestic law is enacted and imposed by accepted authority. But when it comes to the law among nations, we have yet to progress, it appears, from the Athenian view, that justice is to the interest of the stronger. International law is largely governed up to now by coercive calculation among sovereign nations.

Thus the vision and the dream among men of the law of a supernational authority governing the affairs of nations fills many of us with both hope as well as despair. At the same time, however, the legal mind as I said is a tough-minded one in, perhaps, some kind of a Jamesian way. Its objective is not the Utopian one of completely eliminating conflict but of finding rational and acceptable means of resolving such conflicts. This is the spirit which animates, I am sure, the labors of the legal minds individually and collectively as in the International Law Association.

In this respect, I daresay that we can only be strengthened by the fortitude and the perseverance of men like you. For there have since been added many new issues and problems peculiar to our times — the problems of peace and security, the tremendous growth in number of the human family, the new problems of scarcity in critical resources, the widening gulf between the rich and the poor nations, the new dangers to human environment, and perhaps the most important of all, the new problem of cooperation and understanding between the developing and developed countries with regard to these problems. All of these have manifestly extended the parameters of our quest for law and morality in the world we live in, and in a sense, they have made ever more difficult an already demanding enterprise.

This altogether new and unprecedented situation may justify a certain scholasticism. It may well be a philosophical core, a basic core philosophy, if we may call it that, a critical issue as old as the first glimmerings of jurisprudence in our world. Let us say that this is both true in international law as well as in domestic law. And this is the controversy in critical times between law and authority on the one hand, and individual rights and independence on the other.

As Heraclitus stated simply 25 centuries ago, “authority unlimited by individual rights is tyranny, and individual rights unlimited by law or authority is anarchy.” But the old philosophical view, whatever may result from these statements, is happily still prevailing assumption of the law. That there is indeed an opposition between authority and liberty and that it is our business to strike a balance between the two in the making of a just, humane public order. And I repeat, this is true within the jurisdictions of states and it is true in the relations among states.

We should add, however, that the striking of the balance needs to be more pragmatic than ideological; to the wisdom of the law, we must add the probity of science.

You have come to a country in which the core of philosophic issue, as I have referred to, of liberty and individual rights is being passionately debated from day to day. This should not come to you as a surprise. For after all, this country is a country that did aspire and did proclaim the first republic in Asia after the revolution of 1896. This republic that was proclaimed was based on a modern fundamental law, the Malolos Constitution which probably bore the mark of the sovereign Filipino people. And before that great period, our ancestors wrote down their codes of law and morality.

It has been said that the Philippines has too many lawyers and that we have a tendency towards legalism, I presume the speeches in this morning's ceremonies will prove this.

The other side of course is that for us, the rule of law is an unalterable fact of both our history as well as our tradition. Thus, even at the time of transition from the old to the New Society, even in the face of rebellion and violence, and while confronting a separatist war, we remain faithful to the tradition of legality.

I need not remind many of our friends here that my first decisive act after the proclamation of martial law was to reject all notions and suggestions of establishing a revolutionary government outside of the pale of the Constitution. Our strongest resolution was to establish reforms, so drastic because they were necessary as to be nearly a revolution but all within the framework and in the name of the Constitution. Hence the term “constitutional authoritarianism” to characterize the present crisis government.

The relevant constitutional provision for this course of action is Article 7, section 10, paragraph 2 of our Constitution which reads and I quote: ' "The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces of the Philippines and whenever necessary he may call out such Armed Forces to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection or rebellion. In case of invasion, insurrection or rebellion or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, he may suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law."

The decision to avail oneself of this constitutional protection for the Republic against the leftist-rightist rebellion as well as the secessionist war has of course been misunderstood by many outsiders and naturally condemned by vested interests whose unwarranted power over the rest of the population had been ended. Subsequent events have demonstrated however that martial law or crisis government such as it is, has been exercised and continues to be exercised for the good of the many whose liberties had been rendered meaningless by poverty, ignorance, disease and worst of all, lack of opportunity and dominance of the law.

In our old society of ostensible democracy, much was made of the freedom of the press and above all, the people's free choice in colorful and often excitingly violent elections. The hope was always the magic word — change. But there never was any change, while the rest of the world was changing. In this instance the ensuing change was palpable and tangible and almost immediate. In quick succession, we reorganized not only the government but our economy, reconvened the Constitutional Convention, called periodic plebiscites and referenda, organized the barangays — the fundamental level of popular political participation and the other organs of political involvement such as the sanggunians or the councils — and lately, the Batasang Bayan or Legislative Council, and now, the Interim Batasang Pambansa or the Interim National Assembly, which is the precursor of the regular National Assembly under the new political system as provided for in our new Constitution.

Thus martial law was instituted in accordance with law and the demands of our people. And as Justice Fernando has opined in writing, "the merit of martial law was that, we were able to apply the Constitution in appropriate cases."

In all these labors, we did not change the concept of liberty in order to adjust it to the purposes and aims of our New Society. We simply set an order of priorities. While setting forward to transform our society and in this sense to reform popular attitudes in favor of more civic responsibility, we did not say or we did not ask our people to sacrifice what is most human in themselves to achieve a stronger better world for future generations. On the contrary, we hold that this is our finest hour and that the little sacrifice we make now will be redeemed not only in the future but in the present. That, ultimately, in accepting the challenge of remaking our society, we are serving our best individual interest.

But the core philosophical question as I have said, is the fine balance between authority and liberty. And this as you may be aware of has shifted year to year without either side of the equation destroying each other.

In the release of political prisoners, the lifting of curfew and of the travel ban and other restrictions, and the holding of elections, we have been guided not by sheer exigency but by a calculated appreciation of what the evolving society can endure. To be sure ours still has some of the elements of a command society. But in time, as we proceed towards rehabilitation and normalization, the institutional mechanisms for maintaining the balance between liberty and authority will have been completely established.

We may therefore take pride in a political experiment based on legal and constitutional grounds, an experiment which demonstrates the rule of law even under extreme circumstances. Had we hesitated or misread the popular sentiment, our Republic probably would have expired. And within the impotence of the legal order, violence and bloodshed would have been the midwife of the new dispensation.

But no society however creative in its legal application can exist in a vacuum. Therefore the decisions and actions of such a society are often strongly affected by, if not prey to exigent forces beyond its control. This is the plight of developing societies and nations in the world today. Not all their legal creativity nor all their political piety can survive for long the incoherence and confusion of the international legal order, if indeed there is order at all.

The rhetoric of a common cause for survival, the doctrine of interdependence are mocked by the facts of international behavior.

The question is: How can society striving for a new order for its members survive amidst the savagery in the wider international order? Your committee report on the theory and methodology of international law suggests that the Batellian composition of the equality of states approximates more closely the needs and reality of today's international community. But we should ask now how our scholarships and serious activities can help mankind without the proper authority to enforce international law. The making of law, of society itself, is an act of political will.

I note too your recollection that the participating states in the drafting of the UN charter were opposed to conferring on the General Assembly any legislative power to enact binding rules of international law as well as to impose general conventions and states by majority vote. We can guess that the reason for this seemingly narrow-minded decision is it would have been impossible to gain the assent of other states, much less of those actually participating. Thus the core philosophical issue of law, the balancing of authority and liberty flounders in the face of national sovereignty. Civilized societies have thrived on the willingness of human beings to adjust their individual freedom to the claims of the community. With the state of the world today and the state of our present knowledge, we do not see any other way for individual nations, if humanity is to survive the perils of our era.

We fall back then on the dream and the vision of a united humanity, of an ultra-national authority that the governor of Metropolitan Manila has so lovingly referred to in her welcome speech. And yet before this dream and before this vision, we must come to the conclusion that the predators of the world whether commercial or territorial will remain always as man's principal adversary in the quest of this vision and this dream.

Are these intemperate words coming from a scared and desperate head of state? Let us look around us. Racism, subversion, wars by proxy under various rationalizations, hunger, pestilence, degradation, terrorism, all these continue to denigrate our pretensions to the richest societies man has ever achieved. I was about to say, the richest civilization but for the lack of civility in many areas of international relations. Now, as it was then, weakness invites domination and power is a temptation to aggression.

How then can we say that we have advanced the rule of law in international relations which, Batelle agrees is but the wider expansion of the relations of man with man? Let us put the matter more dispassionately to ourselves.

The need for cooperation among nations in matters of law and peace, while either is persistently overshadowed by the bitter rivalries and competition of the powerful states so much so that when only their voices are heard in the global arena, has become a virtual imperative in our time as the voice of the rest of humanity has entered the compass of history. This voice has made us conscious of the problems well beyond what once engaged the attention of previous eras. It has made the whole world aware, I daresay, of the indivisibility of the family of man. For if the developed nations have need of law to regulate the relations and their concurrence with one another, to conciliate their conflicts and their differences, even greater is the need of developing nations for a system of law and morality to govern international society, since being less powerful they can easily be dominated as they have been, and being less developed they can easily be discriminated against as they continue to be. For most of their histories, the people of this country have lain outside the ambit of the law of nations as the colonists, dominions and protectorates of powerful empires.

Indeed, whatever form of international law governed global affairs then, it sought to protect instead the rights of the colonizers. Most of these peoples have had to wage long and protracted struggles against their colonial rulers in order to claim their right to self-government. And only when fully independent did they begin to reside within the law of nations.

In many ways the developing countries provide the impetus for changes in international law in our time as they endeavor to replace structures and relationship in the world that recall to them the legacy of their colonial past and to establish relations with other nations in terms consistent with their primary concern of securing their independence and promoting their national development.

If we trace the evolution of international law as it is today, and understand how its prospects have advanced and developed, it will be seen that it has followed the growth of sovereignty for the small nation-states and not a risk at its expense.

Men of the law like you have since time immemorial sought to regulate the actions of states and their relations with the discipline of world law even in ancient days when the world was but the province of a few mighty empires and civilizations. All the same it was the legal discipline of the imperium of conquest and domination serving the ends of the few and not of the many. As it was then, so it is now in many respects.

But just as the royal lawgiver of old gave way to the modern legislator and jurist, so must the legal discipline of the strong give way to the consensus. We say that this is dictated by the human predicament. Still it is a predicament that must be recognized by all, especially by those who have it in their power to advance the quest for an authentic international legal order.

We cannot deny the advance that has been made by international law especially under the United Nations. There is an increasing tendency to view the challenge of international law today as the creation of a world economic community where a balance can be struck between limited food supply and population explosion. The result of this phenomenon is the growth of what many of you have called the "law merchant," who today seeks to govern multinational corporations and their contracts with various governments. We see for instance the common example of the inclusion of arbitration agreements in these contracts, an achievement which must be credited to the International Chamber of Commerce.

We also seek as another example the convention and the settlement of investment disputes between states and nationals of other states, which was drafted and submitted to governments by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

At this point, I recall to you with appreciation some of the milestones in the growth of world law such as the work of the International Labor Organization in the codification of labor laws, the work of the International Institute for the unification of private law, otherwise known as the ROM Institute or UNIDROME. And the work of the United Nations Commission on International Trade law, or UNCITRAL, in harmonizing the law of the international sale of goods, commercial arbitration and international payments. And at least one survey has shown that a marked advance in integration has occurred in the law in the last half century and that despite setbacks it continues. In the meanwhile, the world community has come to grips not with the great formulations of law and the government of states and the relation of nations, but with the clamor for a common law of the human rights of individuals in their respective communities.

The humanitarian concern for human rights has grown worldwide. At the very start, I wish to say what for me is an important word on the subject. It is common to attribute the origin of human rights to the Western world, more specifically to the Europeans. This attribution is a common error. For it cannot be denied that the love of freedom is universal and antedates the issues that confront a literate society.

I take the liberty of pointing out that the histories of pre-colonial Asia and of pre-colonial Africa abound with examples of devices instituted by the natives thereat to prevent or eliminate tyranny in any form.

We in the Philippines repudiate the concept that as the people of a developing country, the Philippines should run to a developed country for the protection of its human rights. For no developed society can arrogate unto itself the function of acting as ombudsman or protector of the Philippines or guardian of the rights of its citizenry.

This function, the Filipinos with their venerable record of sacrifice in the name of freedom and of liberty are best equipped to do. And from this function we have no intention of stepping backward in favor of those who would presume to undertake what is best left to ourselves.

This position, of course, is based on an equal or parallel principle in domestic law. A person whose rights have been violated, say, by his government must first exhaust all administrative remedies before embarking with an extra-

judicial or extraordinary or judicial course of action. We need not close our eyes to or gloss over the fact that there is not a single government on earth today which has not somehow violated human rights in one way or another.

The proper inquiry therefore should not be whether there has been any violation of human rights — for then, all countries must plead to the charge— but rather, whether the violation is in accordance with government policy or a part of government policy, and if it is not a part of government policy, whether the government involved has taken steps to redress such a violation in accordance with its internal structure or law. Foreign observers or interventionists do not seem to realize this to be the more rational and wiser approach.

As head of state of a developing country, I place great emphasis on a human rights policy that embraces political and civil rights on the one hand, and economic and cultural rights on the other hand. Human rights should not be interpreted so narrowly that the issue is restricted only to political and civil freedom. Moreover, it must be understood that the human rights issue cannot be utilized as a vehicle for a new moral imperialism especially when the developed countries continue to ignore the demand for a more equitable distribution of resources world-wide and for increasing development assistance to the Third World. The developed countries can continue to ignore the call for a new international economic order only at the risk of major dislocations in the world community.

At this point, allow me to address myself to the call for a new international economic order which I shall henceforth refer to as the NIEO. The essential philosophy of the NIEO is set out already in the declaration and program of action adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1974 for the purpose of redressing existing injustices and making it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and developing countries. These two United Nations resolutions were followed by the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of the States.

Perhaps, it is proper to add that up to now they have not been implemented.

I have touched briefly on the issues of international human rights and the new international economic order as well as the basic and core philosophy in international relations as well as domestic law. These are examples of what a developing country would view as core issues in a scholarly meeting of distinguished men of the law such as those who compose the International Law Association.

But as I conclude, I beg your leave to take an overview of international law as it stands today. There can be no debate that the effectiveness of international law in our time is anchored on the problem of national sovereignty. Our system of international law rests on the conception of absolute state sovereignty, and certain principles flow from this concept.

Among these principles, we might mention that which postulates that international law does not concern itself with internal changes in the structure within the states. And, therefore, states have a duty of non-interference in the internal affairs of others. Another basic principle is that agreements solemnly undertaken must be fulfilled. Another is encapsulated by the phrase that war is the litigation of states. And still another is that traditional international law is limited to relations between sovereign states with the addition of what has been termed as a few analogous but slightly anomalous communities without room for the recognition of the individual.

With these concepts of traditional international law it was no small wonder that the League of Nations foundered on the rock of national sovereignty. And this possibly teaches us the lesson that there can be no compromise between national sovereignty and international order. If the League of Nations failed, it was for a variety of reasons. But the most fundamental was that the membership lacked the will to make it an effective instrument of international peace. This is the same question that faces the United Nations today, as well as all considerations of international law and international order.

International law can achieve international peace and order only if the peoples of the world can acquire the habit of cooperation. But before they can do so, they must change their national attitudes and before that, their individual attitudes. Hence, it has been pointed out that any design for Utopia or any design for world community on most modest terms can be achieved only by some kind of an educational process. Only thus can the rule of law in world

affairs be realized. I have no doubt that our deliberations which we inaugurate today will play a significant role in this educational process which certainly must be the most difficult ever undertaken by the human race.

The educational process will take time. Meanwhile, let us pray that we have enough time in our hands.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the inauguration at the Central Bank Security Printing Plant, September 7, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration at the Central Bank Security Printing Plant

[Delivered at the Mint and Gold Refinery Complex, Quezon City, September 7, 1978]

Our Final Act of Self-Reliance

I AM INDEED very happy to be able to participate in the formal inauguration of this new edifice, housing as it does the sovereign functions of printing the nation's notes, minting its coins, refining its good and silver and at a time and occasion when our country is moving forward towards the attainment of its goals and its dreams. This edifice, therefore, becomes a special monument to the sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines.

I do not know whether the choice of the location of this Central Bank Security Printing Plant, Mint and Gold Refinery Complex means anything, but it is opposite the Heart Center of Asia. It has been said that perhaps it was thought that the number of patients in the Heart Center will be lessened by the number of bills printed and coins minted by the complex.

Whatever it may mean, I am confident that the exercise of the exclusive right to print or coin a currency is a primary mark of that sovereignty that we as a young nation and people are so proud about; and the coin or the note, as much as the scepter or the flag, proclaims such sovereignty.

Since our independence, we have always exercised this sovereign right. Now, with the establishment of the Central Bank Security Printing Plant, Gold Refinery and Mint Complex, we shall ourselves fashion the likeness of our sovereignty in our notes and in our coins.

Money is more than just a medium of exchange. All sovereign states issue under their own authority their own money. And the colonizers never allowed their subjects to coin or print own money without the colonizer's explicit permission and supervision.

During our long colonial history, money, as much as the cedula, proclaimed our subjection to the sovereignty of other states.

Under Spain, the coins of Spain and Mexico dominated Philippine commerce. This persisted until 1861, when the first official Philippine mint was established under the reign of the Spanish Queen, Isabela II, whose likeness was carried in the first gold coins minted by the Spaniards in the Philippines. Later coins would of course bear the portraits of other Spanish sovereigns, such as King Alfonso XII and the young Alfonso XIII. As for the notes circulated in the Philippines during the Spanish times, the *pesos fuertes*, which were first circulated in 1851, were issued under Spanish authority by El Banco Español-Filipino, the first commercial bank established in the Spanish colonial Philippines.

It was not until 1898, after the proclamation of the first Philippine Republic, that we adopted our own coinage and our own currency under our own authority. But this first Philippine money, like the first independent Philippine government, did not survive the defeat and the surrender of General Emilio Aguinaldo and the army of the Philippine revolution.

Once more a subject people, we were required to use money issued under alien sovereignty. The American regime established the Manila Mint in 1920 and housed it in the old Intendencia Building in Intramuros where it remained until it was completely destroyed during World War II. The war imposed a new sovereignty on the Philippines.

During the Japanese occupation, bills bearing the imprint of the Japanese occupation forces were circulated to replace the American-sanctioned currency.

As we achieved autonomy and approached national independence we also acquired some degree of power over our own currency. During the Commonwealth period, after the passage of the Tydings-Mcduffie law and the adoption of our own Constitution, the Philippine National Assembly could pass laws affecting currency and coinage subject to the approval of the President of the United States of America. Furthermore, as a symbol and pledge of the promised independence, the signature of our own President Manuel Luis Quezon replaced that of the American Governor General Frank Murphy on the 1936 and 1941 series of Treasury Certificates. During our underground war of resistance against the Japanese, many of our provinces and municipalities, and for that matter, the guerrilla leaders, as if to assert our non-recognition of the new alien occupation, issued their own guerrilla notes, many of which were sanctioned by the Philippine government-in-exile and partially redeemed after the war.

The return of the American forces in 1944, on the eve of our scheduled independence, brought in new currency in the form of the Victory Series No. 66. The unissued stocks of this series were later over-printed with the words "Central Bank of the Philippines." These became the first currency notes issued and placed in circulation by the Central Bank under the sovereignty of the independent Republic of the Philippines.

Since then the Central Bank has issued new notes, in 1949, and new coins, in 1958, under the exclusive authority granted it to issue currency in the Philippines. This was followed by the Filipinization of the Philippine currency which was undertaken by the Central Bank starting in 1967 and completed in 1969. Finally, to mark the radical reforms introduced under the New Society, Central Bank note issues are now overprinted with the legend, "*Ang Bagong Lipunan*" by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 168.

All throughout, from 1946 to the present, the manufacture of our currency has been delegated to reputable but international printing plants and mints. But today, it is our great pride and joy to inaugurate our very own security printing plant and mint. Today, by this final act of self-reliance, we complete our full assertion of sovereignty over our own currency.

Let me close by enjoining those who are charged with the delicate and awesome responsibility of running these institutions to exercise every care to ensure that the functions of these institutions will be performed with exacting skill and unbending rectitude. The printing of notes, the minting of coins and the refining of gold require the highest standards of integrity and skill. Anything short of these high standards will seriously affect the stability of our national currency and indelibly blemish our national reputation and even imperil the safety and stability of our Republic. Nothing short of these standards will be exacted from these institutions.

I am confident, however, that with the past performance of the Central Bank and its officers and employees, there will be no reason to regret the establishment of this Security Printing Plant Mint and Gold Refinery Complex.

In the name of our sovereign Republic and of our people's long and heroic struggle to establish and maintain our national sovereignty, I hereby formally declare these premises open.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos on AFP Loyalty Day, September 8, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On AFP Loyalty Day

[Delivered on September 8, 1978]

The Loyalty of the Soldier

AKO AY NAGPAPASALAMAT sa ating Obispo Escutin at ang kanyang mga katulong sa misang ating nakita sa umagang ito, ala-ala sa ika-61 taonggulang ng inyong abang lingkod. Nguni'tang katotohanan aypagdating ng isang tao sa ika-60 na taon kung maaari sana ay limutin na ang kaarawan.

Natitipon tayo ngayon dito upang minsan pang ipakilala sa madia ang mahigpit na tanikala ng magandang samahan na bumibigkis sa ating Sandatahang Lakas at sa pinakamataas na tungkulin na maaaring matamo ng isang halal sa ating bansa, the presidency of the Republic of the Philippines.

Sangayon sa ating dating gawa, kaugalian, ito ay parang bahagi na ng tungkulin ng Hukbo sa kanyang pangkalahatangpuno. Nguni'tsa inyong lingkod makahulugan at walang kapantay ang araw na ito.

Once again, in keeping with practice, we gather here today to reaffirm the bond between our Armed Forces and the highest office within the gift of our people, the presidency of the Republic of the Philippines, the incumbent of which by order and mandate of the Constitution is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

Tradition may have made of this testimonial day an obligatory ritual and a routine for the corps and their Commander-in-Chief, but for me it will always carry a very deep and personal meaning. For my relationship with the corps, with the Armed Forces of the Philippines, perhaps, since I took my oath of office as President of the Republic of the Philippines on December 30, 1965, has been deeper and more lasting than any other Commander-in-Chief in the history of our country. More than any other Commander-in-Chief, I have depended upon the Armed Forces in order to bring about the transformation of our society. From the time I took office on December 30, 1965, I told the Armed Forces that it would be necessary for it to be utilized not only in order to maintain peace in our country as we understood it, meaning meeting the threat of rebellion coming from the leftist-rightist conspiracies, from the criminal syndicates, but also to utilize the Armed Forces for a new role, that of development, that of participating in the social and economic development program of our country.

We did not anticipate in 1965 the threats of the 1970s, the secessionist war of 1972 and 1973, and the new subversive movement organized in 1968 and 1969, and which was to explode in violence and outright rebellion in the years that followed.

The sum of those years—of the trials we have weathered, of the work we have undertaken together, the perils that we have confronted together, as well as the achievements that we can offer to our people—deepens the meaning of your pledge today in a way that I cannot describe in words. And it will always be with a deep sense of gratitude and affection that I shall come here to receive your salute and salute you in return, for so long as I embody the will and trust of our people.

The bond between the Presidency and the Armed Forces of the Philippines constitutes an essential fabric of our national life. For not only because of crisis but also because of the very nature of a developing country, the national community feeds on the necessary cooperation and union of many institutions and forces in our society. National development depends upon the unity of the civilians and military forces in the land. National advancement is only possible where these bonds are well maintained in harmony and unity, and you and I are the custodians of a unique

and irrevocable trust. If either of us, either the presidency or the Armed Forces of the Philippines turned traitor to this trust, then the country must fail. Our system of government may permit differences between various branches of government, between the Legislature and the Executive in the old system. That may be the meaning of democracy. There may be rivalries between political leaders, between ministries, between offices, but the country cannot survive a situation where the national leadership and the Armed Forces are divided in their purposes and objectives.

Today, I have come to salute the Armed Forces of the Philippines, for during the entire period of my presidency, from 1965 to the present, the Armed Forces have kept a meticulous adherence to the Constitution, in that the military shall always be subordinate to the civilian authority in our government.

How often have I invited the military leaders, the field commanders to cabinet meetings and meetings of the National Economic and Development Authority, in order that I may watch and see the atmosphere under which the military would cooperate and work with the civilian authority; and how often the military have submitted to the wider counsels of the civilian authority, notwithstanding the fact that it would prejudice, say, the finances, the resources available to the Armed Forces.

This year, for instance, we brought down the level of the appropriations that are available to the defense establishment and to the Armed Forces of the Philippines; notwithstanding the fact that we are still facing a secessionist and tumultuous situation in the South; and notwithstanding the uncertainties of international relations, as well as the results of the experiment known as the New Society and the Democratic Revolution.

The Armed Forces have asked for an increase in the number of officers and men at their disposal. But upon the advice of the civilian authority regarding the limited resources of our country, they have succeeded in continuing and maintaining the same proficiency and efficiency, the same astute-type and wise-type of relationship even with the subversives, in order that our country and our people may utilize these funds, say, for economic and social development.

We are wont to congratulate the civilian authority, the national economic planning groups, the business managers of both the government and the private sector, as well as the decision-makers in our civilian government for the many symbols of our economic advancement — the irrigation system, the power sources, the energy and other power stations — geothermal, hydroelectric, and the national electrification program which goes into every barangay and barrio, into the farthest corner of our country.

We congratulate the Ministry of Agriculture for the increase in the production of agricultural products, as we became self-sufficient in staples. And as we move to self-sufficiency in almost every area, we congratulate the Ministry of Highways and of Public Works for all the infrastructure that symbolize the movement of the Philippine society. And yet, you and I know the sacrifices that we have had to offer to our motherland in order that we may give the civilian government and the civilian authority more resources to spend for this economic and social development. How many lives have you, the Armed Forces of the Philippines offered in all of this fighting? How many times have you restrained yourselves from the acquisition of more arms, more equipment and the training of more men, because the money was needed for irrigation, for electrification, for agriculture, for fertilizer, for the factories that are needed? How many lives of our soldiery did we pay in order to attain this kind of advancement in the economic, social and political field?

And so, when we celebrate the establishment of the housing unit, the establishment of the new Ministry of Human Settlements; when we formally grant accolade and citation to the men of the civilian authority, we remember you, officers, men and civilian employees of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, that at the back of the mind of your Commander-in-Chief ran the same things, that were it not, first of all, for the courage and the persistence, the patriotism and daring of the Armed Forces, as well as the restraint that they have shown in the exercise of the power granted them even under martial law, all of these would not have been possible. And therefore, if there is any achievement of all of the New Society, then this, too, is part of the achievement of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

You have before you, officers and men, civilian employees of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the members of the Pansamantalang Batasang Pambansa, the Interim National Assembly. After seeing a new era in our democratic life, we have moved towards the establishment of a legislature, even during the continuance of the crisis government in order that our people may participate in legislation.

Why was it possible to hold elections to choose these men and women in the Interim National Assembly or Batasang Pambansa? Why was it possible for all the parties, whether it is the KBL, the majority party, or the Laban or the Pusyon Bisaya or the Young Philippines or the Mindanao Alliance or other opposition parties to run for elections? Why were they able to put up their candidates and present to the people the platforms of government in such far-away places like Tawi-Tawi, Sulu, Basilan, Cotabato, Maguindanao, Sultan Kudarat, Palawan, Batanes in the North, Cagayan, Mountain Province, Kalinga-Apayao, Ifugao — why? Because the Armed Forces of the Philippines had succeeded in breaking the bonds of the rebellion and the secessionist war. And there is a comparative bill that allows a free and democratic election to choose the members of the Interim Batasang Pambansa.

More than just a pledge of loyalty coming from the Armed Forces of the Philippines, therefore, I have come to you today to recognize your achievement and commend you for it. We have kept the bond, I believe, through all these years of my presidency, especially during the last five years of crisis and challenge.

As great as those achievements may be our common burden does not permit us to be detained in recollection of what you and I have accomplished. Our responsibility is to the present and the future to build on what we have accomplished, the structure of security and instability in our society. There is never a moment with which our nation can feel completely secure or can afford to be oblivious to dangers. Internally we do not see any threat to national security with which we cannot cope or successfully surmount. But nevertheless, we must not be oblivious to the various internal developments which to my mind can conceivably deteriorate.

The deterioration, for instance, of the secessionist movement into terrorism has resulted in new threats to the safety not only of the Republic but also of the civilians and communities. The problem of law enforcement is all too real, as incidents of ambushes, raids and kidnappings have mounted in recent months.

This, therefore, requires continued aggressive police action. We must take care that it does not deteriorate into a massive threat against our society, or resuscitate the ambitions and the capabilities of the secessionist movement. I deeply fear that if the present terrorism is not checked outright, there will be a weakening in the civilian communities that will allow the rebel forces to grow and gather strength.

I am certain that the Armed Forces of the Philippines recognizes the effectivity of the forces in the South because the Southern forces commander is the troop commander in today's ceremony. This recognition of the pivotal, the critical role of the Southern forces certainly can find confirmation in my words today.

I congratulate the officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines for having succeeded in fighting in more than two fronts: fighting in the front to the North and fighting in the front to the South. I congratulate the Chief of Staff and the Major Service Commander as well as the Minister of National Defense on today's ceremonies.

I recognize the difficulties that they have had to confront. In 1972 and 1973, when we were fighting in Luzon against insurgency and rebellion that was mounted by the leftist-rightist conspiracy, we did not have enough men to send to the South. Many of our detachments were annihilated; we suffered reverses, communities, provinces; cities were occupied by the secessionist rebel. Not only that the number of displaced civilians was increased from the original 100,000 in 1972 to about 500,000 in 1973 and in 1974 today, I understand, civilians have been returned, most of them anyway have been returned and peace is once again reigning over the southern provinces.

Today, the secessionist movement does not control any of the provinces or towns other than the portions perhaps covered by some of the most remote jungles of Sulu, parts of Zamboanga del Norte and Zamboanga del Sur, and perhaps their lairs in Lanao and Cotabato.

Let us not delude ourselves that the insurgency is over. Whatever may be its temporary difficulties, we must recognize the real capability of these rebels who may continue to receive support from outside, and therein lies the danger. Therein lies the reason for my insistence that we maintain an attitude not only symbolized by what we call the left and right-hand policy of winning back to the folds of the law those rebels who are not really ideologically allied with the rebels, but who because of varied, sometimes personal reasons, have joined with that rebellion. Win them back to the fold of the law and support the efforts of government to maintain peace not only in the South but in the North — this policy of the left hand supported further by the policy of the right hand — that those who are irreconcilable and continue to utilize violence in order to attain political power must be met with the strength of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, much of course to our regret.

I know the difficulty of the Armed Forces of the Philippines in implementing and applying the left-hand and right-hand policy which I enunciated in 1967, a policy which was further regained in 1972, when in addition to the incentives and attractions that we offered to the rebels, not only in the form of amnesty and in the form of employment, we also immediately prepared plans for the economic and social development of the areas that were infested with rebels. This included, of course, the two basic regions wherein the Muslims reside, Region No. 9 and Region No. 12. These two regions that are composed by the provinces of Tawi Tawi, Sulu, Basilan, Zamboanga Norte and Zamboanga Sur for Region 9. And Region 12 composed of the two Lanaos, Lanao Norte, Lanao Sur, Maguindanao, Sultan Kudarat and Cotabato proper or northern Cotabato.

There was an attempt to start some kind of violence in Palawan and in southern Cotabato and in Davao, and even as far north as Bukidnon. But thanks to the vigilance and courage of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, although always outnumbered, they have kept these provinces peaceful and available for the socio-economic development program of the country.

I have said before and today I repeat this, our greater security challenge is internal and not external. Insurgency is the problem that threatens to undo the developing societies of Asia and the Philippines is no exception. This will continue perhaps for the next five to ten years. The events in recent years have not altered the regional climate for security; we cannot be indifferent to certain problems in the international sphere, and to initiatives that can be taken multilaterally to keep the situation under greater control.

What then do I see in the major external threats to our country? Rivalry among the superpowers continues to be the greatest single threat to peace in Southeast Asia. We need to be watchful of current developments in mainland Southeast Asia, which have thrown our neighbors into confrontations and conflict. These developments are matters of grave concern to the members of ASEAN including the Philippines, because they could conceivably deteriorate and imperil the entire region.

We place great emphasis therefore on multi-country efforts to establish an equilibrium of influence in Southeast Asia, and on international mediation to defuse the present hostilities in Indochina.

How can we contribute to easing the pressure on regional peace and security?

We, the Armed Forces of the Philippines and your Commander-in-Chief, can help in the security of our country if internally our country can be secured from threats against our stability.

Taken together, the internal and external threats to national security require the soundest assessment of the situation, and prompt and effective action on our part.

What then do I recommend we do? First, we must sustain military operations in the form of police action to meet internal threats; and secondly, we must continue to improve and refine our organizational capability and our techniques to combat internal insurgency and crime.

The recent reorganization of the Philippine Constabulary, very well represented in these ceremonies, and the Integrated National Police into Regional Commands, conforming to our administrative regions in the civil

government, is a positive step in this direction. For it decentralizes the execution of the peace and order campaign, and allows for maximum coordination and interfacing with the administrative regional setup.

In view of the uncertainties in the international situation there is need for our defense preparedness. Towards this end, our program for defense self-reliance is all-important. We must continue with the program of self-reliance; and for this purpose, I have already approved the acquisition of major defense items to improve our defense posture vis-a-vis external threats.

And, of course, this requires us to enhance and develop the basic and indispensable element of our Armed Forces, the Filipino soldier, to improve his fighting quality and capacity for service. He must be thoroughly trained. He must be motivated. He must be inspired. We must look to his welfare in and out of the service.

Finally our efforts in this sphere must endeavor to involve the individual citizen and civilian communities in the maintenance of order and security in their communities.

Ours is a civilian Armed Forces with a small standing, army. It can be properly said that this concept has been the concept on which even our revolutionary forbears in the last century adopted. Even under the Malolos Constitution, or the Constitution of Biak-na-Bato, the concept of the civilian army was adopted and this has continued in the Commonwealth Act No. 1 under the 1935 Constitution and in the New Society under the 1973 Constitution. It will therefore be necessary that the citizens and civilian communities assume a certain role in the maintenance of order and security in the hinterlands especially.

For only when the citizenry are fully involved in this effort will we truly succeed in quelling the internal challenges to our Republic.

There is an umbilical link between development and national security that must be continually recognized and affirmed by the action we have taken.

Today, we are at that stage in our national development efforts in which various programs demand greater allocation of resources. For this reason, it is to be expected that development requirements will compete sharply with national security in the allocation of resources.

The projected reduction of the AFP budget in 1979 is in fact a reflection of the success of our security and peace and order efforts and recognition of the growing requirements of national development.

Actually and in truth, we are spending for economic and social development three times if not four times what we are spending for security. This is a matter which I have insisted upon even at the height of the crisis. Even while we were fighting the rebellion in Luzon, as well as in Mindanao, I had insisted that always the civilian government should spend at the very least three times whatever was spent by the Armed Forces of the Philippines. And I repeat, this is a symbol of the patriotism, the self-abnegation and the self-denial on the part of the leaders of the military, that they have agreed to this concept in the allocation of resources of our Republic.

I congratulate the Armed Forces also and the defense establishment for having adopted the measures to immediately bring about cost-effectiveness consciousness at all levels of the Armed Forces. For it will be necessary to meet the challenge to perform the same task with the same degree of efficiency and performance with comparatively lesser resources. We will have to make every peso of the defense budget count more than the amount that we have spent in the past.

While we are at this stage, may I thank the Armed Forces for these unusual symbols and sign that you have at the back of the parade ground. The only comment that I can make is that every time they change those placards they sound like the anti-riot squad.

I am aware that in every unit of the Armed Forces, there is an effort to economize. This policy will now reach every soldier whether in combat or engaged in administrative and support units. So it will be necessary to refine methods and innovate techniques in doing things.

We must improve our logistics system, organization, and procedures. We will eliminate red-tape and unnecessary duplication and waste.

And I must say, I congratulate the Armed Forces for having succeeded in projecting requirements sufficiently ahead into the future not only five years but even ten years hence.

I congratulate the defense establishment, as well as the Chief of Staff, the general staff, and the major services commanders for this achievement which I know is rather difficult under the present circumstances. Perhaps very few of us will realize, including the citizenry of our country, that in this planning the Armed Forces have been compelled to adopt a more modest role in the entire scheme of things.

The changes, however, and all the challenge before us are no different from those that we have to face in the future. On the contrary they will be much less. The Armed Forces will continue to develop. Long after we are gone, the Armed Forces will maintain its quality of service because you, the soldiers of today, have maintained such a high level of proficiency and efficiency.

I have said in the past and I say again, you have become the models for the citizenry of our country. But you are not only the models for today. In the future, our children and their children will probably point to your examples of probity, of integrity, of strength of character, of daring, courage, professionalism and patriotism, examples which they will seek to approximate in the performance of their own task.

And therefore, as I stand before you today, I can only say that this again compels me to repeat, the loyalty of the soldier is loyalty not only to the Commander-in-Chief but also to the Republic and the Constitution. Your loyalty will be to maintain the law and our freedom. As I have said in the past, you have performed a monumental task. You have participated in a revolution that has brought about a change not only in the quality of life but also in the hearts and minds of our people. For this the generations today and of the future will be thankful to you.

I, as your Commander-in-Chief, therefore, come today to also pledge to you loyalty to the ideals for which we have fought in the past and will continue to fight in the future, which are embodied in the Constitution.

I salute you on this day, and say, carry on, for the Filipino soldier bids well to continue to achieve the dreams of our people.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the inauguration of the Domestic Satellite System, September 21, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration of the Domestic Satellite System

[Delivered on September 21, 1978]

A Dream Come True

I HAVE JUST turned on the switch which is supposed to connect Manila with Zamboanga and Cagayan de Oro through domestic satellite. This is certainly a dream come true, to be able to broadcast from Maharlika Hall and be seen and heard not only in Manila but throughout the length and breadth of the country. This, of course, is the dream that we have always had. And I see now the first step towards the attainment of such a dream.

I congratulate all those who participated in the establishment of this domestic satellite communications system.

In 1975, when I granted the franchise to DOMSAT Philippines, I did not realize that in a matter of a few years, we would be able to implement the program to cover the entire Philippines by domestic satellite.

The establishment of Domestic Satellite Communications, of course, attains several objectives. First of all, it is a new tie that binds our various peoples and islands together. We are an archipelagic country, and therefore divided not only by land but by the seas. Communications is therefore crucial.

The establishment of DOMSAT is therefore of vital necessity to our country. At the same time, the programming can now be accelerated. The planning by the decision-makers of government can be coordinated from Manila by direct communication with the various regions; ultimately the provinces, cities, municipalities, and finally as we develop this technique and this technology, with the barrios.

So, on the two-fold objectives of national cohesion and unity, as well as economic development, we strengthen our position. But more than this, our particular case also establishes the strength of our regional ASEAN. For, as all of you are aware, we are utilizing a satellite or the domestic satellite of Indonesia. In accordance with the agreement with President Suharto, DOMSAT Philippines utilizes the domestic satellite of Indonesia, which was lofted at great expense. But we pay a lease of, I suppose, only a few hundred thousand dollars per transponder. We will ultimately be using one and a half to cover the entire Philippines.

Thus, this occasion also marks the strengthening ties among the member-nations of ASEAN.

I greet the television stations under KBS. We have for the DOMSAT, Philippines, Mr. Nieto, and for KBS, Mr. Benedicto. I would like to congratulate all the members of the crew that have participated in setting up this equipment. I understand that the equipment that is here in Malacañang now is mobile in nature and can be moved around to cover any event. If so, this certainly is a boon to all those who would like to spread the good word about our development and modernization efforts.

I don't need to add that the last dimension of the Domestic Satellite Communications System is security. Because of this alternate system of communications, this more direct system, the efforts at national security will be enhanced. Thus, I can talk now to Admiral Espaldon and I will know more or less what is happening within minutes or within seconds in his sector, the Southern front of the Philippines, and make decisions accordingly. The decisions in Manila can be immediately implemented, if there is any sudden shift in the policies or in its implementation. This can be immediately transmitted directly to the corresponding officers, units and men.

At the same time, the educational aspect of DOMSAT cannot be relegated. Because if there is anything that our country needs right now, it is the dissemination of information. It is necessary that our people know what the decision-makers are deciding, that our people understand the procedures that are followed in arriving at such decisions. And it is necessary that our people know exactly how they can participate in the general effort at modernization and development. And finally, in case of an emergency, the DOMSAT will certainly be instrumental in the saving of lives, in the diminution of damage, as well as the immediate rehabilitation in case of any natural or man-made calamities. Thus, it is necessary that we further sharpen our efforts at domestic satellite communications.

I greet Admiral Espaldon. I notice in the background, there is Governor Ali Dimaporo and Governor Ceriles of Zamboanga del Sur. I gather that I will be heard now, not only in Zamboanga del Sur municipalities but also in parts of Basilan, parts of Sulu, as well as Cagayan de Oro and environs. I look forward to the day when whatever is said in Manila will be heard by every Filipino in every barangay.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos on the 6th anniversary of the New Society, September 21, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 6th anniversary of the New Society

[Delivered on September 21, 1978]

Report to the Nation

I HAVE JUST come from Rizal Park where hundreds of thousands of young men and women are participating in a ceremony that celebrates the completion of the sixth year of the New Society and the entry of our Republic into its seventh year of crisis government.

I am deeply moved by this demonstration of fealty as well as their affirmation of trust in the New Society.

And as we watch the glow of happiness on the faces of the men and women who have reason to celebrate today, I can't help but remember the dire circumstances under which martial law was proclaimed six years ago.

If the last six years had been a test, it will be said that every peril had been thrown upon us, not only to measure our capabilities, our character as a people and our will as a nation, but also to frustrate our efforts. We have not succumbed; rather, we have prevailed. And today, we reach the end of the most critical six years of the existence of our Republic.

Words cannot explain the nature of the course we have had to travel, and the proof of the achievements of the New Society are not in words. The proof lies in the Filipino common man and what he feels — the man in the street, in the fields, in the factories. What is he today? What does he have not only in material possessions, and not only in the primate city of the Republic? What are his values? What does he believe in? What is his faith? What are his convictions? Does he feel he is an important part of our national effort? Does he not have a little more pride, a little more confidence in himself? Does he not have a stronger faith in the future of his country and, for that matter, in the future of his own family? This then is the proof, the final proof that we have changed, or that we are changing — and changing for something better, reaching for the bright and brave new world that we dream of.

On this sixth anniversary of martial law, it will again be asked: Has this not yet sapped our energy? Are we about to give up our struggle in midstream, to let the ship of state drift in the currents, having already gone this far and seeing that the course before us will not probably be as perilous as what we have just passed?

Today, therefore, I have come to speak to the millions of Filipinos who have a stake in the New Society. Let me assure our people and everyone that just as we did not shirk our duty to meet the challenge in 1972, when the nation tottered on the brink of total collapse, so shall we not now hesitate to carry on the task ordained by the success of our efforts and the tasks that remain to be finished. We shall carry on and we shall carry on without fear, hesitation or doubt. The necessity of martial law will fade away; it must fade away in the ordinary run of things. If we are true to ourselves, we must ultimately do away with martial law. But the imperative to continue to build the New Society must and will remain.

In the six years since the proclamation of martial law in 1972 and the establishment of the New Society, we have achieved much for the Republic.

We have prevented our territory from being dismembered, our Republic from being subverted, and the public order from being overturned. We have maintained the sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines over its territory; but more than anything else, we have continued to strengthen that Republic for present and future generations.

We have rescued the government from the political warlords and from oligarchy. We have set it free at last to attend effectively to the immemorial problems of poverty and social inequality.

We have organized the people, especially the poor, in their communities and in their sectors; and we have provided them with the organizational means to assert control over their public affairs and, more than this, to participate in the moulding of national affairs.

We have increased the public resources and massively redirected them to the poor in the rural areas and the underprivileged in the urban areas, so that economic opportunities and the means to fulfill basic needs may become more available to them.

We have opened up the councils of government to the demands of our people. Never before in the entire history of our country has government been as sensitive to the lowest of the low among the population of the Philippines.

We have generated and institutionalized a national capability for managing the rate and direction of our national development, and for carrying out development programs as planned to envisioned results.

We have achieved a realignment of the structure of our foreign relations in consonance with our domestic goals and needs, and by this means we have enhanced our capability in securing our national security and for acquiring new resources for national development.

High in the list of achievements, and deserving special mention, is the interim Batasang Pambansa. This year is the year of the IBP and the establishment of the legislative branch of our government. This transitional representative assembly is a signal measure of how much we have achieved in improving the national condition and ameliorating the severity of the present crisis. It also demonstrates how much confidence has been restored in the workings of the normal political process.

But the Batasang Pambansa is more than a milestone in our climb from the valley of crisis. It is the path itself, the way by which we intend to reach the final summit.

In this way lies not only the end to martial law but the continuous process of national reform and national development which the New Society represents.

What we have done in the last six years, we have done by exercising the emergency powers and command concentrated in the hands of the President. What we must begin to do from now on is to continue the great strife for the New Society in the normal workings of our political institutions, especially of the legislative branch of our government.

I say again that the necessity for martial law will fade away in time, but the imperative to build the New Society must and will remain.

By constitutional mandate, it is the task of the Batasang Pambansa to pave the way for the establishment of a full parliamentary system in our country, unless the Constitution should be amended. By historic circumstance, it is also the IBP's mission to establish a national political tradition that will make the reform and development began six years ago today permanent and a continuing one.

It is, therefore, primarily to the members of the interim Batasang Pambansa that I address this words about the tasks before the nation today.

Foremost in the national agenda is the question of our political normalization, and how we can effectively negotiate this period of transition in our national life.

I have spoken of the Batasang Pambansa as the way towards the future, and yet it can only serve as a guide even if it fully draws and inspires the confidence and participation of all our people in the task of legislation. In line with fostering popular confidence and participation, it is, therefore, important that we now fill the need for more regional participation in legislation, or more precisely, more popular participation in legislation through the creation perhaps of regional legislative committees composed of members of the Batasang Pambansa belonging to a region. We must open the very process of legislation to the advice and consent of our people. We must do away with the old ways of a Congress that was of an elite, insensitive and impervious to the desires and wishes of the Filipino people.

While our present system admits of public participation in lawmaking through the device of committee hearings, I believe there is so much more to be gained by opening the legislative process to the counsel of these regional committees. For there is no greater need today than that legislation effectively respond to the needs of regions and communities, and that it acknowledge the specific concerns of the regions, even while national public policy is dominant and paramount.

Our goal, let us be clear, is the harmonious and balanced development of the country, elevating the weak to the status of the strong, the attainment by the poor of self-reliance and dignity, and the development of our long-neglected rural communities. To this, legislation must ever be sensitive.

Also related to the matter of inspiring popular confidence, we in the Batasang Pambansa must strengthen our rules governing morality in public office. In particular, I commend to your attention the principle of self-restraint governing conflict of interests and the matter of the disclosure of assets and liabilities by every member of the Batasang Pambansa.

Our Cabinet ministers have already been asked to get rid of their membership in various boards, except those which have a direct relation to their ministerial responsibilities. In the same self-sacrificing spirit, every member of the Batasang Pambansa should now ask himself whether in the performance of his duties as a member of the Batasang Pambansa he does not violate the principle of conflict of interest. At their own instance, they should be able to ensure the integrity of the entire assembly.

Vital, too, is the matter of formalizing the existence of a single majority party, as required by sound parliamentary practice. It is my intention, as the leader of the dominant group and party, to bring this to a head and to seek a decision at a party caucus before the end of the year. This is a matter of high priority and it needs the urgent consideration of the leadership and membership of the Kapisanan ng Bagong Lipunan as well as the Nacionalista Party. For this purpose, the KBL and the Nacionalista Party will meet in caucus and resolve this issue soon.

All the issues have to do with the activities of the Batasang Pambansa and its members, and they are of crucial importance to the establishment of a tradition for parliamentary government which we seek to achieve. They are critical issues in the political transition in which we are engaged, and indicative, depending on how we respond to them, of the kind of success we shall have in the political normalization effort.

For the most part, our political agenda would seem to lie in these questions of process, but for certain parts of the country we must go beyond this. I refer specifically to the status of the two regions referred to as Muslim-inhabited in Southwestern Mindanao, particularly Sulu, Tawi-Tawi and Basilan, which have been promised autonomy, and where a plebiscite has granted the organization of a semi-autonomous regional government.

I believe now, in the light of developments within these regions and in the rest of the country in the past year or two, that the time is right to accelerate the efforts to formalize such a semi-autonomous or autonomous charter for the two regions in the South, and to prepare the way for the election of their officials.

I, therefore, call upon the Batasang Pambansa to immediately act on this very urgent problem.

May I again say that it is well to remember that two years ago, in 1977 actually, we submitted the issue of autonomy and related matters to the residents of these regions in a formal plebiscite. And their overwhelming verdict, as it

rejected the leadership of the Moro National Liberation Front, affirmed their desire for limited autonomy within the sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction of the national government.

For very clear reasons obtaining from the resurgence of hostilities in the area, we have not been able to fully implement the verdict of the plebiscite. But now it is my conviction that the time is opportune to fulfill the mandate of the people in these regions in Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi; and that the Batasang Pambansa, as the seat of government, must now pave the way for the fulfillment of the wishes of the people in those two regions.

I take this opportunity to assure this assembly and our people that we need not fear the present situation in Mindanao and Sulu. We should not fear that such a situation will not allow the orderly implementation of the plebiscite results. And I shall forthwith describe the national situation in the sphere of peace and security.

In Mindanao today, the situation is under control. It can only get worse if additional support should come from outside the country to the secessionist rebels. The government is confident in meeting the challenge to our security. What we do face now is a seeming deterioration of the peace and order climate that we all know is a result of the conversion of operations by those who claim to be operating under the Moro National Liberation Front, to mounting terrorist tactics perpetrated by rebels, especially on civilians and law enforcement forces engaged in police action.

Our response to this of course is multi-pronged. It is an effort designed first to strengthen peace and order efforts in the area by police action; second, to organize civilian action against terrorists, and civilian participation in the protection of the villages; third, to strengthen the local government, which I have referred to in the matter of the organization of autonomous regional governments, and ultimately, the calling of elections so that the people in these regions may choose their own leaders; and fourth, to accelerate social and economic development throughout the troubled regions.

We have every faith that this initiative will succeed in fully stemming the terrorist activities in the South. It appears to me that a major effort now to organize the regional government in the area will contribute to the rapid stabilization of the two regions. Thereby, we should be able to strengthen the machinery of government throughout the troubled South, which for much of the history of the conflict has been a factor contributing to tension because of its ineffectiveness.

At the same time, we must slowly transfer to the residents in this region the responsibility for their peace, stability and progress.

If we can build effective and strong local governmental power in Southwestern Mindanao, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi, we can then say that we will be able to mount an initiative that will go beyond achieving peace and move towards fulfilling the promise of progress and development for the region.

Now about the rest of the country — here the peace and security situation is significantly better. I must say that our security goals have been enhanced by the visit here of Premier Pham Van Dong of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

You are now aware of the agreements that have been entered into and the reiteration of the mutual pledges made by the two governments that fully reinforce our desire to live in peace with our neighbors in Southeast Asia, and to erect a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region. You are well aware that any disagreements between the two countries — any disagreements about boundaries or about territory would immediately be settled by peaceful negotiation in a spirit of friendship and cooperation.

It was also agreed and reiterated by our respective governments that neither Vietnam nor the Philippines will allow our territories to be utilized as starting points or launching pads for attacks or aggression against the other.

The other important point is that neither of the two governments, Vietnam and the Philippines, will support, encourage or initiate subversion in the other country.

You are well aware of the apprehension and the anxieties which have prevailed throughout Southeast Asia since the withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam. You are well aware of the history of intransigence that marked the governments on what was formally referred to as the Indo-Chinese peninsula — the three governments of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. You are well aware of the speculations as to the intentions of the Vietnamese. This was the reason for the effort we exerted to bring about some kind of an exchange of visits between the two heads of government or heads of state. You are well aware of the military capabilities of Vietnam, that today the Vietnamese infantry soldier is considered one of the world's best. You are well aware of their capture of monumental amounts of weapons from the Americans in 1975, also of the differences in social ideology and political orientation between Vietnam and the other countries of Southeast Asia.

It was, therefore, my desire to bring about a definite arrangement in order that the two countries may be able to live in peace. And the visit here of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong certainly has broken the barrier of distrust and anxiety that has existed for so long in Southeast Asia.

I believe that with the agreements we have entered into, we can now anticipate a prolonged period of peace in Southeast Asia, during which the countries in this region may engage in internal economic and social development.

While regional developments will continue to exercise our national vigilance, the real problems, therefore, of national security lie immediately within, rather than outside our country. Insurgency will always be the challenge, and we will continue to deal with it, effectively and resolutely, in accordance with our long experience in this regard.

On the economy, I take this opportunity now to call your attention to various important projects which require the continuing and able support of the Batasang Pambansa and the entire machinery of government, as well as the support of our patriotic citizenry.

The first of our priority projects is our nationwide power expansion program, which must accelerate even faster than before. We are warned that possibly in five years there will be a limitation in the use of oil for energy. Right now, much of our sources of electric energy runs on oil. There is no denying the fact that if there were to be a limitation in the supply of oil, this would immediately paralyze not only industry but also agriculture and transport in the Philippines. This would not only be a situation that is unmanageable; it may be critical and fatal. Therefore, it is the national policy to upgrade the development of other sources of energy as the number one infrastructure priority of our country. This is the most important, for in its success lies our deliverance from this threat of energy crisis and the full acceleration of the national development effort.

So what does our energy program consist of? It consists of nothing less than the harnessing of nuclear, hydroelectric, geothermal, coal, solar and petroleum resources for national self-reliance in energy. Our accomplishments in the area overwhelmingly encourage greater exertions on our part, and in the coming year will see our power program enter new crucial phases of development.

Let us talk of the geothermal units. Many of us are unaware that by the end of this year, there will be sufficient energy produced by the geothermal plant in Tiwi, Albay, and that perhaps we can say we are beyond the experimental period in the utilization of volcanic steam for energy purposes. We intend to develop the geothermal sources in Bae in Laguna and the geothermal sources in Leyte, Negros, Mindanao, and all other areas where there may be usable volcanic steam.

At the same time, we are harnessing rivers and establishing multi-purpose dams, which while specifically hydroelectric in purpose will also help control floods and give us other sources of potable and irrigation water.

By February of next year or perhaps even at Christmastime this year, I am supposed to receive the first barrel of oil that will start to flow from the wells in Palawan.

It is our hope that there will be further efforts at exploration. We have now accelerated the program of exploration and drilling. Contracts for seismic tests have been entered into not only in the Palawan region but south of Palawan,

east of Palawan and even in Manila Bay. It is the intention of government to now spend as much talent, energy and funds in the exploration for oil.

But in addition to oil, we must also locate and identify all gas deposits, identify and exploit our coal resources and move towards the conversion of various generators to the use of either bunker fuel or coal. The nuclear project is well under way. So, on power then is the new special emphasis in infrastructure development.

In agriculture, we have reached the point where we are now exporting rice. I have just authorized the exportation of some of our rice because our problem now is no longer producing rice; it is producing the warehouses in which to store the rice. At this time, the National Grains Authority has indicated that it has just about exhausted their cash that is available for their operations.

We have also asked the private sector to participate in the exportation of rice.

We are confident that national productivity will continue to increase, for our food production efforts are helped by the success of agricultural research and development being undertaken in our country. Also helping us is the internationally recognized and prestigious International Rice and Research Institute, which is engaged in rice experimentation.

Several years ago, I organized the Institute of Plant Breeding, which is now operational and working on various products, including corn, mongo, sorghum, sweet potato, cassava.

Incidentally, when Prime Minister Pham Van Dong was here, we discovered that the best peanut variety in Southeast Asia, which we are utilizing, comes from Vietnam. And instead of our helping him out, he started to help us out. So, we in turn have offered available facilities and resources to Vietnam.

We now have produced, for instance, mongo which grows in the shade of sugarcane and corn and, therefore, can be inter-cropped. We can produce 40 tons per hectare of cassava instead of the annual average of 10 tons per hectare. The mongo beans can produce two to three times the original harvest.

I also wish to announce the establishment of regional research centers attached to various regional or state universities. I have, before the session of the Batasang Pambansa, authorized the establishment of various universities. The plan is to establish a university in every region of the country. In addition to this, attached to these universities will be specialized research centers that will engage in scientific and applied research on the products of the region.

Take the example of Region 1. Attached to the state university there, which is named after my late father — since he was a graduate of that school — is the center for tobacco research, the center for cotton research, a center for garlic research and the center for onion research. In cotton, what have we found? They have just produced a variety that is much better than the best American variety known as the "Delta Pine," which produces 1,500 kilos per hectare of cotton over a period of 150 days. The new variety, that is not yet named because it is very new, produces not 1,500 kilos but 2,800 kilos per hectare! And over a period of 120 days, not 150 days!

These are examples of the kind of research that we must now go into in order that technology and science may help the economic and social development of our country.

These researches in rice, may I say, have two important aspects right now. On a suggestion that I made about a year ago, the International Rice and Research Institute is now trying to produce some kind of a variety of rice which would have the capability of legumes, that of nitrogen-fixing. What this means is that, as you know, the legumes produce or get nitrogen from the air and fix it within the plant so that the plant utilizes it and does not need any fertilizer. If we could transfer this quality to rice so that rice would not need any fertilizer, then we certainly would achieve a breakthrough for all the world. They are working on this, and I understand they have some kind of a

variety that can fix nitrogen under favorable conditions amounting to about 20 kilograms of fertilizer per hectare. They are working on it, and we hope they will succeed.

The other objective is to infuse or to increase the percentage of protein in rice. You are well aware that our people have a deficiency in protein intake. Many of the varieties do have some kind of protein, 3 to 5 percent. Now, the IRRI has succeeded in increasing the protein content of some rice varieties up to 10 and 11 percent. But these varieties are rather non-prolific and, I understand, vulnerable to disease. So they still have to work on these projects. These are the projects which the Philippine government is supporting with funds from the budget as well as foreign borrowings.

We will continue to increase the available resources placed at the disposal of our scientists and researchers. There will be a continuing effort to improve production, to improve thereby our position in the world market. The sugar industry comes to mind in this regard. And remedial measures are being applied such as the diversification program and the use of the new variety, 6607, or what is often referred to as the Marcos variety only because I kept insisting that they continue with these researches, which produces two or three times more than the usual varieties. The United States, we hope, will ratify soon the International Sugar Agreement, which we pushed through in Geneva, which would somehow increase the price of sugar in the world market. Incidentally, the price of sugar is inching up. It reached a low of 5.8 cents per pound. It is now up to about 8.5 cents per pound, in anticipation of the ratification of the International Sugar Agreement.

To sustain this momentum, we need the able ministrations of government and the readiness of our policies to provide what is needed either for continued growth or for meeting crises.

We look around us and see some deficiencies in the transportation communications sector. We must upgrade, expand and modernize our facilities. We must place special emphasis, for instance, on inter-island shipping and on a mass transit system in Metropolitan Manila. I have authorized the calling of bids for a mass transit system in Metropolitan Manila. I understand that the best system would be not subterranean but above the ground and on rails.

At the same time, it will be necessary to adopt a new approach to the traffic problems in the primate cities of the Philippines.

On the matter of communications, we are scheduled to inaugurate the use of the domestic satellite system. In fact, I think, we are now being covered by the domestic satellite system. By agreement with Indonesia, we are using the Indonesian Domestic Satellite for national TV broadcast. Right now, I understand I am being heard in Zamboanga, Cagayan de Oro, and, possibly, in all the other provinces of the country. This is the harbinger of a comprehensive and modern communications system in the country.

We must also look at the local water system. I say local, although the Metropolitan Water System, the Manila water system, is also facing new and more imponderable problems. This is the reason for the signing of the various loan agreements by the First Lady and Minister of Human Settlements with the World Bank as well as the Asian Development Bank. More and more, it will be necessary for the national government to exercise supervision over the local water districts.

In the industry sector, our attention must now turn towards the development of new industries and full implementation of the integrated area development scheme for various zones of the country. Incidentally, I wish to announce that while the crisis government and the New Society after martial law sought to take over some of the moribund industries in the Philippines, it is now the policy of the national government to return to the private sector most, if not all, of these industries that were taken over by the military and the defense establishment.

The policy of the national government is that the national government or the government of the Republic of the Philippines will not intervene in industry, especially in manufacturing, unless the area of investment is so unattractive that no one private entrepreneur will dare to come in without government participation. In a case of such participation, as soon as the industry is stabilized or as soon as there are available private entrepreneurs for such an

industry, the government must immediately divest itself of any interest in the private venture. I reiterate this policy of the national government.

At the same time, we move into integrated regional planning and programming. Before, we allocated resources for specific projects, like water system, roads, and schoolhouses without any regional planning whatsoever. Today, we have regional development schemes in Bicol, Mindoro, Samar and Cagayan. We are going to move into Mindanao. This merely means that every region should now have a coordinated and integrated plan for all the projects in such a manner that there is one listing of such programs and priorities are established in the event of a deficiency in resources. But we must know the right timing for each and every project in order that the various elements in our society may know how to plan. For instance, how can we invite industries to put up, say, factories in Cagayan Valley if there is no indication whatsoever as to when the power source will be developed, or when the roads will be finished? And thus we have moved into the implementation of the integrated area development scheme.

We must also attend to the human settlements program, particularly housing. This year also marks a new orientation in the efforts of the national government. There have been indications to the effect that while the national government has shifted from urban to rural expenditures, in many instances, expenditures in the rural areas have been diffused and not coordinated. The Human Settlements Ministry was established with the purpose of coordinating these expenditures with the help of all the ministries and other agencies of government so that the benefits of modernization will not be limited to only a few capital cities and towns but shall be spread throughout the length and breadth of the Philippines.

We have many reforms and the programs to implement such reforms. But the primary-reform is still land reform. It is the most important, more so now because it has been extended to include urban land.

Our land reform program, however, has never been without its critics ever since we launched it back in 1972. Many of these critics of land reform, knowing that it is one of our most important reforms, have attempted to downgrade it as not complying with the usual requisites. What is the general attitude of, say, the Western experts on land reform? They insist that even the small landowners be dispossessed of their land. They ask, for instance, why the government allows the retention by landowners of seven hectares of land? And the answer to that is simple. Their experience is with countries that have no virgin lands where the population can expand. Their expertise applies to societies that are completely different from ours.

In our society, the small civil servant, the military man, the teacher, even the janitor saves money in order to buy a little piece of land in the barangay where he comes from. Under the present land reform program, a tenant is given five hectares if not irrigated, three if irrigated. We have deliberately stayed away from what the critics call the “no retention scheme” precisely because after studying the entire program, we discovered that this scheme would have dislocated many of the small citizens of our country. We, therefore, emphatically reject the assertions that the land reform program does not seem to be achieving its purpose.

First of all, we have succeeded in transferring land to the landless in six years on a scale six times more than what previous administrations had accomplished in the preceding 30 years. We have embodied in our land reform program a scheme for more effective land consolidation and production and, as support to it, launched an effective cooperative development program. As I say this, I am aware of the deficiencies of the implementing machinery. We would like to see this program move faster than ever. But as I have said, we are moving in accordance with our schedule. And since we do not want any zero retention, we will, therefore, proceed in the same manner as before.

The government, however, must now move in another direction. More emphasis should now be placed on government public lands being distributed to the dispossessed of our country. The mere fact that many of our countrymen have objected to the establishment of cattle ranches and grazing lands indicates that these farmers have been given less priority than cattle. This is not the policy of the national government. From now on, it shall be the policy of the national government to identify, locate and immediately set aside public or virgin public land for those who have no land whatsoever in our country. This will be the new orientation of the land reform program in the rural areas.

We want to enlarge the middle class in our country and we will not dispossess the middle class of the little land they have.

Again, some of our critics say: Why are we limiting land reform to rice and corn? And the answer is: We are not limiting land reform to rice and corn. In the first place, let us go back to the history of our land reform efforts. Land reform is, first and foremost, our answer to a social problem. The problem of feudalism and tenancy was found mostly in rice and corn lands. Thus, we concentrated on reforming land tenure and ownership in this area. We have succeeded in doing so. With a few exceptions of course, we can say that the land reform program is nationwide.

I must point out that in several decrees and letters of instructions, we have endeavored to secure the farmer's land tenure in areas devoted to crops other than rice and corn.

Whatever may be said of the land reform program, we are committed to the fulfillment of its objectives — equity for the farmers in the agricultural effort and greater productivity in our farms. Yes, we must do more. And I say today, we will do more. We will extend to the farmer, especially the farmer without any land, all the support that can come from the national government.

There is no way anyone can undermine the land reform program. I am determined, and I am certain that I speak for the other leaders of our government, that the land reform program should continue.

When I called the elections for the Batasang Pambansa, I heard the alarm and cry from the tenants. Will not the Batasang Pambansa rescind and completely negate the land reform program of the President? The answer today is: No, it will not. I am certain that the Batasang Pambansa supports the land reform program of the President.

You are well aware, you, the members of the Batasang Pambansa, are well aware of the charges which you face when you went before the people. They raised certain doubts and they had misgivings about your ideologies, your loyalty to the New Society. I can say now after several months of operation that the Batasang Pambansa has turned out to be a militant participant in the ideology of the New Society.

On plantation crops, I have already issued a decree on the matter. And we shall continue with the studies in accordance with the recommendations of the various experts organized for this purpose.

I need not call attention to the fact that we have just included urban lands in the land reform program. Urban land reform presents another problem of course, in the sense that there seems to be some anxiety about it. Let me emphasize that our objective here is not to confiscate land or to expropriate properties but to develop urban land. However, let it now be known to everybody that our government will not countenance unreasonably high or monopolistic profits.

When the land developers buy land at, say, 50 centavos per square meter, in an area through which government roads will pass, and after a few years sell this at P50 a square meter, there is something wrong in the society that tolerates such monopolistic and unreasonable high profit. I appeal to the affluent real estate developers of our country to ask themselves and refer to their conscience whether the profits that they will obtain from these manipulations and speculations will give them a better appetite to eat the better food that they can afford.

I call upon them to look at the New Society as a vehicle for the reform not only of our entire community but also of man and of the individual. For that is the ultimate basis of the New Society. We reform not only the soldiery or the bureaucrat or the working man. We reform, too, the affluent. And this is as good a time as any for the well placed, the comfortable in our society to come and join us in the general effort to raise the standard of living of the poor of our country.

In the last six years, we have succeeded in recasting our entire foreign policy. I do not need to talk about our establishing normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Eastern European countries as well as our neighbors on the Indochinese peninsula.

Now as we sit with other nations in the councils of the world and maintain close relations with almost all of them, we can rightfully say that we anticipated the end of the Cold War. We anticipated detente. Long before anybody spoke of detente, or the end of the Cold War, or co-existence, the Philippines had adopted these policies in order that we may live with our neighbors, with those who desire to live in peace with us. It is important that our position in global issues and in our relations with all countries keep abreast with national and international realities and affirm fundamental principles of mutual respect and sovereignty. It is important, too, that our foreign policy be the product of interaction between our government and our people, and I say the Batasang Pambansa shall be the forum where we shall study the foreign policy as it is now being implemented by the executive department.

So, as we look at our entire agenda, there is a feeling that our burden is as heavy and our course as difficult as the ones we carried and followed at the start of our program to build the New Society. But there is the happy circumstance that we enter this new phase of the journey with quite a lot of the road already behind us and the course before us clear in our eyes, and a resolve strengthened by the achievements in the past. We have found a new confidence. I can feel this not only within me; I can feel it with the men and women that I talk to I can feel it in the buildings that are being constructed. I can feel it in the farms that operate in such wholesome and prosperous circumstances. In the problems that we face, there is none of the gravity that imperils our survival, for survive we have already done so. There is only the greater weight of challenge worthy of a nation that aspires to reach its destination.

We have work to do; of course, we will continue to do that work in all areas of national life. And for the members of the Batasang Pambansa, and for that matter, the members of the entire machinery of government, and the peasants, the laborers and the ordinary citizen—it is our duty, our responsibility to lead our people to the summit of our goals.

As we enter the seventh year of our New Society, let it be our common resolve, therefore, to hold fast to our achievements and gird ourselves once more for the task of national transformation and development.

If there are two words that can convey the feeling of the nation and the leadership today, it is *hope* and *confidence*. And I close this address with those words—hope and confidence for the people of the Republic of the Philippines.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the UP Law Alumni Association meeting, September 29, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the UP Law Alumni Association meeting

[Delivered on September 29, 1978]

Why Martial Law Must Stay

I WOULD LIKE to thank you once again for this opportunity to be with you on the annual gathering of the UP Law Alumni.

The public, particularly the media, has come to expect me to speak on foreign policy every time I address this gathering of the UP Law Alumni, and I have always complied with their expectations. Perhaps there is no reason for me now to depart from the tradition. However, I shall in accordance with the tradition of brevity among lawyers, try to keep my main speech to 30 minutes and then open the table to interpellations.

I believe that perhaps it is in the nature of the discipline of law as well as in the knowledge that we acquire in international law, that our formulations or our discussions tend toward international relations. The discipline of law, not to mention the knowledge that we acquired in the college, is indeed good preparation for the study of international relations. Call it art, call it by any other name — science, if you will. Statecraft, which I presume is the interest of every lawyer, deals with the gamut of international relations, not the least important of which is the avoidance and the management and the resolution of conflicts, conflicts among nations, among their nationals, and among states.

Seven years ago, I stressed the need for an accommodation with reality in the formulation of our foreign policy. We have endeavored to keep abreast of unpredictable changes in the unfolding events in the world scene. Today, or these days, it is incumbent upon us, upon the political leadership of our government, to endeavor, to keep abreast of these changes and to assess their impact and determine how they tend to affect our political, strategic or economic position — whether they be beneficial, adverse or simply innocuous.

In Southeast Asia, for instance, one has seen the dramatic changes since 1975. In July, 1974, the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement between the U.S. and the Philippines was terminated. The year 1975 saw the withdrawal from the Indochinese peninsula of American forces. After that withdrawal, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN, became more active. And Southeast Asia is emerging once again as the scene of significant events and developments that makes it the focus of world attention. Perhaps, it was only the ASEAN countries that averaged an individual growth of 7 percent annually in its Gross National Product. Also, it has doubled its Gross National Product every 7 to 12 years. Thus you note that the disturbances which might put a stop to the economic development in the region are the chief topic of concern of observers of the international scene.

We noted also the visit here of Deputy Prime Minister Li Hsien-nien of China as well as Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. You are well aware, and it is not a matter that we can consider secret, that all countries in Southeast Asia have been wary of the possible support to subversives in their respective countries, coming from various powers within the region. China and Vietnam have been referred to.

I am happy to report to you that we have prepared here a long, long list of the steps that have been taken towards one single end, and that is to now lay the basis for a guaranteed period of development for Southeast Asia as well and especially for the Philippines, free from the possibly not only of massive infiltration of subversives or exported war but also from the threat of external aggression. This became necessary if Southeast Asia's plan was to move aggressively forward, along the cooperative endeavor, in order to attain its primary goal — at the beginning, its only goal — that of economic collaboration. Then it was necessary that this be in an atmosphere of regional peace.

Because of the developments in the area, it is now possible to project and predict comparative peace in the Southeast Asian region for at least five to 10 years. And with this, therefore, our country and the other Southeast Asia countries can proceed with accelerated pace towards their objective of economic and social reforms as well as modernization.

The threats that did appear formidable in the past sprang from many sources. The first was external, and because of this we entered into military agreements with the United States of America. We are in the middle of negotiations with the United States regarding three military agreements, which are: the Mutual Defense Pact, the Military Assistance Pact and the Military Bases Agreement.

There have been many commentaries about these pacts. But in view of the fact that they are the subject of negotiations, I will not now go into their details. Any answers to these questions will be at best guarded ones.

Let me go to what I really had in mind. I wanted to discuss with you the obstacle which I have pointed out as a formidable deterrent to the lifting of martial law. What is this? This is the Southern subversion or secessionist movement. I would like to call your attention to the situation in Mindanao today. Why do I find this an obstacle to the lifting of martial law? First of all, the secession movement continues. You are well aware that the secessionists, admittedly have been trained outside the Philippines. Admittedly, too their arms, as well as funds and material support, come from outside the Philippines.

I will now essay to explain the steps that were taken by our government in order to meet this problem of the secessionist movement in the South. The question is often asked: Why did the Republic of the Philippines not only allow, but actually invited the Islamic Conference, the conference or organization of Islamic countries, to participate in the settlement of what I have always and repeatedly said is an internal problem of the Philippines? This is a valid question.

Let me go back, therefore, to the year 1972. In the year 1972, to our surprise, the Islamic Conference approved a resolution expressing deep concern over the allegations of genocide committed by the Republic of the Philippines against our Muslim brothers in the South. We immediately, in a state of alarm, sought to rectify the false report. But in the year 1973, notwithstanding all our efforts, the Islamic Conference again expressed concern over the plight of the Filipino Muslims. And the fourth Islamic Conference in 1973 not only expressed deep concern over the reported repression and mass extermination of Muslims in Southern Philippines but urged the Philippine government "to halt this operation immediately."

A committee of four, known as the quadripartite committee composed of the foreign ministers of Libya, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Somalia was created to visit the Philippines and look into the situation. Since we were not concealing anything and because we believed that it was necessary that the whole world knew what was happening in the South, we actually invited this committee to come over, and they did come in 1973. Their expression of surprise is now of record, which reflected the true situation in Southern Philippines. Notwithstanding this, however, the fifth Islamic Conference of 1974 urged the Philippine government to find a political and peaceful solution through negotiations with the Muslim leadership, particularly with representatives of the so-called MNLF. And I am quoting from the resolution of the Islamic Conference.

You remember that I sent the then Executive Secretary Melchor to Jeddah. Nothing came out of this meeting because the MNLF representatives headed by Nur Misuari demanded that the Philippine government accept their conditions before they sat down for the negotiations. And one of these conditions was a recognition of a status of belligerency and that of a separate state. Of course, no republic, no self-respecting republic would deal with its own nationals and grant them a status of belligerency and accept their existence as a separate state. Naturally, the then Executive Secretary Melchor wired back saying that irrespective of the consequences, he was not going through with the negotiations unless the MNLF representatives came down from their excessive and unacceptable demands. This resulted in a stalemate.

In the sixth Islamic Conference in 1975, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik regretted that the talks in Jeddah had failed because of the “disproportionate” — and I quote him — “demands of one of the factions of the Filipino Muslims”. Of course, he was referring to the MNLF.

The seventh Islamic Conference in 1976 again demanded the resumption of negotiations as well as the granting of autonomy. And here I quote “This is the first time that the Islamic Conference has made a demand for autonomy ” They demanded resumption of negotiations and the grant of autonomy based on a previous resolution of the sixth Conference, despite the unacceptability of the provisions to both the Philippine government and a new majority of Mindanao leaders, and in spite of steps taken by the Philippines toward further negotiations.

Upon the invitation of the Philippine government, Secretary General Mohammad Al-Toami came to the Philippines in order to establish a relief agency for the welfare of Muslims in the Philippines. And from then on we sought the intervention of the Islamic Conference in order to neutralize the apparently successful efforts of the secessionists to paint the Philippine government as repressive and oppressive toward the Muslims.

You will remember that there was no fighting in Mindanao until 1973, other than, first, the abortive fighting in Marawi in October of 1972, which was immediately terminated. But the actual fighting started in Lebak, Cotabato, sometime in the last day of February 1973. For some reason I was in the area. I do not remember now why, but this was the beginning of the all-out attack. From 1973, 1974 and 1975 the MNLF succeeded in taking over many of the provinces and towns. The Philippine government retained control only of the capital towns in the regions. This was true of Tawi-Tawi, in Sulu. In 1974, Jolo the capital town of Sulu, was taken by the MNLF. This was true of Basilan, and most of Zamboanga del Sur and Zamboanga del Norte. And this was also partly true of Cotabato, as the lawyers from there will remember, as well as of Lanao del Sur and part of Lanao Norte.

Anyway, with this situation, it became necessary for the Republic to seriously consider looking into solutions that would be acceptable to all parties concerned. But before we did so, an analysis of the situation indicated that support for the now overwhelming majority of forces in the Mindanao secessionist movement was coming from outside the Philippines. By this time, 1976, or 1975 and 1976, the Philippine government was already in possession of confirmed and complete information as to the funding, the training and numbers of the MNLF. For by this time, not only the infiltrators that we have sent into the MNLF but also captive rebels confirmed the fact that training was undertaken outside the Philippines as early as 1968 and 1969, and that the purpose of the secessionist movement was to establish a separate state to be composed of Palawan, Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and Sabah, a state of the Federation of Malaysia, with a chief minister or prime minister or president coming from the ranks of those who would organize it outside the Philippines. It also became obvious from this intelligence that there were at least 16,000 armed men against the Republic of the Philippines at this particular time. And it was now necessary to prevent further, massive entry of additional firearms into Mindanao. Thus it was necessary for us to identify the actual source of this funding and support, which the intelligence of the military and the defense establishment succeeded in doing. After this, it became necessary for the government to utilize available lines of defense to protect the country.

In foreign relations, the first line of defense that a government utilizes is diplomacy or international relations. But at that time, the Philippine government had no diplomatic relations with some of the states in the Middle East. It became necessary, therefore, to establish such relations so that we might have a channel for negotiations in order to neutralize the source of support of the MNLF.

This was the reason, the principal reason, for the invitation of the Philippines to the quadripartite committee of the Islamic Conference to come over. And in this meeting it was agreed that we should start negotiations for the settlement of this conflict with the MNLF — not with the Islamic Conference but with the MNLF. And it was agreed that there would be no preconditions; that no status of belligerency would be granted to any of the insurgents, and that the Constitution and territorial integrity of the Philippines would be respected. This was put down in writing and properly recorded.

Accordingly, the First Lady was invited or rather, the President and the First Lady were invited to attend. But since I was then too busy attending to internal matters in our country, the First Lady went. She went to Libya some time in

November 1976. This visit, which took about five to six days, resulted in the establishment of diplomatic relations with Libya as well as the promise that Khaddafy, this outstanding leader in the Middle East, would utilize his influence as well as his powers to attain a just settlement of the problem in the south.

This led to the ceasefire which was signed in December 1976. The ceasefire was ultimately and formally agreed upon by two commanders, the commanders of the MNLF and the Southern commander of the Republic of the Philippines, Admiral Espaldon, on January 20, 1977. It was agreed that there would be a complete cessation of hostilities.

I will not go into the many violations of the ceasefire now. All I can say is that in addition to the ceasefire, there was a Tripoli agreement. This was an agreement signed by two parties, with others as witnesses. The parties were the Republic of the Philippines represented by Undersecretary of National Defense Carmelo Barbero, and the Moro National Liberation Front represented by Nur Misuari, the chairman. All the others who signed, including the Foreign Minister of Libya and the other members of the quadripartite committee of the Islamic Conference, were witnesses to this agreement. It was agreed in the Tripoli agreement that the Philippines would then submit the matter of secession to and in accordance with its constitutional processes. And because it involved the creation of an autonomous region, or semi-autonomous regions, in accordance with the agreement then we decided to call a referendum which was set for March of 1977. And it was also agreed that there would be a second meeting to work out the details. The second meeting was called some time in January of 1977, and this resulted in a stalemate. Under the Tripoli agreement, the second meeting was supposed to last until March 3, 1977. But by then, there was no agreement as to the details. On the contrary, fighting had resumed in the South.

Accordingly, the First Lady was again sent to Libya in order to negotiate a stop to the fighting. And she went to Libya on March 7, 1977 and stayed there until March 17. On March 17 she called me up by urgent long distance, saying that there was no way of arriving at a settlement, and that the committee headed by Undersecretary Barbero and its counterpart, the quadrilateral commission or committee of the Islamic Conference, could not agree on anything. Therefore, this committee was asking the heads of the two governments to intervene and propose a compromise agreement. These are all in writing. We actually have a compendium, a collection of these books.

And I would like to read to you publicly for the first time certain communications on the matter of, first, the referendum, because it is now claimed by some that the question of referring the Tripoli agreement to the people of the South was never agreed upon in the Tripoli agreement. And I say that it was. Likewise, the claim that the referendum and the questions were not authorized.

On March 17, 1977 I received this telephone call from the First Lady in Libya. She told me that there was only one chance of our arriving at a continuation or resumption of the ceasefire negotiations and that was for me to talk to President Khaddafy. Accordingly, I talked to this outstanding leader of Libya. We put on record and taped the entire conversation. It was agreed that the President of Libya would send me a cablegram in order to avoid any errors in the translations or interpretations pertaining to a very sensitive matter which was a question mark in the Tripoli agreement, and that is — what was meant by the autonomy therein to be established, and what was meant by constitutional processes to which the Tripoli agreement was supposed to be subjected by the Republic of the Philippines.

And so I now read to you the cable which was sent me in conformity with our telephone conversations.

“I referred to the talks of today’s evening between the First Lady and myself. And it has been agreed with her, in accordance with the Tripoli agreement signed on 23rd December, 1976 and in implementation of its provisions, that the following steps be taken:

“1. A decision to be issued by the President of the Republic, declaring the autonomy in the 13 areas defined by the Tripoli agreement.

“2. A provisional government for the autonomy to be formed by a decision issued by the President of the Republic in which the concerned parties from the Moro National Liberation Front and the inhabitants of the areas, of the autonomy take part.

“3. This provisional government shall hold a referendum in the areas of the autonomy; that is, in the 13 provinces mentioned in the Tripoli agreement concerning the administrative agreements within the areas of the autonomy in accordance with Article 3 of the Filipino Constitution. And this means that the people be asked how to organize themselves administratively within the areas of the autonomy.

“4. This solution shall put an end to this question and an end to the war and leaves no chance to those who are opposing the reaching of a solution, and it will open on the other hand a new page in the relations between the Philippines and the Islamic states.

“On this occasion I would like to inform Your Excellency that the Jamarihiyah received confirmations from the members of the Quadripartite Ministerial Committee, the Islamic Conference from the current president of the Islamic Conference and the Islamic states supporting the endeavors of the Socialist People’s Arab-Libyan Jamarihiyah in order to reach a peaceful solution and reassure their obligations towards any agreement to be reached by the Jamarihiyah.

“In case of Your Excellency’s favorable reply on this agreement reached between the First Lady of the Philippines and myself, I will contact the National Moro Liberation Front to convince them to agree upon it.

“Accept, Your Excellency, my highest considerations and best wishes.”

Accordingly, on 19 March 1977, I sent the following cablegram to Colonel Moammar Khaddafy:

“Allow me to extend to Your Excellency the gratitude of the Filipino people and ourselves for the continued attention and decisive endeavors that you have applied to the solution of the stalemate on the Southern ‘Philippines’ conflict.

“I have today March 18 received your cablegram confirming the agreement between my wife, Mrs. Imelda Romualdez-Marcos, and Your Excellency in accordance with the Tripoli agreement of December 23, 1976, which cablegram provides for the declaration of autonomy for the 13 provinces mentioned in the Tripoli agreement, the organization of a provisional government for such areas of autonomy, in which provisional government the concerned parties of the Moro National Liberation Front and the inhabitants of the areas of autonomy shall take part, and the holding of a referendum by the provisional government concerning the manner in which the inhabitants within the areas of autonomy may wish to organize themselves administratively in accordance with the Constitution of the Philippines.

“I wish to transmit to you the wholehearted accord and approval of our government as well as ourselves for this proposal and solution, knowing fully that the solution puts an end to the conflict and, as you have said, ‘leaves no chance to those who are opposing the reaching of a solution, and it will open on the other hand a new page in the relations between the Philippines and the Islamic states.

“I am certain that on this occasion all the members of the Islamic Conference, including the Quadripartite Ministerial Committee of the Islamic Conference, will support your brilliant solution as well as support the People’s Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. On this occasion, therefore, I wish to congratulate Your Excellency and the people of the People’s Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for having their President as guide, a decisive as well as recognized leader of the Third World and of humanity in Your Excellency’s person.

“Accept, Your Excellency, my continued esteem, admiration and affection.”

Thus, the Republic of the Philippines proceeded to organize the provisional government. An invitation was sent to Mr. Nur Misuari to become the chairman of the provisional government in the 13 provinces. He refused the invitation. Because of this we invited other MNLF leaders who were available, in accordance with this agreement. And other leaders participated in the organization of the provisional government. In fact, these members of the provisional government ultimately became the governor of Tawi-Tawi, the governor of Sulu, the governor of Basilan, and also the mayors and governors of other provinces.

Accordingly, a call to a referendum was made, and set for March 1977. But this again was stopped by a protest filed by Nur Misuari, saying that the questions asked were not in accordance with the agreement.

I will not go into the further details because there was an exchange of many cables. Allow me, however, to read some of the secret cables which I reveal for the first time. I received these cables from Colonel Khaddafy as well as from Nur Misuari as to the nature of the questions to be asked in the referendum. The cable of the President of the Jamahiriyah was preceded by this letter that I sent to the Secretary General of the Islamic Conference, dated 14 April 1977, in which I pointed out the agreement with Colonel Khaddafy, which I was trying to implement. And I said:

“Moreover, the Saudi press agency has reported that Nur Misuari has agreed to the setting up of a provisional government in Southern Philippines as worked out by President Marcos and President Khaddafy. We have kept faith with the agreement to establish a provisional government in the autonomous regions by immediately decreeing the formation of such a provisional government on March 25, 1977.

“In accordance with the agreement that the Moro National Liberation Front shall take part in the provisional government, I have invited ranking MNLF leaders to occupy 15 to the 29 positions in the preparatory committee for the formation of the provisional government. This is also entirely consistent with our efforts to involve the MNLF in every step of the negotiations.”

And I informed the Islamic Conference about that telephone conversation. At the same time, we invited them to come and attend the referendum. When they realized that the Republic of the Philippines was insistent on the call to a referendum and that the provisional government was ready to hold a referendum, Colonel Khaddafy sent me the following cable. After discussing the nature of the questions in the referendum, he said:

Nothing in the Tripoli agreement called for these questions, and in accordance with the Philippine Constitution which prescribes that the setting up of new administrative units or the changing of actual ones already set up necessitates to ask people’s advice. Therefore the matter calls for the inhabitants to be asked on their administrative arrangement as per the Constitution.

“In view of that, we see that the questions be formulated as follows:

“1. Do you agree for the amalgamation of the two provinces, 9 and 12, in one region within the autonomy or remain separate within the autonomy?

“2. Do you agree to join your province with the other two provinces, 9 and 12, in one region within the autonomy or remain as it is within the autonomy?

“3. Do you agree for the introduction of changes in your municipality in accordance with the autonomy or prefer to maintain them as they are within the autonomy?

“4. Do you agree for the introduction of changes in your barrios in accordance with the autonomy or prefer to maintain them as they are within the autonomy?

“Mr. President, I wish to assure Your Excellency that the questions proposed have been formulated in accordance with the Constitution of the Philippines ” and so forth and so on.

So I answered that in accordance with his suggestions, the questions in the referendum would be as follows:

“1. Do you approve the merger of regions 9 and 12 into one single autonomous region?”

For voters of Palawan, Davao del Sur and South Cotabato, the questions was:

“2. Do you approve the inclusion of your province as part of any single autonomous region in Southwestern Philippines or any of the two regions, Region 9 or 12?”

Now these questions were translated into Arabic. I told Colonel Khaddafy that the matter was already the subject of intense campaign within the two regions. And I said:

“We hope that Your Excellency will understand our situation inasmuch as the questions have been distributed, debated and discussed by the people not only in the area of autonomy but also nationwide and outside the country, and to withdraw them now will create the impression that we expect answers from the people adverse to the government and cast doubt on the integrity of the referendum results.

“In addition to these considerations, almost all the countries which have diplomatic relations with the Philippines are sending representatives to the 13 provinces in the South to observe the referendum-plebiscite. Foreign correspondents from all parts of the world have started to arrive and are coming to participate in the general observation of this referendum-plebiscite on Sunday.

“It would therefore be most embarrassing if, for any reason, the proposed questions are in any way altered or changed.”

I inquired from the Islamic Conference Secretary General whether there were any further comments on the subject. And this is a letter that I received from Secretary General Amado Karim Gaye. It said:

“We agree, however, with the form of questions communicated to Your Excellency by His Excellency President Khaddafy on April 14.”

And so, even the Islamic Conference agreed with the questions.

In addition to this, I sent an inquiry addressed to Nur Misuari, asking him whether he would participate in the referendum, and guaranteed his safety and return to wherever he comes from if he were to participate in the referendum as well as head the provisional government in the South.

In answer to this, he sent me a letter dated 16 April 1977. Again, for the first time, I will reveal this publicly. He said:

“Any consultation with our people in area of autonomy shall be the sole responsibility of the autonomous Muslim regional government. And in the event that the consultations are held with our people, the questions that can be raised are only those contained in Colonel Khaddafy’s cable to Your Excellency dated April 13, which are as follows ” — and then he included the same suggestions of Colonel Khaddafy, which are substantially embodied in the questions asked in the referendum of April 17.

Accordingly, therefore, the referendum was held on April 17. And out of, I would say, more than 1,800,000 Muslims, only 40,000 voted for the MNLF. All the others decided, first, that there not be only one region but two regions and that the leaders be chosen by election.

In accordance, therefore, with this decision, we wanted to call an election of the legislative council which would choose the executive council for the two regions in 1977. But if you will remember, this was the occasion of the great earthquake and the *tsunami* which killed about 8,000 people in southern Mindanao sometime in August 1977. Accordingly, the whole matter was shelved and postponed.

Now I have announced that the Batasang Pambansa will now consider the question of the establishment of this autonomous or semi-autonomous region. And such a responsibility has been transferred to it. It is my hope that the Batasang Pambansa will act on this as soon as possible. After which, it is my intention to call elections to the legislative council of the two regions and thus organize the two autonomous governments in the two regions. The powers of each of the autonomous regions have been determined by the people themselves in this referendum and plebiscite. But it is my hope that if these elections are called, the representatives duly chosen, the recognized leaders of the Muslim communities will run the affairs of these two regions.

With this, therefore, we will be able to settle the question of the secessionist movement as well as the question of peace and order in the South.

It is my hope then that after this we will be able to eliminate the one, single, overwhelmingly serious obstacle to the lifting of martial law.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the inauguration of the Chamber of Maritime Industries, October 12, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration of the Chamber of Maritime Industries

[Delivered on October 12, 1978]

The Maritime Industry

I SHARE WITH all of you the joy of this moment of the unification of all your business organizations under this Chamber. I Understand that there are six associations that have been gathered under the umbrella of this Chamber, namely, the Filipino Association for Mariners Employment, the Filipino Shipowners Association, the National Federation of Fishing Associations, the Philippine Interisland Shipping Association, the Philippine Ship Agents Association, and the Philippine Shipbuilders and Repairers Association.

Those who have worked to bring about the organization of this Chamber, of course, deserve the congratulations not only of the President and the government of our Republic but of the entire nation. I have come today to demonstrate by my presence the deep concern of the government in the maritime industry and to extend on behalf of our people and of the government, in particular, the congratulations and the best wishes of all those who are aware of both the development as well as the problems of the industry. Perhaps, I should single out for special mention the administrator of the Maritime Industry Authority, Col. Generoso Tanseco, who spearheaded the unification of the various sectors of the industry.

You know when I came in, I immediately realized that I was coming into a new organization. You can always notice the almost, should we say, respectful distance that each of the member groups kept from the other, watching carefully. And there is none of the casual camaraderie that you see in old organizations. I did not expect, of course, the rambunctious enthusiasm of, say, the Jaycees, the Lions or the Rotarians, who clap on any pretext. Or for that matter, shout and cause all kinds of confusion. But you know, I did immediately notice the feeling of starting-to-get-acquainted, which I saw as soon as I entered the Fiesta Pavillion. I believe that after a few meetings, you will get to know each other, and better still, you will get to trust each other.

I need not go into all these amenities nor into the well-known facts about the maritime industry, about which you are perhaps better informed than the ordinary layman.

I need not talk about the Philippines being archipelagic, about its 7,107 islands. I need not speak of the fact that in 1975, our share of overseas shipping was only about 7.8 percent, and as of the end of 1977, it was about 14percent. I need not tell you that we are now spending \$1 billion every year for the carriage of our overseas trade. And out of this, our maritime industry, you, shipowners and everybody else, have brought into the country about \$140million. And I do not need to tell you that the well-being of our country — its security, its development, modernization, its movement towards our objectives — depends to a great extent on the maritime industry of the Philippines.

The maritime industry will always be the most critical and important in the entire spectrum of participants in the national economy. It is not for nothing that much of our vision of the future is predicated upon our ability to undertake a major revolution in the farming of our seas and in the utilization of our water arteries.

No sound development strategy can ignore the industry's role as the key link among our fragmented regions and as our link to the rest of the world. Of all our industries, the maritime industry enables us to harness our land and marine resources, and facilitates domestic and international trade and commerce.

You therefore represent an industry which is vitally connected with the national interest. And this finds expression in the very soul of our Constitution and in the policies and programs of our government today, among which are the national position in international forums concerning a new law of the sea— you are well aware that we have been very active in the convention for a law of the sea — the zealous pursuit of the development of our fishery and marine resources; the accelerated development of our water transport and shipbuilding industry; and the establishment of a single agency in government to govern the development of our maritime industry.

To be sure, the maritime industry has not always enjoyed the kind of attention and support that it enjoys today. This may be due to the lack of attention to our economy in general and the inefficiency of the government offices in the past. The seas, while always critical to our national survival since pre-Spanish times, I am afraid in the past were given some kind of a second priority. Government recognition of the maritime industry was slow and haphazard in the old political system, or for that matter, many of the critical factors to survival. Deeply entrenched vested interests hampered the implementation of a maritime development program that was truly responsive to the country's economic needs. You who were already with the industry at that time will readily remember this. Public policy governing the industry had no vision and lacked the will, and so, not surprisingly, the industry floundered for the most part in chaos and rivalries.

I recognized early the poverty of our maritime policies and programs, but in the absence of a capable government agency, or for that matter in the absence of legislative support for this particular policy, we could not pass the needed legislation before 1972. Not until September 1972 did this opportunity come, and it was one of my earliest acts towards streamlining the government administrative machinery to promulgate the Maritime Industry Development Decree of 1974 which established the Maritime Industry Authority, or as you in the industry call it, MARINA. MARINA is the industry's central policy-making and planning agency and all other maritime-related agencies must adhere to the programs and policy guidelines formulated by MARINA.

In this, MARINA is not unlike the NEDA in relation to the economy as a whole. We wanted one single authority to give vision and direction to the parts as well as the whole of the industry. We wanted unity and action in a way that would spur the development of the industry.

Subsequent to this landmark decree, we promulgated follow-up measures to sustain the momentum achieved under the Maritime Industry Development Decree of 1974.

The Philippine Ports Authority was created to separate port administration from the revenue collection functions of the Department of Finance, thus giving special attention to ports development, which must conform with the country's overseas and interisland trade patterns. I gather that there is now some kind of a misunderstanding between the shipowners and the ports authority. Well, since I am reviewing many of the policies of government right now, I think that you should put down in writing in the form of a memorandum and probably submit to MARINA, your position on this question of the integration or the choice of a single stevedoring and arrastre system in every port. This will bring the matter to full public scrutiny. And I welcome the opinions that may be submitted by the Chamber. This is one reason why I have always sought a single chamber— so that you may have an effective channel by which you can voice your sentiments even against public policy or government policy. Let us see what your position is. Bring it to me through the MARINA and we will work on it.

The National Seamen Board was also established to specialize in the placement and basic training of Filipino seamen. It was also necessary to establish the Philippine Shippers Council headed by the Minister of Trade to ensure that shippers are adequately protected from the control of foreign-based ship operators, as well as to provide a mechanism for giving the Philippine fleet necessary flag preference.

The government is also now in the process of upgrading the Philippine Merchant Marine Academy, the country's premier merchant marine school. The objective is to align the academy, in terms of curriculum and facilities, with the changing manpower requirements of the Philippine Fleet. The upgrading program shall be under the direct supervision of the MARINA administrator, who shall remain the chairman of the PMMA Board of Trustees.

In 1976, the Philippine National Lines, a state-owned shipping corporation was created. Now let me say that this new organization was created not to compete with the private sector but to augment the shipping requirements of the country. It is also envisioned to provide assistance to Philippine shipowners in their ship acquisition requirements.

The Philippine Coast Guard's capability to protect life and property was strengthened with its assumption of the responsibility over ship registration and licensing which is vital in monitoring the movement of Philippine vessels.

To complement the aforementioned organizational changes, the government also instituted several investment incentives programs to effect a more attractive investment climate within the maritime industry.

The effectivity of Republic Act 1407, or the Overseas Shipping Act, was extended so that overseas shipping companies shall remain exempt from income taxes until 1985, thus enabling them to develop more quickly and be more competitive with foreign operators. Oceangoing vessels are also exempt from custom duty and import tax.

For shipbuilding and ship repair, a comprehensive system of tax incentives was instituted and this was done upon the recommendation of MARINA and the private shipbuilding sector. This is in recognition of the shipyards' high potentials for labor absorption, industry dispersal, technology transfer and industry linkages.

The investment priorities plan of the Board of Investments was also expanded under the public utilities priorities plan which covers interisland shipping and related facilities. This is, of course, jointly implemented by MARINA and BOI.

All the above tax incentives remain in effect up to now and are basically unchanged in spite of the recent amendment of several tax incentives laws. You will remember that under 1459 and other amendments of the internal revenue code as well as the tariff and customs code, we have re-imposed some of the taxes on tax-exempt industries. But in shipbuilding and ship repair, as well as in the entire shipping industry, the maritime industry, we have maintained the tax incentives in order to help the industry.

I would like to call the attention to this because this caused a big debate in the decision-making bodies of government including the NEDA and the Cabinet. But this is one manifestation of the administration's and the political leadership's full and continuing support for the maritime industry.

Recently, upon the recommendation of MARINA and the Filipino Shipowners' Association, we promulgate the Philippine ship mortgage decree which adopted features applied in the mortgage laws of the United States as well as Liberia. This makes Philippine ship mortgage equally acceptable to foreign financiers, thus expanding the financing sources of Philippine shipowners engaged in domestic or international shipping.

These organizational changes and promotional measures are indeed substantial especially considering the short span of time during which they were promulgated. The government views all these not as concessions but as vital inputs into the industry's development requirements, indeed as an investment in the national future.

And we have no reason to regret this expression of our commitment to the industry. For during the brief span of six years, the industry has established itself as one of our country's major dollar earners. May I say that from a 1975 level of about US\$ 121 million, the industry's foreign exchange receipts rose to about US\$232 million at the end of 1977. This excludes the dollar earnings of Philippine vessels in the cross-trade. In 1975, the Philippine Fleet's share in the carriage of the country's international trade was only US\$46.2 million or about 7.8 percent of the total. At the end of 1977, this rose to US\$140 million representing a share of about 14 percent. The annual growth rate has been most dramatic at 44.73 percent.

The merchant fleet, domestic and overseas, showed sharp increase in tonnage from an aggregate of 971, 696 in 1976 to about 1,308,895 in 1977, showing an assets build-up rate that surpasses most of the major industrial sectors in the country. In spite of the worldwide shipping slump, the Philippine market was able to absorb the fleet's substantial growth as shown by the growth in earnings and the continued financial strength of the shipping industry. I note with

great interest that the on-going fleet build-up involves the acquisition of various ship types, thus diversifying our shipping capability. We now witness the arrival of modern vessels like container and roll-on/roll-off ships in the interisland service, including the secondary and tertiary routes, thus extending more efficient and reliable shipping services to the public. In the overseas trade, in addition to the general improvement in the fleet's share in cargo carriage, we note the entry of specialized vessels designed for the country's major export and import commodities, as well as the increase in the tonnage of vessels designed for regional employment in consonance with our commitment in the intra-ASEAN trade. This therefore leads toward balanced fleet development which used to concentrate on our traditional trade partners, so that the fleet shall indeed become an active agent in supporting the country's international trade strategy.

In the same manner, our fishing fleet has expanded substantially with the acquisition of deep sea fishing vessels incorporating sophisticated fishing methods. This is very significant and encouraging, in view of the increasing acceptance of the 200-mile economic zone and our adoption of the archipelagic doctrine. An adequate and strong fishing fleet is of course vital in protecting marine resources within our economic zone.

Developments in the shipbuilding and repair sector have been equally gratifying. Following the promulgation of the shipbuilding development decree of 1975, the number of shipbuilding/repair enterprises increased from 35, with an aggregate capacity of 70,120 GRT, to 106 as of today, with an aggregate capacity of 220,920 GRT. In 1977, these shipyards constructed 97 vessels with a tonnage of 27,049 GRT compared to 74 vessels, with a tonnage of 11,628 GRT in 1976. Significantly, we exported during this period 12 tugboats, confirming the large export potential of our shipbuilding sector. With MARINA'S 10-year shipbuilding program in the pipeline, we expect to see more concrete achievements in the years to come.

Finally, the presence of our seamen in overseas shipping is now being felt abroad as a result of the joint efforts of the National Seamen Board, the Coast Guard, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and MARINA. All these agencies, with the full support of private manning agencies, have cooperated in improving the Filipino seamen's competitiveness, enabling the seaman group to regularly register annually dollar receipts exceeding US\$75 million and becoming the country's number seven dollar earner.

These achievements and positive development within the Maritime Industry were the result of policy changes and aggressive implementation. But even more, they are the product of the close cooperation between the government and the private sector.

I have come today to commend such a cooperation and to give my congratulations to the private sector as well as the agencies in the government.

At this point it bears noting that the Tightness of our policies governing the industry is in part the result of the counsel and participation of the private sector in policy-making and program implementation. And it is certain, in the hope of greater and more productive private sector effort in line with industry development, that government will seek the unification of the industry sectors under this single chamber that we inaugurate today.

There is no question that our government will sustain its efforts for the development of the maritime industry. We are committed to a dynamic development strategy that must be in constant consonance with short-term and long-term requirements. I wish to give the firm assurance that so long as I am President, this administration will continue its promotional and developmental program for the industry. But more than this, I also wish to reiterate that it is the intention of the political leadership, as well as those who participate in the implementation of policies, that the government will always be ready to sit down and review, and whenever necessary, amend or rescind its policies in the interest of the balanced development of the industry and the welfare of our nation in general. So we now ask the Chamber to adopt an aggressive attitude and initiate such proposals as it may seem wise for the industry and for the country at large.

In this spirit let us now attend to the more current problems of the industry today.

I have been informed that the maritime industry is experiencing some difficulties in implementing the integration of port arrastre services. This is a matter which requires, as I said, participation and cooperation between this Chamber and MARINA; I will await your recommendations in this matter.

In recognition of the importance of government financial assistance in the acquisition of adequate tonnage for the country's domestic and overseas trade, as well as to further stimulate the local shipbuilding industry, I wish to announce today that I have ordered the following to be implemented:

1. To develop the overseas liner fleet, the Philippine National Lines shall acquire about 10 brand new multipurpose or liner vessels to be used in Europe, Middle East and U.S. trade routes. An amount of about US\$160 million shall be allocated from available soft loans over a two-year period. The vessels so acquired shall be transferred to already established and qualified Philippine overseas shipping companies on a lease-purchase basis.

I understand that there are some shipowners who have shown or manifested reservations about the acquisition of new ships. And that they would prefer the second-hand ones.

I believe that MARINA should now look into the alternative on this option and submit recommendations accordingly.

2. To augment the country's ocean-going fleet, the PNL shall acquire semi-brand-new or second-hand vessels. This is the first time I see the word brand-new.

But again, the intention is not to acquire these vessels for the government. The intention is to acquire these vessels for the private sector. And therefore the private sector will acquire these vessels on a lease-purchase basis. It is best that we now obtain the opinion and the suggestions from the private sector. This is the reason for the urgency of a chamber of this nature that integrates all the various aspects of the industry. The acquisition of these vessels is a five-year program involving about US\$30 million for the first year, and about US\$50 million annually for the subsequent four years.

3. For the interisland shipping, the PNL shall acquire newly-built inter-island ships from local shipyards, in accordance with the shipbuilding program of MARINA, to be transferred again on a lease-purchase basis to already established and qualified Philippine interisland shipping companies. PNL, in coordination with MARINA and other relevant government agencies, shall tap World Bank and other soft loan sources and shall immediately commence the groundwork for negotiating a second World Bank shipping loan to be implemented, subject to the full disbursement of the current World Bank shipping loan administered by the Development Bank of the Philippines.

The existing investment incentive programs, financial assistance schemes, and restructured administrative systems are designed to make the maritime industry fully supportive to the development program. It is therefore the joint responsibility of both the government and the private sector to ensure that the maritime industry continue to be an effective and viable agent of national development. These programs are necessarily subject to periodic review, and their continuance shall depend substantially on the degree of cooperation and positive response that the government shall receive from the private sector.

On this day of the inauguration of the Chamber of Maritime Industries, allow me the opportunity to invite, nay, tourge, the members of this Chamber to make this association a fitting instrument for development. Let your Chamber become an effective voice and channel for you to collectively help the government balance the needs of the sectors involved, without neglecting the requirements of those sectors outside the maritime industry, keeping in mind always that all of us are dedicated to one, single objective, that is, the national welfare. Do not doubt that the effectiveness of the Chamber will entirely depend on your capability to adopt a broadminded view, which is not distorted by parochial, special, limited or vested interests, but which is guided by the appreciation of the entire country's total development program and priorities.

For the Chamber of Maritime Industries to succeed, the leaders of the Chamber must consistently work towards achieving the total perspective of the national interest. Looking at you and watching the developments and listening

to the presentations that have been made to me so far by the various groups that are within your industry, I am confident that this Chamber will succeed.

Let me extend to you therefore my congratulations, my best wishes, and the hope for a very successful Maritime Industry and its Chamber.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 2nd conference of the Road Engineering Association of Asia and Australasia,
October 16, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 2nd conference of the Road Engineering Association of Asia and Australasia

[Delivered on October 16, 1978]

Development through Road Engineering

IN BEHALF OF the people and government of the Philippines, I take great pleasure in welcoming you all to Manila and in extending to you our very best wishes for a pleasant and successful conference.

For us, it is a great privilege that our country has been chosen to host the second conference of your association. For we attach great importance in the programs and objectives of the Road Engineering Association of Asia and Australasia, and we believe with all of you that the Association has much to contribute to the development of our respective countries.

It pleases me to note that for this second conference, 20 countries are represented here, and they include significantly the technologically advanced countries of Europe and the Americas. The participation of these countries from outside our region can only further enrich the new sense of collaboration among the countries of Asia and Australasia.

Those of you who were midwives at the birth of the Road Engineering Association back in June 1973 will no doubt still remember the reasons that impelled you to associate under the umbrella of a single regional body. Until that decision was made there was hardly any coordination or exchange on an extended basis among our countries. While various road construction and maintenance seminars and conferences were convened early during this decade, those meetings only concluded with the view that collaboration and exchange could only be productive if pursued and carried through a formal organization, tapping our engineers and specialists in both public and private life.

I think that for the nations of Southeast Asia in particular the idea was of critical importance. Here in the Philippines we were in the midst of a massive infrastructure development program. The other ASEAN countries were similarly engrossed in major road development programs.

For in an undeveloped country, what is more indicative of modernization and progress than a road or a bridge? Thus in all the socio-economic and political development programs of most, if not all of the developing countries, roads even in terms of priority in the problem of energy and energy sources, maintain a high priority.

And it was not for nothing that Southeast Asian advocacy of this association rewarded us with the choice of Kuala Lumpur as the seat of the Association's Secretariat.

And it should come as no surprise to anyone why we the developing world attach the highest importance to the founding of this Association. It should be even less surprising to the developed nations, whose rapid modernization no doubt involved them in innovative and epic efforts in road engineering and development.

In the Philippines, Minister Aquino had well referred to the fact that when I first became President in 1965, we had only about 55,000 kilometers of roads. Since then we have increased the road network to about 120,000 kilometers, an increase of 65,000 kilometers over a period of 10 years or more.

In the Philippines, like in most Southeast Asian countries, we have a problem of the water-logging of roads and the difficulty of maintenance due to rainfall that can be anywhere from 80 inches to 200 inches a year. Thus the base of our roads has become a special problem to all of us, and when I say all, I mean all of the countries in the periphery of the Western Pacific, where the monsoons carry the rains almost eight months of the year.

In the Philippines today, the cost of road building for asphalted road, would be anywhere from P500,000 to P600,000 a kilometer. The concrete roads would be anywhere from P700,000 to P1 million a kilometer. We are presently trying to maintain these roads, the national highways, at a cost of P11,342 per kilometer and the feeder roads, or the barangay roads as we call them, P4,500 per kilometer, expenses which we find inadequate to maintain the roads the whole year round.

We are therefore met with the problem of establishing a better approach to the question of a stronger and reinforced base for our roads. We are at present experimenting with the Polinar process; polinar mixed with lime is supposed to convert ordinary soil into a hard base for our roads. As I said, this is still on an experimentation stage. We find, however, that whether it is cement or asphalt, the problem is solved with a solution pertaining to the base. As a layman, a lawyer by profession and administrator by avocation, I find all of these interesting, and this is one reason why I decided to accept the invitation to attend your opening ceremonies.

The hope in which we greeted the birth of this regional body, and the state in which we find it today tell us much that of course redeem our faith. In five years, we may say that the Association has gained stability and standing, that it has not failed to affect the entire landscape of development in our part of the world, and that its importance has more than ever been confirmed.

It is my hope that during this conference you will look into this special problem that affect our region, the problems that arise out of continuous rainfall during the monsoons which seriously affect all the roads wreaking havoc on the finances of the developing countries, and threatening even its survival in many instances.

Allow me to use this forum to make a few announcements that affect our local environment.

I am happy to announce that in view of the fact that there have been serious problems regarding transport, we are establishing and creating a new department, to be known as the Ministry of Transportation. Presently this office is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation and Communications. We will now transfer both transportation and communications to a new ministry. We now have about 20 ministries or Ministers with portfolio. This will increase the number of ministries to 21.

At the same time, we are presently reassessing all the various projects in order to absorb the shock of any possible increases in the cost of oil as expected, and also to transfer what we call the current expenditures or the expenditures for housekeeping in government to capital expenditures, including road-building.

In road-building I wish to announce that the shift now is from national roads to barangay roads or feeder roads, or the farmer's roads, as we call them here in the Philippines. In relation to this, I am happy to announce that the Philippines has just procured \$52 million worth of road-building equipment which shall be now distributed to the 14 or 13 regions of the country, to be used exclusively for the construction of roads which are classified as barangay roads.

I hereby also create seed capital amounting to P300 million from which shall be drawn funds for the constructions of barangay roads. Let me explain what the term "barangay" means to our guests from abroad. Barangay is the smallest political unit in our country. It could be translated into village, but in our country barangay means a cohesive unit: it is an extension of the family or the clan. It is a small tribe as of old, and therefore, it is a self-sustaining political unit. It is the basic unit of political action, also the basic unit for socio-economic reform. When we want to spread the gospel of family control or population control, we go to the barangays, and they constitute the means and the agency of reform. Thus today, as we move from national road building into more barangay road building, we now give the means and wherewithal by which the barangays can build their own roads, without having to run to Manila, the center of government — for ours is a strongly centralized government. They don't have to come to Manila in

order to have both the money, the equipment and expertise, for we have district engineers, city engineers, and regional engineers who will now help the barangay build their own roads.

In the construction of national highways, I also hereby announce that henceforth government estimates will be reduced by seven percent in the awarding of bids, so that we can cut down our expenses to levels dictated by our economic funds in anticipation of any possible recession; or shall we say, a plateau of economic movement in the world in the next year or two.

Now that I have made all those announcements for local consumption, let me proceed with my speech of welcome. That is, to assure that whatever I say in this meeting will at least get on the front pages of tomorrow's newspapers, and thus give importance to this really significant conference of the experts in road building.

If then we look upon the last five years as a time of laying the foundations for regional collaboration and exchange, so must we look at the next five years as a period in which we should eminently advance and develop the mode of exchange, the degree of cooperation, and the quality of our collective efforts for the advancement and development of our societies.

We should be in a position now to fully share with one another technical expertise and advances in road engineering and related fields.

We should know even better now how developing countries can benefit from the technical advances of the developed ones, beyond merely "borrowing" from them.

We should be in a position now to expand the already salutary effort to involve educational institutions and research organizations in the practical problems of development engineering in our region.

We should be able to work together on improving the overall level of management and planning of road development in our countries.

We should be able to make new and exciting innovations in our design techniques, and in our construction practices in keeping with the new demands brought on by the times and the conditions we live in.

And we should finally be able to open ourselves to new vistas, to relatively new areas of exploration, with the same view of accelerated development.

Your conference, I suggest, is an opportune forum for our peoples and our societies to interact creatively in the making of their future.

Your conference is a workshop in which the elusive quest for development and modernization of our peoples may find a creative ally and instrument.

There is an apt parallel in almost every other sector of development effort to what is taking place in your specialized field. You are all aware of the new collaborative spirit in the area of trade, of industrial development, of cultural exchange, of regional security, of political stabilization, which have marked this decade as a time of building for the future in Asia.

While there may be new dangers, new perils, we cannot dismiss, but must rather rejoice in, the new fraternizing zeal within our part of the world. Southeast Asia must move in. For Southeast Asia today is the setting of a major regional effort by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Beyond Southeast Asia, we see interaction between East and Southeast Asia, between Communist and non-Communist countries, between Asia and Australasia, and between our regions and the rest of this great world.

Here in your Association and your conference, this collaborative spirit is fittingly epitomized in concrete and practical effort that will have the greatest impact in our future.

I pray therefore that this conference will succeed in advancing its ambitious agenda, and result in fresh initiatives from your sector.

Once again to each and everyone of you, welcome and best wishes for success.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

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[Delivered at the PICC, October 24, 1978]

I cite this report, although I have not read it in its entirety and do not have the expertise that you may have to make a proper valuation of it, because it seems to provide an illustration of a significant change, which has come over us in our approach to the population problem.

I must confess that in previous years, I found population conferences; whether national or international, somewhat grim affairs, where the main focus was on the problem and the main effort was devoted to sounding the alarm, by citing the dismal figures and projecting them to the inevitable doomsday which awaited us at the end of the century.

These alarms, of course, served a useful purpose: they contributed to the mobilization of national and international population policies. But I have found the more recent conferences more bracing because their main focus has been on the solution of the problem, and the main effort devoted consideration and improvement of actual programs of population control. This is a change that has come about since the adoption of national and international population policies some 10 years ago.

Over 10 years ago, when I first became the President of our Republic, I joined 29 other heads of state in endorsing a number of principles, among which were the following:

That the population problem must be recognized as a principal element in long-range national planning if governments are to achieve their economic goals and fulfill the aspirations of their people;

That the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right;

That the great majority of parents desires to have some knowledge and the means to plan their families; and

That the objective of family planning is the enrichment of human life, not its restriction, by assuring greater opportunity to each person to attain his individual dignity and to reach his full potential.

These principles have come to be known as the declaration of population growth and human dignity and welfare.

In the ensuing years, the signatory heads of state agreed to put these principles into practice, grappling with the population problems and needs of their respective countries in the light of their political, social, cultural, religious and economic conditions.

Seven years afterwards, all of us who signed that declaration of population growth and human dignity and welfare were extremely heartened when representatives of 136 nations met in Bucharest and endorsed a world population plan of action that was based on the very principles we endorsed — the improvement of the quality of life, the interrelationship between population and development, the right of individuals to decide on the number and spacing of their children, and the protection of the family as the basic unit of society.

The year after Bucharest, the World Population Society took a look at the immediate past and the near future bringing together over 100 leaders of action programs to review what had been done over the past year and what had to be done in the future. There is a personal reason for my remembering this conference in which Mrs. Marcos was privileged to be among the keynote speakers.

It has not been easy to bring across to development and population planners the varying interrelationships between population and development. They years since Bucharest have seen many efforts to get the family planning people to see their work as part of national development and to get the development planners and workers to recognize, the population dimension in the development process.

Among the many organizations that have played a major role in linking development and population is the World Population Society, under whose auspices and those of the Population Center Foundation we are meeting here today.

I see the meetings over the next few days as yet another step in the continuing dialogue on how best to fulfill the world population plan of action.

Last year, the International Population Conference was on the “fulfillment of the world plan of action. “This year, we deal with a very important facet of implementation, “community action: expanding urban village and urban community participation in development and population/family planning programs.”

The theme of the present conference is especially well-chosen, because if there is any difference between population programming before Bucharest and after, that difference stems from the larger role the people themselves are expected to play in the population program.

Traditionally, family planning programs were designed from the top. Money was allocated to a population sector, generally a sub-sector of health. The program was implemented by a carefully planned, administered and financed service-delivery system — more often than not, clinic-based — which operated according to centrally established norms. The program was heavily capital-intensive and intended to view individuals as passive recipients of initiatives and services coming from the center.

The success of such a program has depended on the capacity of the government to maintain such a centrally-directed delivery system over a long period of time. Even where the government has this capacity, long periods of direction from the center and to discourage initiative and morale at lower organizational levels. Hence, it is not surprising that many such programs at best succeed only partially.

In contrast, the post-Bucharest thinking is guided by policies such as decentralization, development and use of local resources, mobilization and involvement of the community, and emphasis on the socio-economic aspects of development. Instead of investing exclusively in physicians and health centers, the post-Bucharest thinking would assign higher priority to the development of the community’s capacity to use its own resources. The program builds and develops the community infrastructure and uses it to carry out primary promotion and service delivery. Here, media services are not the structure on which the program is built; they rather function as technical back-up system.

This change in thinking is not easy to make. But the need for it cannot be doubted. Indeed, we must construe it as an essential requisite for the fulfillment of the World Population Plan of Action.

Here in the Philippines, as in so many other developing countries, we have had to face many problems in the planning and implementation of our population programs. We have had our share of debates over strategy and tactics that earlier characterized the efforts to evolve a global plan of action. But it has been our experience that working within the context of realities and conditions in our country, and tapping what we can from the enormous amount of knowledge accumulated over the years in the global study of the population problems, it is possible to change the very conditions of life at village levels in our society no matter how poor. We have found out that the problems are susceptible to sustained and planned effort. Most of all we have been able to wed our population program to engineering of development in our country.

We have implemented a number of schemes aimed at making the population program more development-oriented than contraceptive-oriented. Rather than looking at the individual the way a drug salesman looks at a prospective customer, we have tried to involve the individual in a dialogue about his own needs, problems and aspirations for a better life. We have tried to tailor our response to his needs and his priorities.

We have felt that making the Filipinos realize the need for planning their families, helping them internalize the whys, the hows, and the wherefores of limiting family size will exert a more lasting influence on their right and responsibility to make fertility-related decisions.

We have, in short, come a long way from Bucharest.

The Philippine population program is well on the way towards placing population policy in the context of national development. The co-sponsor of this conference, the Population Center Foundation, has played a major role in promoting a view of population that goes beyond family planning.

And for this, of course, we must congratulate the management of the Population Center Foundation. The First Lady has participated in this; Dr. Lorenzo; the chairman and members of the Board; as well as the Metro Manila Commission.

But the latest manifestation of the post-Bucharest spirit— and perhaps the most ambitious one — is the new program of our new Ministry of Human Settlements which seeks the total development of communities and individuals.

I point to what we in the Philippines have experienced in the effort to meet the population problem, as a way of illustrating in an intimate way the efficacy of various principles and proposals adopted on a global scale in previous conferences. No doubt in other countries, even more impressive achievements have been recorded, and we shall learn from you and from the delegates in this conference.

It is my belief that the accumulation of experiences and knowledge in this global effort increases every day our total capacity to meet the population challenge.

The virtue of an international conference such as this is the sharing of concern, the interchange of knowledge, and the expression of solidarity that otherwise would not be there if our nations were acting alone in combating the population challenge.

Grave and urgent though the population may be, it is not finally resistant to the resolute actions of our respective nations and of mankind. There has been creative and significant improvement the world over, and if we keep on the initiative and unflagging objectives, the time will surely come when we can ensure again for every man his dignity and his welfare.

Let me close with the prayer that your discussions will be rich in insight and vision, and that your stay in Manila will be a pleasant one.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos during the 12th Biennial Convention of the Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry, October 27, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the 12th Biennial Convention of the Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry
[Delivered on October 27, 1978]

A Vital Link to the Filipino-Chinese Community

I DON'T KNOW how you came here but you must have come here before the typhoon. Thank God the typhoon spared Metro Manila, or for that matter, the Philippines. From a super howler, a super typhoon as it has been called, with a wind of 270 kilometers per hour at the beginning, it slowed down to 150 kph., and later on, to 100 kilometers per hour. And the latest report indicate that it has veered north after slamming into Bicol. Providence has again smiled upon the Philippines and upon Metropolitan Manila, as well as the delegates to this conference.

I dare not imagine what could have happened if a 270-kilometer-per-hour typhoon hit Metropolitan Manila and Central Luzon, for that was its original course. Man has not yet acquired the capability to redirect or even moderate typhoons. So today, we can only fall back on our standard operating procedure. The moment the typhoon approaches, meaning, more than 120-kilometers per hour wind, we immediately declare what is called this "RRR SOP" or standard operating procedure, which means, all the teams for rescue, or relief, and rehabilitation are immediately organized and made operational. This was done immediately.

The latest reports on the path of the typhoon, north of Manila, seems to indicate that there has been some damage, but it has been minimal. The damage to public works like highways, irrigation, flood control, seems limited. The standing crops may have been affected, but because of the fact that we have had a good harvest in the last two years and a surplus — so much so that from an importer of rice, we have become an exporter — we no longer have a rice problem.

And so your 12th biennial conference with your theme, "A Rededication to the New Society", is a happy augury of better times to come.

I am therefore impressed by the activities of the Federation, which I have watched with a keen eye since I was a member of the old Philippine Congress. If you will remember, I have appeared before you several times, many times.

I come today to again witness your recommitment to the New Society and your expanded support of its programs. Anyone who is acquainted with the works and deeds of the Federation during the last 24 years cannot fail to regard this commitment seriously, not only because of its interest in the business trading and manufacturing fields, but also because of the policy of assimilation liberalized under my administration as President, especially under the New Society. It is certainly of interest not only to the public sector but to the private sector as to what the federation does. This is why I have come here today, notwithstanding the fact that Malacañang is under water.

As you know, during high tide of the Pasig River rises to a level higher than that of Manila. Hence, the need for those retention canals along the Pasig. Some parts of Manila, and that includes Malacañang Palace, is very much lower than the high-tide level. The canals are fairly effective in coping with the normal, twice-a-day high tide levels but inadequate in containing the effects of heavy rains. And this is what happened today.

Laguna de Bay also has overflowed its banks. It is higher than normal level by three meters. For every meter that Laguna de Bay goes up, its waters encroach upon land by one kilometer for every meter of increase in its water level. It has increased its water level by three meters from normal. So in some places the waters encroach three kilometers around the periphery and the border of the lake. It is a big lake, probably the biggest fresh water lake in Asia, and there is only one small channel that drains it, the Napindan channel which is only about 80 to 90 meters wide. Perhaps you don't know anything about it, but for the last several days I have been working on this, and so I think I should tell you.

In the last big flood in 1972, it took six months to drain Laguna de Bay of surplus water, because of that narrow channel, Napindan. And therefore, I have ordered that the channel be widened immediately. I have asked the suspension of the bidding for the construction of this \$ 100-million hydraulic lock structure, which would allow the waters of Laguna de Bay to flow down to the Pasig river into Manila Bay.

I feel that the more important aspect of the problem is to drain Laguna de Bay now of its surplus water. So I have sent dredgers to Laguna de Bay to deepen the lake and widen the Napindan channel. Reports indicate too that the mouth of Pasig river has silted because of this strange confluence of tide and waves and wind and current. We have also ordered the dredging of the Pasig. I announce this because it is my hope that those who are now suffering from the floods will understand that we are trying to work on this immediately, within the short range and the long range basis of the plans that we have already initiated.

We are glad that in every disaster you have helped our disaster coordinating committee or center, because there is a center, as you know, in Fort Aguinaldo, where all communications are directed. It is the center that is run directly by the President and the Minister of National Defense, which coordinates all the efforts of both government and private sector. Some people sometimes think that the Red Cross is doing all the work. Well, the Red Cross advances all the funds and the government repays all such advances. So it is the government that actually spends for the operations even of such charitable institutions like the Red Cross. This is an understanding between the Philippine government and the Red Cross. Of course they have their own funds, and sometimes they spend this without replenishment from the government. The Social Service Ministry and the National Defense Ministry also help as well as all the other Ministries, including that of Industry and Trade.

I am happy to note that one of the most active volunteers in case of a disaster is the Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

During the entire period of my Presidency, which is now completing its thirteenth year, you and I have always cooperated and coordinated, a period which constitutes exactly one-half of the life-span of your organization. I should like to think that it has been the better half of your organization's lifetime. In any case, it has certainly been the period when the federation established itself as the principal link between the government and the Filipino-Chinese community, and emerged as the active agent within that community for its integration into the national life and its mobilization in the national development effort.

During this period the Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry accomplished much. It served as an effective and trustworthy outlet for the generous and humane impulses of your community, collecting and donating millions of pesos for charitable purposes.

The most important of the Federation's social welfare projects has been the long-term program to augment the government's efforts to provide school-houses particularly in the underprivileged communities.

Our population growth has been reduced from 3.01 to 2.6 or 2.5 or thereabout. It still is high. We still have about a million lives added every year. You know what that means in terms of schoolhouses. Every year, we have to add more schoolhouses, more teachers, more educational facilities, or anywhere from 500,000 to 900,000 every year. And this of course strains our resources.

We are indeed very happy to have the federation participating, as representatives of the private sector of your community in setting up the schoolbuildings, especially, in the outlying and distant barangays of our country.

I must acknowledge the fact that you are building a two-story building named after my late father, who was killed during the war. I must say that certainly the federation officials know how to come close to the heart of the President.

But whatever you are doing has certainly promoted brotherhood and the unity among our people. You are well aware that we are fighting an insurgency, an insurgency which seeks to divide our people and pit class against class. You are well aware that the various groups, the leftists and the rightists, have raised the issue of our New Society not exerting the utmost effort to spread wealth equitably. You are demonstrating in your activities the fact that even without government assistance you are there participating in the compassionate effort to uplift the underprivileged. And thus those who have more in law, are getting actually what the better and more affluent elements of our society can't afford to part with.

I am also happy to note the happy relationship that exists between your federation and the various Ministries. You certainly know whom to invite anyway. You have invited here the Ministers of Industry, Minister Paterno; and of Trade, Minister Quiazon; and the Commissioner of the Securities and Exchange Commission. You also have a representative of the Solicitor-General and the Court of Appeals. Now that is quite a lot. Even without the participation of the President, you got a broad base of support. But you are entitled to it and this is what we have always emphasized.

In the past, in the old society, your federation was witness to the fact that government officials would take advantage of power and authority in order to extort not only political funds, but sometimes personal funds from your community. When I became President, I promised you that we would put a stop to all of this, and that there would be no second-class citizens in our country. And this is true not only with your community, it is also true with the hill tribes and other non-Christian tribes to the south: the tribes in my part of the country, the North; in the mountains; the tribes in the South, the Muslims; and the original natives and inhabitants of our country.

We have followed a policy unflinching, resolutely, not allowing any influence whatsoever to veer us from the original objective. That ours will be a nation united, because not only government but the people, the nation itself, have found a single identity — the identity of a Filipino, and that identity will be something of which we can be proud. That each and everyone of us, whatever be your beginning will be able to stand up proudly before anyone, whatever race, country, and clime, and say; I am a Filipino and I am proud of it.

I am indeed happy to see that your community is fast moving towards that day when there will no longer be a difference between those who belong to this federation and those who belong to other federations whether completely Filipino or not.

I notice that you have all kinds of liaison committees with all the Ministries, and other offices, and I am very happy about that. You should continue this liaison. The only office with which you don't have a liaison committee is the Office of the President, and I know the reason for this. I know that your officers can see me any time, because I have ordered and directed that any time there is a problem of the federation the matter shall be brought to my attention personally so I can attend to it.

Now on the question of liberalized naturalization, I notice that the president of your organization is very diplomatic as usual. He said, many have applied and many are on the way to becoming citizens. He did not mention the fact that out of the 40,000 who have applied, about 20,000 have become citizens and the other 20,000 are still pending. I know that he wanted to say, how about hurrying this up. Well, I have the figures here. Under Letter of Instructions No. 170 in 1975, there were 19,334 applicants. I have issued various decrees one of them Decree No. 836, which included about 2,802 petitions approved. Under Presidential Decree No. 923 in 1976, 4,136 were granted citizenship. Under Presidential Decree No. 1055 of November 29, 1976, 4,165 were given Filipino citizenship. Then under Presidential Decree No. 1220 of October 17, 1977, last year, 5,295 or a total of 18,398 were given Filipino citizenship.

Now 2,936 applications are still pending action by the special committee on naturalization. Then I issued LOI No. 491 in which a total of 19,507 applications were filed. The interviews commenced September 1977 at the rate of

about 50 applications per day. That's all that the Solicitor General can handle. In the meantime, I have appointed additional assistant solicitors in order to attend to this backlog. And as of October 16, 1978, a total of 13,245 applications were attended to, or applicants interviewed. And 6,262 petitioners are awaiting interview. No applicant for Philippine citizenship under this latest LOI 491 has been granted Philippine citizenship.

I therefore take this occasion to issue a directive to the Solicitor General and to NISA, the NISA through Major-General Ver. I hereby order that the interviews and the recommendations to the President be now accelerated, so we can approve the applications of those who are cleared by the special committee, of which the Solicitor General is the active agent. Now we have one of the assistant solicitors here. I ask you with the obligation to carry this directive personally to the Solicitor-General, who I think is not yet back from abroad. He is supposed to attend some kind of a meeting in Washington and New York. But as soon as he is back, he will attend to this and we will accelerate the approval of these petitions.

Now we should not interpret the approval of an application as the end of the effort at assimilation and integration. This is just the beginning. The juridical act of naturalization, in the case of the new citizens as in the case of the old ones merely clears the way for actual assimilation and integration. It does not automatically accomplish them.

There remains the long, difficult and complex task of converting a legal commitment into a political, economic, social and cultural one. It is long, difficult, and complex because it requires, in the last analysis, a process of education; not just education in the narrow sense of formal schooling in an institution, although that too is important, but in the broad and permeating influence which our institutions and the entire society itself, with premeditation, can exert on the personal life and allegiances of an individual.

It is obviously not a task for your Federation alone. But I wish to put it in the high priority agenda of your Federation. For if we all fail in this long-term task, not all the good works of the Federation or the President would avail to make up in this essential and indispensable goal.

The last significant activity of the Federation which I wish to cite is the one it undertook as a chamber of commerce and industry and upon my personal appeal. I refer to the Federation's effort that began in 1970 to promote among the overseas Chinese in Asia and America and all over the world, our export trade and the investment opportunities in our country. The Federation's efforts, as you all know, resulted in a number of business missions sent to our country, and eventually in some increase in trade and investments, and in your sending of missions, some of which were headed by your own president and your honorary president.

To this, I would like to add now a request that the Federation participate in clarifying the image of the Philippines abroad. While we do not hold it against the media of the West, or the Western press, to print whatever they feel their perceptions may be of our New Society, you are well aware that there have been distortions of the reality of Philippine society. And the government, as well as our people, are concerned. I know that you are concerned because many of you have called my attention to the fact that the Western press apparently is not doing justice to our New Society and our country. They talk about human rights as if no one here had human rights, of our government as if it were an unpopular government, an undemocratic one, of constitutional authoritarianism, as if it were a tyranny and a dictatorship.

Well, you and I know that there are many deficiencies in our society, but certainly those are not the true faces of our country and our nation. I therefore ask you now to participate in an overall effort to clarify the image of our New Society. In view of your re-commitment today to that new society, I am certain and confident you will go a long way if you dedicate yourselves to this particular task.

Certainly this Federation can play a very crucial role in expanding our country's economic relations increasing our country's economic cooperation not only with our ASEAN member-states, but with other countries including the United States, Europe, England, Japan.

There are, of course, problems as well as opportunities which are immediately discernible in this possible field of endeavor. If the so-called Overseas Chinese communities in the ASEAN member-states constitute separately an

extremely important sector in their respective national economies, and jointly a ready base for quickening intra-ASEAN economic relations, the history of the relations of these Overseas Chinese communities with their host and native populations urges us to take care not to exacerbate latent animosities or upset delicately balanced adjustments and accommodations arrived at with pain and patience.

I came here to assure you that as long as I am President, knowing as you do that I am aware of the great effort that has gone into the maintenance of such a balance in the establishment of such a partnership, you can rest assured that we will continue with this policy, and treat everyone, whether Filipino or not, with justice, fairness and equality.

There is of course the need of these communities under the umbrella of ASEAN, by reasons of numbers, to inevitably play a role which is so crucial and important, to promote cooperation within the regional economy as well as radical harmony within the national communities. This is a goal that cannot be attained without thought, premeditation, and planning. You and I must look into all of this with deep insight, sincerity in our hearts, and mutual trust, and discard all the suspicions that have sprung from the years of turmoil, and organize our efforts, because there is need, my friends, for unity.

This is the second long-term task which is not for the Federation alone to tackle but which nevertheless I wish to place on its permanent and high priority agenda.

In my brief review of your activities during the 12 years of our association and partnership, I have identified those activities where your success and recent developments in our foreign relations have provided this challenge and opportunity to pursue long-term and essential goals.

The record of your achievements assure me that you will be equal to your share of these tasks.

Your government assures you, too, that it will continue to extend to you the strong arm of protection, especially from the Office of the President.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the inauguration of the School of Economics Complex of the University of the Philippines, October 30, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration of the School of Economics Complex of the University of the Philippines

[Delivered on October 30, 1978]

Economics and the Making of Public Policy

I CAME HERE really to find out if my misgivings about the birth of the Economics Complex was well founded or not, to see whether the money was well spent I am very happy to see that it has been.

I am aware that an old alumnus like me always gets carried away by the feelings of homecoming, no matter how much the university changes. The university is always there: It changes and yet it continues. This is the meaning of a university. And long after you and I have departed from this world, the university will still be here, moving, growing, living and continuously expanding, I hope, to a better and greater horizon.

Today, I come to see the expansion of this university into horizons that I have long thought should have been reached. This is not to say that I did what others could not do. It's just that, you know, way back in 1974 or 1975, when I signed the decree, we were in the midst of the oil crisis. It was the time, a few years after the great flood; the oil prices had gone up and we were still importing about \$500 million worth of rice. And our exports in 1975 increased. But before the price went up, the prices went down first. So it was not the most auspicious occasion to start out anew on some kind of a grand planning. But one should not discount the presence of strong hearts like those who now constitute the Board of Trustees, headed by the Minister of Economic Planning and the Dean who from the beginning, wanted this entire complex to prevail against the prophets of doom, and so we now have this complex.

I am indeed very happy that all the dreams and visions have started to be realized. As one who had spent most of his student period in this university, there is always, of course, a special pleasure and thrill in seeing the University of the Philippines change and improve.

The field of economics, of course, is something alien to a lawyer like me. And yet, almost all national problems, short of security, and even security can be reduced as some experts have said, into economic terms, have to do with the economic planning of the New Society. Every national problem almost always seems to relate to economics.

I have been inquiring about the facilities for graduate studies in economics in this country. Of course, I was shocked in the past at finding the insufficiency of our facilities. This is one of the principal reasons for signing the original Letter of Instructions, that would make up for such deficiencies.

We all know that this Center embodies a long history; it has prestige, in that the UP School of Economics, over the years, has been the premier school of economics in the country. Come to think of it, if I had known I was going to be President, I would have studied economics. That's for sure, yes. Anybody who aspires to be President, should consider the need for the study of economics.

We all know that when we christen this institution the Philippine Center for Economic Development, we look back on the past of an institution which all these years has maintained the most critical of ties with the very life of our

country, just as much as we look forward to the Center's role in our contemporary national economic development effort.

It has always been the case that the ideas and viewpoints developed in the UP School of Economics had found their way into the matrix of policy-making in our country. But there is no question that the richness and variety of its thinking has served as an important perspective in policy-making in government.

Perhaps more than in any other department or school of the university, it has been here in the study of economics, where the preoccupation of the university has had the most practical relevance and influence upon the making of public policy. It has been here — in the signal effort at understanding the problems of the national economy and the challenge of engineering development — where our two institutions — the university on the one hand and the government on the other — most often meet as servants of a common quest.

To speak of partnership in these terms between the institution of learning and the government is not to say that the independence of the academy should not be jealously maintained. It is simply to suggest that in a developing country like ours, there will always be, as there has been, a compelling necessity for the society to look to its institutions of learning for support and even for direction.

It is also to suggest that the university's agonizing craving to be relevant and to have an influence on practical affairs — sometimes expressed in radicalism and agitation — should fully be recognized in return by society.

The recognition of this tie between the university and society, and its expression in their active interaction in the affairs of the nation, are indications of our growing maturity and wisdom. When the government recognizes the role of the thinker from wherever he may come, from the university or the professional group or the elite as well as the common man, then government may be said to have come of age. I am very happy to note that these days our government takes advantage of every opportunity to listen to all views, and to utilize them to its advantage and the people's.

We live today in a period of major economic ferment and activity. In which now, more than ever, ideas bear practical weight on our affairs, in which the university intellectual and the university-trained have never been more urgently needed, and in which the role of institutions of learning has never been more explicitly felt.

The thinking that now prevails in our government's approach to the development challenge is nothing if not a strategy that was developed with the active participation and counsel of various sectors in our national life, not the least of which is the university sector. And it is hardly a coincidence that in government today — in the very center of economic planning and direction in government — we find some of the illustrious products of the UP School of Economics.

The principal advisers in economics in government of course come from this institution. I need not point to the Minister on Economic Planning. It is not an accident that some of my principal advisers in government have been professional economists and share their early professional life as instructors and professors in economics here. We have the Minister on Economic Planning, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Budget as prime examples.

Furthermore, it is not an accident that in supporting and expanding the School of Economics, the government as well as the private business sector, expects the school and the university to insure a steady supply of competent economists available from the academic profession.

There are any number of agencies in government that are utilizing the services of your graduates now. I have their number here. I had an account made of those who are actually in the very pivotal and central positions in government. This includes, let's see, 96 agencies and bureaus spread out among 465 graduates. That's a substantial number, isn't it? I am sure that if we were to have the usual test on what would happen if we were take out these men from the government, the answer would be, it would collapse. I certainly think that this is an accolade for this institution. I am happy, therefore, to have been a participant in supporting this particular Economic Complex of the U.P.

I am informed, moreover, that the center now is attending not only to our domestic needs, but is also engaged in performing a key role in the education of economists in the larger ASEAN region. I am gratified that the school, like other segments of the U.P. is extending facilities not only for graduate studies here, but also for advanced educational and technological cooperation with our neighbor countries especially those in the Third World.

Now let me acknowledge the generous assistance of the Japanese government, through its ambassador, for the construction of this particular building, the library conference hall where we are right now. This assistance of the Japanese made possible the construction of this library facilities, and reflects the generosity of the Japanese. I hope this initiative will not only continue but also increase.

It is also my hope that the other building, the third building, that will house the rooms and other facilities of the staff will be finished soon. I gather that this building is on its fourth month.

I gather that the graduate students here are mostly, if not all, supported by scholarships. We need to look into possible scholarships for the undergraduate students too. I certainly would be very happy to encourage the grant of undergraduate scholarships for economics in the U.P.

I hereby announce the grant of scholarships in the undergraduate level whose number I cannot determine, but which we can work out with the team. Such scholarships are to come not only from government, but also from the private sector, and it should be initiated by the Marcos Foundation.

As I said, if the government development plans were prepared with the help of the graduates of this institution, we are approaching a period where we will be in greater need of implementors of economic planning. Thus from planning we must move into implementation.

It is my hope that again this institution will furnish us the necessary materials for this corps of men and women who will actually work out the plans that have been initiated from as far back as rationality in economic planning was infused into the development effort.

Needless to say, our government's vastly expanded role in the economy has occasioned various anxieties especially within the business community who fear government takeover of enterprises as well as the emergence of a welfare state system in our country.

This we have repeatedly sought to allay, and here I say again that it is not Our intent nor our desire to set up a system of welfare statism in our country. We look now, more than ever, to the strength of private enterprise as the force that will enable us to achieve the specific goals and targets of our development plan.

However, there should be no mistaking here that in our view, as was once said, "economics must always be the servant of society." No amount of growth for us will be of any consequence if it does not fill a human or social need. The most efficient factory cannot justify the squalor of slums. And growth is of little meaning if it serves only a fraction of the people.

So if we affirm our commitment to a system of free enterprise in our national development effort, it is also in a sense to look at what we believe to be the creative and beneficent energies of such a system. And I certainly believe that free enterprise, whatever it may have suffered from or been prey to, has the resources and the capability to make change and development in our developing society.

One of the hopes that the system we live by can become a dynamic servant to the aspiration for development, and that within our country, we will have the managerial vision and capability to carry through a demanding effort at modernization, lies in institutions like this, whose life is dedicated to the training of minds for such a task. Here, young men and women will come to teach and to learn, to explore and to discover, to inquire and find answers to those questions that will ever appear in the economic horizons of our nation.

My faith is strong that the Philippine Center for Economic Development will carry forward the already admirable record of the venerable UP School of economics.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 33rd congress of the Jaycees International, November 5, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 33rd congress of the Jaycees International

[Delivered at the PICC, November 5, 1978]

A Resurgent Asia

I WOULD LIKE to greet all the guests, especially the distinguished delegates to this international congress, first of all, the new president of Jaycee International and his lovely lady, Mr. and Mrs. Peterson. Let me also greet the governor of Metropolitan Manila, who, I think, has delivered the keynote speech.

I would like to have delivered that speech that she did — this makes me some kind of a redundancy. But seldom do we go to an opening or inauguration like this together. And seldom do we accept a speaking engagement together. This should be a lesson to me never again to accept such an invitation.

You have come to our country today and you do us honor for having chosen the Philippines as the site of your Congress.

You have chosen to hold the 33rd Congress here in the Philippines. Since the honor is one which, I am told, the Jaycees of Manila and the rest of the Philippines exerted themselves long and hard, by fair means or Jaycee, to win for our country this honor, we shall in addition, wear it as a badge of distinction for the competitive prowess shown by Jaycees bred and raised peculiarly in this country.

You come to a country which since 1972, as has been explained by Mr. Belmonte, now operates under a New Society. He, I think, failed or neglected to mention that martial law was proclaimed because the country was subjected to rebellion, violence, and anarchy. So I hasten to add that under our Constitution, the old as well as the new, there is what is known to classical constitutionalists a provision referred to as the commander-in-chief provision which provides, in case of invasion, insurrection, rebellion or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, the President may call upon the Armed Forces of the Philippines to meet such an emergency. It also provides that the President may, under the same circumstances, suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. The lawyers among you know what this means. It merely means that there is arrest and detention without recourse to the courts directing the release of such detained person.

And the last power granted by our Constitution is, under the circumstances—invasion, insurrection, rebellion, imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it — is that the President may proclaim martial law throughout the Philippines or any part thereof. This was taken from the old fundamental law approved by the United States Congress for the Philippines as a colony way back in 1902, what is popularly known in our country as the Philippine Bill of 1902 and subsequently, the fundamental law known as the Jones Law which consolidated the power of the colonizing authority to stabilize the status quo whenever it was threatened. Many other chief executives before my time have utilized it — both American as well as Filipino. And in this particular case, the rebellion was of such proportion as to threaten the entire stability of our society. It threatened to take over our government so much so that the palace of the people, Malacañang Palace, which is the seat of government was threatened with actual physical takeover by the rebels.

The matter of the proclamation of martial law was not mine to decide alone although the Constitution indicates that the President is the sole authority to determine when it should be proclaimed and when it should be terminated.

I submitted the matter of the proclamation of martial law first to the Constitutional Convention which, providentially, had been convened at the time our Congress was not in session. And this Constitutional Convention, sitting as a constituent assembly, then ratified and confirmed not only the existence of the power of the President but also the need because of such a proclamation, because of a rebellion. This matter was not enough to satisfy the opposition and the opposition demanded or rather suggested it be brought before the people. And so a plebiscite was called. In this plebiscite, the provisions of the Constitution, which ratified and confirmed the transitory provisions which ratified and confirmed martial law, was ratified almost unanimously by the people. Then cases were brought before our Supreme Court. Our courts were still operational and I appealed before that court to defend the constitutionality and the legality of this action. The Supreme Court decided that there was indeed a rebellion and therefore the exercise of martial law powers by the President was constitutional. The matter was debated upon repeatedly on various other cases filed before the Supreme Court. In all those cases, the powers of the government were confirmed as legally exercised.

We, therefore, submitted this repeatedly almost every year in referenda, or a referendum was called for the purpose of determining whether the people wanted martial law to be terminated. In every case, inasmuch as there was still fighting within our territorial limits, the people decided that we should not yet terminate martial law. Notwithstanding this, however, may I add that I think Mr. Belmonte should have added that I called elections barely several months ago. And then I submitted my party or aggrupation, including the position of the First Lady, to an election before the people. Fortunately, we won the greater majority of the members of Parliament. So, now, we have a Parliament, an interim National Assembly which is parliamentary in character. The more accurate statement would be semi-parliamentary, inasmuch as some members of the Parliament are members of the Cabinet.

So, in short, let not this proclamation of martial law deceive you into thinking that you are listening to a dictator. We have submitted ourselves to the people repeatedly on various kinds of votes, whether by plebiscite or by referendum.

But, anyway, the Prime Minister, meaning the leader of the party that won the greatest number of seats in the Parliament, exercises during this interim period the powers of the (old) President.

Now, let's go to more interesting matters. Your theme — "Our Children, Our Future" — is, I am certain, an expression of that spirit of commitment of the Jaycees International to internationalism, brotherhood and progress, which from the beginning have always formed the central concern of its charter.

But your theme, I feel, expresses more than mere spirit and mere commitment. It reflects also the profound preoccupation of mankind itself as it approaches the end of the 20th century with many global problems such as energy, population, poverty, conflict, and development which assail the present and endanger the future of our children.

If we look at our world of the present as presaging our world of the future, we shall find much that will raise our hopes and also much that will arouse our concern. Our hopes, because we have today within reach the means to achieve peace and progress — a single family of man — and concern, because the sources of conflict and the formidable problems remain to be confronted.

Yet, if you ask us in Asia — for I believe that the honor that you have given us in choosing the Philippines is not an honor alone for our country but an honor for all of Asia, and I would presume therefore that the questions that are posed by your theme are posed in the context of Asia — so if you ask us in Asia, in the very seat of many of these global problems that I speak of, what the prospects are for our future, we shall say that our faith is strong that the world of tomorrow will be better, very much better.

And so the first message that I bring to you from Asia is a message of hope. It is hope that is founded on our recent experience in making peace and stability in our region and in the engineering of development in our respective societies.

Although Asia was the seat of two ancient civilizations and of several very old island cultures, most of the modern states of Asia emerged only after the Second World War during the 40s and the 50s, and some as late as the 60s.

These states rose from the ruins of empires, their frontiers in many cases artificially set by the former boundaries of colonies and their new governments burdened by the legacy of centuries of colonialism.

Asia became a major theater of the cold war; it became a very real question whether or not some of these states would survive or were viable at all; whether or not some of these governments could govern well or could govern at all; whether or not the integrity of some of these national territories could be defended or should be maintained at all.

The answer to these questions has become clearer and more certain in the present decade. The new states of Asia, their governments and their territories have survived because the decades of external pressures and foreign interventions, internal dissension and dissidence, as well as border disputes and conflicts were overcome to achieve in such a stability, with some anxious exceptions. This is true with everybody in the region. The independence of these states, the political authority of their governments and the integrity of their national territory have been asserted, demonstrated and confirmed beyond doubt or challenge. In some of these states, serious efforts at social reform and the integration of minority ethnic communities have also greatly advanced national unity and national integration.

The new stability of governments and states in Asia has been enhanced by a second political development in the region. This was the end to the cold war. Most of the Western world speak of the cold war as a theoretical matter of principles as terminated by detente. Detente came with the termination of the war in Indochina.

After a generation of being divided by their militant ideological allegiances into antagonistic alliances, the countries of Asia, socialist and non-socialist alike, have become free at last to regard each other with new appreciation and respect, to recognize each other's sovereignty, to co-exist with different political creeds and social systems, and to explore the avenues of bilateral and even multilateral cooperation in the region.

This detente in Asia has made it realistically possible for us to organize the ASEAN which seeks to establish in Southeast Asia a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Naturality.

I do not make light of the tensions that today appear to trouble Asia's socialist states, and hence the rest of the continent. The dangers of confrontation cannot be ignored, yet the problems are not such that they cannot be resolved by mediation, conciliation and pacific settlement.

I remember that the 60s was declared by the United Nations as the Decade of Development. The declaration was intended to signal a global and sustained effort to achieve a breakthrough in the underdeveloped regions of the world.

As we know, the decade failed to achieve its promise, and the failure produced much discouragement and disenchantment. But we know also from hindsight that it was in this decade that development took root in Asia which bore evident fruit in the following 70s.

Those who look for economic miracles now look towards Asia as the likely setting for the next economic miracle on the planet. After all the economic indicators and watchers will tell you that it was Asia during this decade that registered the highest rates of growth in trade and GNP. Even at a time of world recession, the countries of East Asia and the countries of the ASEAN remarkably maintained the momentum of economic growth and expansion.

But more important than growth rates, because they are more fundamental, are the emergent capabilities of Asian countries for the tasks and challenges of development.

We see these emergent capabilities in the increased competence of the countries of Asia to make development plans, implement them and meet their targets. We see them in the new ability to use trade and economic diplomacy to achieve development goals and to channel foreign aid and foreign investments for the long-term interest of the

recipient and host country. We see them also in the enlarged capacity to provide for the basic needs of the masses of the population.

Perhaps the most remarkable of these emergent capabilities is the one represented by the ASEAN. It is the capability to engage in sustained cooperation to promote the peace, the stability and the development of Southeast Asia.

I have drawn for you a picture of a resurgent Asia. Asia is astir with a new wind of hope. And Asia's children, the children of the poor, may look forward to a better and a more peaceful life.

It is well that we who live in Asia should know this; and it is well that you who wish us well should know this too. For it will give us fresh confidence and new vigor to confront the formidable challenges which have yet to be met.

I shall be candid with you. At the time that ASEAN was founded, very few could see that it would become a significant factor for stability and economic cooperation in this sub-region, but it has become such a stabilizing factor.

It helped of course that the political leadership in nearly all of the member-states which member states are Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines — nearly all of these member-states, the political leadership proved remarkably durable.

But if the contemporary ferment in Asia is to fully result in the improvement of the lot of our millions and in the rise of our societies to the hearthfire of development, it must be sustained and aided by an even larger in character is the movement of the whole world toward true international cooperation and interdependence.

For the conditions of our lives, the problems we face, the goals that awaken us today are interlocked with the life of the rest of the world. For humanity needs to be matched by equally responsive action by all other continents and other nations.

With the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there has lately risen a meeting of minds and of concerns, which holds much promise for the future. We have seen within this decade the new dynamism of what we know today as the Third World, a dynamism that is expressed now in concrete programs of action and in concerted advocacy of international reform. It is our hope that such international reform will receive the support of all right-thinking men irrespective of what class of country they come from, developed or developing.

Many decades ago, in the face of the problems that beset the world of the 30s and the 40s, many writers and intellectuals took turns in dividing the future of man and human society, given the tendencies of that stage. Of these prophets of our lifetime, no one has been more influential in shaping outlook than George Orwell and his book, entitled *1984*, which singularly impressed upon us the kind of society toward which man was headed in this century.

Today, we are only six years away from 1984.

Yet, if you ask us here in Asia and if we look together at the world we live in, at our societies and at our lives; and if we ponder hard upon the problems that beset us in our time, I do not believe that 1984 will turn out to be such a bad year as Orwell predicted.

I think 1984 is worth waiting and fighting for, and living for.

Let the Jaycees therefore then help build the future, for after all they are the young.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 32nd World Assembly of the World Medical Association, November 14, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 32nd World Assembly of the World Medical Association

[Delivered at the PICC, November 14, 1978]

Medicine and Development

ALLOW ME FIRST of all to greet the newly-elected president of this World Medical Assembly, Dr. Romualdez, and congratulate him on his fine speech.

Allow me also to extend the congratulations of our people and our government and of myself personally to Dr. Farally, the outgoing president of this distinguished Assembly.

I greet the distinguished delegates to this world assembly of eminent men of medicine as well as their guests and the members of their delegation.

I greet the staff, administrative and otherwise, of this Assembly, as well as those who are participating in this gathering.

After the speeches by two Romualdezes, I hope you will not hold it against me if I am related to one of them. I am only the husband of the governor of Metropolitan Manila. But certainly you do us the honor by coming a second time to the Philippines.

You came for the first time on my first year as President of the Republic of the Philippines in 1966. We are twice beholden to you, therefore, but it has been further enriched by the election of Dr. Alberto Romualdez as the new president of your Association. I am sure if I were a wiser man, I would not dare to deliver another speech after all those distinguished and certainly lively speeches delivered by the speakers before me. But since I am not a wise man, I will now dare to speak on the same platform. You know, in the Orient, when the lady has spoken, that is the end of the matter. This is one of the burdens of the presidency, I presume.

But allow me to express the profound appreciation of our people and of our government.

Certainly, if I were to speak to our people in the villages now and say that hundreds of the world's most eminent physicians have come from all parts of the globe to speak of rural health, which concerns the man in the village — deprived, lonely, diseased and perhaps desperate—the common man of the Philippines may not believe that indeed such distinguished company has come to dedicate valuable time, and whether in government or in the private sector but altogether in the practice of their profession — adding to the wisdom and the knowledge of man for the alleviation of the miseries of man. This certainly is something which inspires, and thus I take courage in moving into this subject which is very far from the area of the government administrator — science, medicine — although it is a part of development.

While we would like to think that the choice of our country as the site of your present meeting reflects some satisfaction over the proceedings of the earlier Assembly, we are certain that it has been made for a much more important and significant reason, namely the deep concern of the Association over the state of health care in the developing countries today.

And you could not have chosen perhaps a more fitting setting in which to express this concern than here in this part of Southeast Asia, where you will find juxtaposed the formidable health problems in the Third World today, and the exciting and encouraging efforts being undertaken to solve them.

You come to a country that is in transition in every way — political, economic, social, material and spiritual — for we have just started what we would like to call the New Society. In confronting a rebellion which sought to overwhelm our Republic, we are now in the process of radically transforming our society. It is a transformation for and on behalf of the greater number of our people. Some observers call it the “revolution of the poor.” It is indeed an infusion of rationality into the efforts of those who aspire to social engineering.

The Philippines is a small and developing country. It has about 47 million people. It has a birth rate that is beyond average. It used to be 3.01 percent when I first became President; now it's 2.6, 2.8, give or take .102. We are seeking to reduce our birth rate.

One of the problems that face a developing country, one of the most cruel problems of a developing country, is health.

We cannot but believe that this Assembly, in meeting so close to the very throb of global health issues, will all the more be discerning in its deliberations, and all the more be forceful in its actions for relief.

I think that if we look back over the interval of 12 years that have lapsed between the last time you convened in Manila and the present Assembly, there can be no doubt that there has been substantial progress in the field of medicine and some appreciation in the quality of health care in much of the developing world.

Yet in other respects, during this interval and despite the unprecedented progress in medical research and technology, health conditions have not entirely improved. Indeed, one suspects that in certain areas there has been much retrogression, as major problems connected with health — such as those of mass poverty, overpopulation, malnutrition, shortage of resources, and urban decay — have exceeded the capabilities of nations.

We cannot now presume that simply because the science of medicine continues to astound us with new discoveries and new knowledge, it follows that more and more of earth's children are being reached and saved by medicine for fruitful and rich lives.

We dare not assume that because the position of the developing countries today with respect to their development efforts appears to be improving, despite untold pressures and crisis, it necessarily follows that national and global health policies and programs are on target.

In this the second assembly of the World Medical Association to be held in our country, we in the Third World would anxiously hope that its deliberations will not just produce more of what we have heard before, but more that is better; that it will produce new initiatives to the relief of blighted communities; that it will bring forth new programs in the developing nations; and that it will seed an irreversible momentum for medical progress in the developing societies.

Nothing is more fundamental to all that we in the developing countries seek today than the provision of better health services to our long-deprived populations, for ill-health is the cruellest enemy in the pursuit of development by our societies; and it is all the more cruel because medical progress has so advanced in our century as to make intolerable the fact that illness and disease continue to blight so many lives all over the planet.

I think that in its choice of a theme, this Assembly has not failed to grasp this problem in the developing nations. For in pinpointing the subject of health manpower in the rural areas, we touch one very vital core of the problems we face today in the field of health care: the tremendous shortage of health man power in the Third World, and indeed the world over.

This is a problem that also bedevils the developed nations, but in the developing countries, it is twice as debilitating because life and death is virtually the issue.

Among the developing nations, the Philippines is perhaps a little advanced in the field of medicine, in having a fairly creditable and well-developed medical education program. We have reason to be proud of the quality of our health manpower, but the fact is that we continue to be troubled by inadequate medical manpower to undertake delivery of basic health services in our rural areas.

Nothing is more ironic than the fact that developing countries like the Philippines, India, Pakistan and the West Indies should supply so much medical manpower to highly advanced countries like the United States and Europe. The yearly exodus of health manpower becomes even more a matter of anguish because of the costs incurred in training such personnel.

In 1976, it was revealed that about 140,000 doctors were working outside their native countries, and that about 700 million pounds a year was being spent on training medical students who would eventually emigrate.

It is a problem that surely must excite the attention of the governments as well as the medical community, if we are truly to grapple in specific terms with the problem of health manpower in the rural areas.

In one estimate made about two years ago, Asia would need almost three times its health manpower today in order to place on stream an effective health care delivery system. There are differences in the respective situations of many countries, but the severity of manpower shortage is incontrovertible.

Each nation must work out the incentives to retain its own medical manpower. But basic to this is a more economically progressive rural development program.

Yet, arresting the medical brain drain alone would not suffice to relieve the problem we face. As our own studies of the problem have shown us, we need today a restructured medical training program fitted to the immediacy of our needs. This matter has been referred to by the governor of Metropolitan Manila in her speech. This has meant in the Philippines adopting a new policy for the development of new skills and new types of health workers. This has meant adopting shorter-term training programs for medical aides and technologists. This has meant speeding up training in the various health professions.

The nagging question of course is whether we can truly speed up the education of doctors and other health personnel without sacrificing the quality of training; and whether we can further improve the utilization of available health manpower.

It is my belief that here in this assembly, exchanges of experiences and insights among the delegates will greatly enlighten us on the real options available.

To speak of health manpower, however, is also to tackle in the end a vastly larger area of problems which are our daily staple in the developing communities. And I would be surprised if in the course of your deliberations, you did not discuss these other matters. For they appear to me germane to what we seek to solve in the manpower sphere.

The high cost of health care is certainly one such area which is critically related to the manpower challenge. The implication of this is that in the developing countries, much of the challenge must be borne by a committed government health service that is ably supported by the private sector.

Increasingly, there is no question that we must make progress towards the adoption of a system that will take away the prohibitive costs of medical care and temper the monetary aspect of the medical profession. I know that this is not an easy issue before the medical profession. And I myself have always advocated for freedom in the exercise of the medical profession, but medicare programs and socialized medicine are surely one option that must ever be considered by the governments of the developing countries.

Then also, we cannot ignore anymore the singular conclusion gained from years of effort: the knowledge that prevention of illness is far more economical and desirable than health cure. This must at the very least lead to a full study and reexamination of the manner we deploy our resources.

In the developing countries, where resources are all too finite and limited, the matter of addressing the issue of prevention and care is a virtual imperative. And it is indeed one note of encouragement and hope today that in many developing countries, we are at last learning to cope with the basic causes of diseases, and to pay attention to social and environmental factors necessary to healthful living.

This in sum is the promise of the new attention to food and nutrition programs, to family planning, to agricultural development, ecology, and the challenge of development itself.

It has been said that a people that recovers its dignity and self-respect, nobility, if you will, is a people that will learn to prevent and cure diseases by itself. For health or the environmental factors that affect health are deeply ingrained in the racial or national psyche. Health requires peace, stability. It requires a people that has become hopeful of the future. It presumes a government that can govern. Without all these, health becomes a marginal concern whether in the urban or the rural areas, a marginal concern for both the governor and the governed.

Finally, we must cite as an indispensable part of change in health conditions in the rural areas the work of international organizations, both official and private, which for many years now have served to link up efforts on a global scale. I think specially of the work done by the World Health Organization which has done much to sharpen our understanding and methods of coping with our problems in the area of health care.

I think also of private communities such as the World Health Medical Association, which over its long and eventful history has ably carried on the high traditions of the medical profession and is perhaps second to none in altruism and compassion.

So long as the deprived men can see the distinguished men of science and medicine gathering on their own time to meet the problems from which they seem to be but are not personally removed, so long as we see them show their concern, then man will continue to retain his faith in his fellowmen.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the closing session of the 4th National Business Conference, December 7, 1978

Exports: Today's Concern

THIS IS THE fourth time in as many years that this conference is being held, and I feel that this year's meeting is special and momentous. You will perhaps remember that a year ago, I took occasion to exhort your third conference to take up the challenge of unifying all business groups in our country into a single organization that will serve as the united voice of our entire business community.

Today, this fourth conference meets under the auspices of the organization that has been the result of your initiative to unify our business community—the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It is true that this unification did not proceed without difficulty, and that even now there still are other business groups which are not represented in this united chamber; but after one year of effort, I am convinced that we now have the nucleus of a dynamic and cohesive business organization. I truly hope that in time, every Filipino businessman will look to it for leadership and representation.

I believe that unity is necessary for the attainment of our national development goals. Increased business participation and involvement in the formulations of policies and programs, which I have invited since the institution of our crisis government, cannot be effectively realized without a unified organization and a single voice for the entire business sector of the Philippines. We have come to appreciate the value of their well-informed and dynamic professionalism in the business community. We in government have come to expect their continued involvement in the formulation and implementation of our future programs.

I, therefore, wish to sign in your presence a letter of instructions which recognizes this organization. This LOI is entitled "The Recognition of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry as the Official Representative of the Private Business Sector in its Relationship with the Philippines." In your presence, I have the honor and pleasure to sign this letter of instructions.

I feel that today is the best time to discuss with you the present economic situation. I will try to assess what we have accomplished this year and what we may face in the coming year.

But allow me to digress. You know, the Minister of Energy came in late and insisted that he submit to me his report on the sixth discovery of oil. It changes the entire complexion of my speech. Let me read some of the facts that he has referred to in his report, and hope to find their relevance to the assessment that I am about to make.

A drill stem test, he reports, has been made successfully on Matinloc No. 1, and oil was flared at a rate of 7,075 barrels today. This drilling is located 50 kilometers northeast of the Nido complex. You will remember that the Nido complex has been programmed to produce 40,000 barrels per day, which will account for about 15 percent of our requirements.

Well, I can only say that this probably also requires a reassessment of the entire energy program. Since the Minister of Energy has come up with this information, I, therefore, order him to conduct a reassessment of the entire energy program and to submit this to me within a period of one week.

Now, let me go back to what I was about to say. We must conduct a reassessment of our economic development program especially in relation to exports. We have accomplished this year, particularly in the export sector, something which is less than we aimed for. We have advanced inspite of unfavorable world conditions, as you have put well in your resolutions. But our best efforts so far have failed to fully achieve their targets.

I say this not to discourage you but to spur you on. Our best efforts will simply have to be better. That is the long and the short of my message for you today. We shall have to do better in our economic diplomacy, whether alone or in concert with other similarly disadvantaged nations. But the fruits of economic diplomacy require a long season

for ripening, and so we must rely immediately on our other efforts—the combined efforts of the private and the public sectors—to produce and to sell more and to do better in the coming year.

In the year now ending, there were many instances where once more the national economy proved its resilience and capability for growth. But then also, we see in the coming year the prognosis of new crises and difficulties which will clearly exact the utmost of resourcefulness, vision and leadership on both the business community and the government.

A judicious reading of the currents requires a review of the highlights of the national economic performance in 1978.

The slow pace of recovery in the world economy continued to prevail in 1978. This has contributed largely to the somewhat disappointing though creditable level of our economic performance.

The 1978 GNP growth rate of 6 percent falls short of the 7.5 percent growth rate targeted in the national development plan. Much of this is due mainly to the depressed conditions of overseas markets, which affected our export receipts, but there was in addition a perceptible slowdown in the output of some productive sectors.

Volatile currency fluctuations, slower trade conditions and increased protectionist pressures have contributed to the slowing down in exports. Prices of our country's major export products, notably sugar, copper and wood, were generally depressed.

At another point, the agricultural sector showed below-par improvements mainly because of seasonal factors. A prolonged drought holds dim chances of copra production showing a significant increase over last year's. Sugar production went down by 11 percent from the 1977 harvests. Forestry output also declined owing to unfavorable world market conditions.

As a whole, the agricultural sector registered a slower growth rate of 3.9 percent compared to the previous year's 5.6 percent growth.

In contrast, the industrial sector showed an encouraging pace, posting a 6.6 percent growth rate which compares favorably with the 6.8 percent growth rate registered between the first semesters of 1976 and 1977.

And this creditable expansion has been mainly due to two factors that are germane to our total development plan: first, there was the rapid growth in electricity, gas and water services. This sector posted a 13.4 percent growth rate as government pursued its policy of improving lights and water services. The overall value of the electricity-gas-water sector reached P373 million.

The second factor was expanded construction activities. The renewed activity in government housing and other infrastructure programs, coupled with renewed private construction activities, has been responsible for accelerating the growth rate of the construction sector to 9.7 percent. The overall value of construction activities, at constant 1972 prices, reached P2.7 billion.

As a result, the value of the output from the industrial sector went up from P13 billion in 1977 to 13.8 billion (at constant 1972 prices) in 1978.

The manufacturing sector, which accounts for about 70 percent of income originating from the industrial sector, managed a 5.5 percent growth rate, a decrease from its 9.9 percent growth in 1977. The 5.5 percent increase was due mainly to higher outputs in food, beverages and tobacco (7.0 percent), wood and wood products (9.7 percent), non-metallic products (6.2 percent), and basic metal industries (2.6 percent).

In contrast, however, production went down in the textile and wearing apparel industries, leather industries, and the chemical, petroleum, coal, rubber and plastics products group.

Production by the mining and quarrying sector also posted a slower growth rate of 8.0 percent compared with last year's increase of 19.4 percent. This was largely due to the continuing unfavorable world market conditions.

The agriculture-fishery-forestry sector showed an overall increase of only 2.9 percent compared to the previous year's growth rate of 3.4 percent.

This decrease stemmed from the 6.4 percent decline in the production of livestock, poultry, and other animals, from the sudden drop of 0.2 percent in fishery products, the slower growth of 1.3 percent in palay or rice output, and the 3.8 percent drop in com products. Forestry output also declined owing to unfavorable world market conditions.

The services sector continued to expand from 6.2 percent during the previous year to 6.4 percent in 1978. The total value of output from this sector went up to P15.9 billion at constant 1972 prices from last year's P15 billion. This sector accounted for a bigger share in terms of contribution to GNP, about 3.9.2 percent of GNP with its P15.99 billion output, whereas the industrial and agricultural sectors contributed 34.1 percent and 26.7 percent, respectively.

The rate of expansion might have been slower if not for the upsurge of domestic investment activities which yielded modest gains in economic output for 1978.

Investments in durable equipment during the first semester of 1978 went up to P4.5 billion or by 5.3 percent from the P4.1 billion in the first semester of 1977. This activity, coupled with renewed government and private construction activities, resulted in an overall growth of 11.6 percent in gross domestic capital formation, which closed at P11.2 billion in 1978 compared to P10 billion in 1977, at constant 1972 prices.

Foreign investment inflows, however, were less this year than in 1977, again because of the unfavorable world economic situation and difficulties faced by investors in their home countries. Throughout the year, we maintained our policy of promoting the entry of foreign investments into the national economy.

These indicators of national economic performance and the general economic climate, it should be emphasized, do not connote a retrogression in our capabilities, or a weakening in the momentum of economic growth. Manifestly, the economy has grown at a creditable rate, and our policies governing the national economy are proving themselves in actual performance. But the actual performance has not nearly been enough to satisfy our cherished targets. And now, in expectation of a new and difficult year, we clearly must set our sights on doubling our efforts on many fronts and on strengthening overall management of the national economy.

In this effort to meet these new challenges and the targets in the new development plan, we have to look first to our policies for the economy, and to our programs embodying these policies.

I sound this note about our holding fast to the policies clearly enunciated in our development plan, because apparently the expectation of crisis has led some sectors to propose alarming remedies even at this stage. I find, for instance, the recent bill relating to the nationalization of vital industries an action which can only be the product of superficial study of our economic situation. Indeed, such a bill, if it became law, would fundamentally alter the policy which we have long maintained, and here I would reiterate our government's policy to look to the resources, vision and knowhow of free enterprise for the achievement of productivity and growth in the national economy.

Nothing can be more disruptive at this time than the measure to nationalize major industries. For this runs counter to the spirit of our investment policy, which encourages participation of foreign investors in economic effort; it also runs counter to the rule of free enterprise in our economic development. I, therefore, hasten to reassure the members of the business community that we do not contemplate any change in our policy. The system is not about to be unhinged.

In the same manner must we restate and strengthen our adherence to the other pillars of economic policy in our country today, of which export promotion and development ranks very high.

I single out for discussion the subject of our export strategy, because of the special stress of this conference on the subject of export development as the key to national economic growth.

Almost all developing countries today have known and experienced the need to increase and diversify their exports. For some, the compulsion to export is born of extreme necessity. Thus, we have witnessed the so-called economic “miracles” of such export-dependent economies as South Korea and Taiwan, which have been propelled mainly by well-planned and intensified, centralized efforts to develop and promote their exports in order to survive.

For the Philippines, the alternatives are less harsh. Our country, as you all know, is rich in natural resources, which by themselves can, and do, generate a good measure of economic growth. We have, therefore, not felt a compelling need to rely heavily on export growth at the beginning of our planning. However, we have now reached that stage in our development where we have to devote greater attention to increasing our export earnings. For exports will play a vital and increasing role in the total development thrust of the country, although not to the extent of our becoming an export-dependent economy.

I remember that in my meeting with the Philippine Export Council and the export community last March, I indicated that export earnings were estimated to provide on the average about 57 percent of the country’s total foreign exchange requirements for the next five years. This represents the magnitude of the inputs which we need to acquire from abroad, consisting mainly of raw materials, capital equipment and technical knowhow, in order to attain the development objectives of our current five-year development plan. To the extent that we do generate the foreign exchange required, to that extent will we realize greater self-reliance for our country.

We would certainly be more self-reliant if we are able to pay for as much of our development requirements out of our own trade earnings, rather than from foreign loans or aid. In the final analysis, trade is more important than loans or aid as a source of foreign exchange, since we can utilize our trade receipts in the best manner we see fit without conditions and restrictions.

But there is more to exports than just the aspect of generating foreign exchange earnings. We refer, of course, to the employment generated by export industries. As you are aware, our policy is to encourage export projects which are labor-intensive, especially if they locate in other regions of the country or in depressed areas within Metro Manila. Such industries as garments, electronics and handicrafts are encouraged because they create work opportunities which can mean additional income and, therefore, improve living standards for many people.

The garment industry, for example, is the largest single industry employer in the Metro Manila area, giving jobs to over 150,000 people. One company making electronic components can employ as many as 3,000 workers at any one time. So the possibilities for job generation are enormous, and our export program will play an important role in the national job creation program recently launched by the Ministry of Human Settlements.

The pattern of Philippine exports up to the early Seventies reflected two basic characteristics: a lopsided dependence on a few traditional, primary commodities, and a marked dependence on two major trading partners, the United States and Japan.

For many years, 10 primary export commodities consistently accounted for over 75 percent of total country exports, approximately 70 percent of which was absorbed by the United States and Japan.

This resulted in an erratic export performance for the country, since primary commodities are extremely vulnerable to price fluctuations and economic conditions in the world market on the one hand; while on the other, dependence on two major markets meant that the country’s exports would float or sink with the economic situation of these markets.

To remedy the situation, we restructured export priorities with the enactment of the Export Incentives Act in August of 1970, in order to encourage export diversification, specifically, to stimulate growth of non-traditional exports, particularly manufactures.

Earlier that year, we also launched a stabilization program which involved a substantial adjustment in the exchange rate of the peso. This floating rate of exchange effectively corrected the overvalued exchange rate which up to then had penalized exports and subsidized imports. These two events signalled a clear and positive attitude toward exports as a source of economic growth.

The export profile in the 8-year period 1970-77 is indicative of business response to the new thrust toward non-traditional exports. While total exports tripled from US\$1,142.2 million to US\$3,150.9 million, non-traditional exports increased 10 times from US \$107.6 million to US\$1,040.6 million. From a share of 9.42 percent of total exports in 1970, non-traditional exports attained a share of 33 percent of total exports in 1977 or US\$ 1,040.65 million of total exports worth US\$3.15 billion.

Now, the upsurge in exports of non-traditional items was so positive that by 1977, five non-traditionals had pushed their way into the country's top 10 export earners, with garments and clothing taking fifth slot, electrical and electronic equipment and components sixth, nickel seventh, and handicrafts and bananas coming in eighth and tenth, respectively. Market dependence on the United States and Japan was also increasingly reduced as the Philippines continued to make significant inroads into new markets such as Western and Eastern Europe, the Middle East countries and our Asian neighbors.

Notwithstanding, however, the buoyancy of Philippine exports during the last few years, and the creditable success of our efforts to diversify products and markets, the country needs to do more in order for the export sector to fulfill the role assigned to it in the Philippine Development Plan for 1978-1982, particularly in the light of the ever-growing protectionism and sluggish performance of the world economy.

The expansion of exports is closely related to the general objective of improving the quality of life of every Filipino as documented by the new five-year Philippine Development Plan. This plan stresses the equitable sharing of both the country's wealth and the costs incurred in the pursuit of socio-economic progress.

Quantified, these goals require an average annual increase in the current gross national product of 15.3 percent. Assuming a yearly population growth rate of 2.9 percent until 1987, per capita GNP is expected to grow annually by five percent during the next 10 years.

To contribute to the achievement of these desired GNP and per capita targets, exports are expected to expand at an annual rate of 18.5 percent at current prices for the five-year period 1978-1982, and 18.8 percent for the 10-year period 1978-1987.

Supportive, therefore, of the overall national development goals, the foreign trade sector's objectives are to:

- 1) Increase export earnings;
- 2) Import commodities in sufficient amounts to support essential consumer and production requirements;
- 3) Include more processed and labor intensive products in the composition of exports;
- 4) Diversify export markets and import sources; and
- 5) Disperse export linkages among the regions.

A large part of total export earnings will still come from non-manufactures, although its share is expected to decline. Manufactured products are expected to contribute a major portion of the export expansion, with their share of total exports reaching 50 percent by 1987.

A shift in the direction of Philippine trade is also expected. Traditional trade partners like the United States and Japan will absorb a smaller combined share of 53 percent in 1982, and down to 50 percent by 1987.

Thus, with the initial year of our current five-year plan almost over, it is pertinent to ask how we are doing with respect to the achievement of these targets and objectives.

Based on preliminary statistics compiled by the Central Bank and other sources, the following are the highlights of our export performance in 1978:

1) Exports for the first 10 months (Jan.-Oct. 1978) grew by only 5.3 percent over the equivalent period last year. This indicates that the targeted growth of 17.9 percent for 1978 will not be achieved.

2) A trade deficit of US\$ 1.045 billion has already been incurred as of October 1978 and is projected to reach a level of US\$1,268 billion by year-end. Now, you must note that our development plan actually projects a trade deficit of US\$1.008 billion for 1978, based on targeted growth of exports and inputs of 17.9 percent and 14.5 percent, respectively. Since exports volume has not met its growth targets, consequently we have had to cut back on our import growth target for the year just to maintain our trade deficit within reasonable bounds. Our imports for the first 10 months, therefore, ran only at 1.0 percent above the equivalent period last year.

3) Traditional exports, which comprised two-thirds of our total exports last year decreased in value by 5 percent over the equivalent 10-month period last year. Sugar accounted for much of the decline, earning only US\$124.87 million in 10 months as compared to \$344.02 million during the same period last year—a difference of almost \$220 million.

4) Finally, it would seem that the only bright note has been the continued upsurge in the performance of our non-traditional exports, which have compensated largely for the sluggish performance of some of our traditional exports. For the first 10 months, non-traditionals have already accounted for 37 percent of total exports generated. I understand that this conference is very well represented by the non-traditionals. To each and every one of them, my congratulations.

You may well ask the question that I have asked of everybody in government: Why, then, are we not doing so well? Part of the reason, of course, has been the extreme vulnerability of our traditional exports to the vagaries of the world commodity market. While we are steadily shifting the structure of our exports to more processed and manufactured goods, the bulk (two-thirds) of the products we market abroad are still primary commodities or raw materials which other countries process further into finished goods.

And in addition, as I said, there has been greater and growing protectionism in world trade today and the generally sluggish performance of the world economy.

But are these enough to explain why our exports are not doing so well? Trade statistics show that among 8 countries in our immediate region (Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Hongkong, Taiwan, South Korea), we have been at the tail-end in terms of total export performance for at least the past three years. Indonesia, of course, has its oil exports, but we are behind Malaysia and Thailand whose exports are also largely composed of primary commodities. South Korea is well on its way to achieving its US\$ 12.5 billion target for this year, and Taiwan is expected to surpass this. As of October, Taiwan exports have already reached a level of US\$ 10.25 billion, or an average of slightly over US\$1 billion of exports per month.

Of course, the bulk of the exports of Taiwan and South Korea are manufactured goods, and as I indicated earlier, they are countries whose economies rely on exports to survive. But this is not enough to explain away our dismal growth performance. These countries face the same vagaries, the same protectionism, the same world economic difficulties that we do. Why can they do better than us? Why should we be at the tail-end? Particularly at this stage where our cost of development is rising and exports are expected to provide a larger share?

In the past two or three years, and even in recent months, the government has undertaken various measures to revitalize foreign trade and encourage exports, particularly non-traditional exports. Some of these measures are the following:

- 1) Continuous review and updating of tariff and customs duties;
- 2) Intensive negotiations abroad to improve the entry of our products into foreign markets;
- 3) Improvement of export financing facilities. The Central Bank has greatly expanded its rediscounting facilities and made interest rates for exporters internally competitive. We have activated the Philippine Export and Foreign Loan Guarantee Corporation.

Incidentally, as I was going over the resolutions, I noticed the request for the increase in the IGF loan ceiling from P500,000 to P2.5 million for small industries. Now, the matter, of course, requires the study it is entitled to. At the same time, it will "be necessary to determine exactly whether the right persons are getting all these loans that we have been extending. And whether the truly smaller producers are getting the loans and not the big fellows. I would presume, however, considering the difficulty of collaterals and security, that probably under the "big brother" concept initiated by Human Settlements, money can now be borrowed by the bigger fellows and by the smaller producers without too much additional interests. This is something that we will have to study. I can immediately read the complexion of this conference from the clapping. But it is true that this will require a more detailed study, and this should be the orientation of such a study.

- 4) We have taken steps to conserve our natural resources and to encourage more processing of finished goods.
- 5) We have taken steps to rationalize overly protected import-substituting industries to improve efficiency and the competitiveness of our products abroad.

Here again, we must review not only the policy but the implementation. It will be necessary for us to go into all, not only the broad orientation and policy but also the manner of implementation of policy. I suspect that somewhere along the line, some minor clerk is causing all the troubles. We will look into this.

- 6) We are encouraging the establishment of large-scale, integrated trading companies to improve our trading leverage abroad. The idea is to organize not only production facilities but also the local purchasing of products for export abroad. The rules and regulations should be ready for application by January 1 of the coming year.

- 7) We have promulgated sales tax incentives for the so-called indirect exporters (P.D. 1469).

- 8) We have provided the system for exempting exporters from the requirements to ship in Philippine vessels. I notice that the exporters of non-traditional products are asking for exemption from the payment of marginal fees and the export and premium tax. This, I think, requires serious consideration, actually sympathetic consideration. We will certainly look into this.

- 9) The Board of Investments should now be given more leeway in the grant of incentives. Under P.D. 1584, we have done so, given it the leeway, and I think that now we should move toward the liberalization of this authority and power granted to the Board of Investments.

- 10) We have attempted to simplify export procedures, but I am not content with what has resulted from this supposed simplification. I intend to order new simplification. Can we not, say, put the entire procedure in one house, in one office system? It is certainly a very sad situation when the President has to look into this himself. I am not publicly criticizing the Ministry of Trade or the Ministry of Industry, but I guess they know exactly how I operate. And I hope that you will do something about this immediately.

- 11) Now, about the long-term financing that is required for the export industry of Philippine goods and services, I think, first of all, that the present system is unwieldy and difficult. I think we should be more ingenious and know better than to adopt the present obviously ineffective system. I am now convinced, after an overall study, that, because of all these measures, we have not yet been able to take off and do better. I, therefore, conclude that it is

now necessary to review all over again the policy and the rules of implementation and the actual implementation of the entire code of export policies of the Philippines.

I, therefore, order— this is not a part of my speech, and I am sure that this is going to surprise the National Economic and Development Authority—but I order the NEDA to meet jointly with the Cabinet as soon as possible and start a complete revamp, reassessment and a rewriting of the export policy of the Philippines and its specific applications to the various problems that have been pointed out in this conference and in this speech of mine.

Now let us scan the trade horizon in the coming years. We will certainly witness China's active participation in world trade. The requirements of its modernization program are so vast that China has to generate the massive foreign exchange to support its ambitious program that has been talked about. Even now, we shall start asking ourselves the directions we have to take, the policy reorientations we should start and more specifically, the industries we have to develop and the export strategies we have to adopt, to be able to cope with possible increasing competition from other developing countries.

So, it is opportune that we reexamine the entire export program, the financing scheme, the feasibility of setting up a medium to long-term export financing fund to be administered by the Development Bank of the Philippines, Philippine National Bank or any other financial institution. Focusing not only on trade and commercial credits but more specially on export production loans. The other types and forms of financial assistance extended by the Central Bank and the Philippine Export and Foreign Loan Guarantee Corporation to export industries will have to be systematized to give an integrative approach to export financing.

I have already spoken of simplifying the export procedures. I believe that this will require the coordination of the various ministries.

It is in this direction that the Office of the President will now take positive steps. And I order, therefore, the establishment of an office under the President to resolve actual problems and issues involving procedural bottlenecks and processing lags arising from actual exportation cases and issues. I will make the appointment as soon as possible. I suggest that the chamber now appoint its liaison officer for this particular office in order that we may resolve any specific cases which we consider a block to the implementation of the export program of the government.

I, therefore, am taking a personal hand in the matter of exports as of today.

I believe that we are not lacking in good planning or in policies. To be sure, we may have to change many of our policies, including tax policies, financing, incentives and the like. But I believe it's rather in the implementation of our plans, programs, and policies where we find the lag in performance. From various reports and the feedback that I have been receiving, it appears that there is a wide gap between plans and implementation, between day-to-day action and policies, to the extent that operating practices are actually inconsistent or in conflict with enunciated policies and plans.

These are serious obstacles to the entire government, and we must eliminate such obstacles immediately. I, therefore, enjoin all ministers and heads of agencies that have anything to do with export trade to keep this in mind and to devote some of their time to seeing to it that our policies are implemented to the last operational detail. I have noticed that the Cabinet members have attended to nothing but policy. Now, I think we should come down a little and get both our feet back on the ground instead of talking in such great and flamboyant terms. But this, of course, is natural; due to the pressures of our responsibilities, government leaders naturally tend to concentrate on the fundamental as it were. We love to say, these are the fundamentals. These are the important ones. Actually, they have been talked about for the past several decades. We know all about them, but we don't implement them. This is what we must be doing now.

Well, how about the private sector? We know that the officials in government have not been exactly model public servants in the implementation of policy. We must now, however, get the private sectors to cooperate. Let's think in

terms of exports for the country instead of profits for oneself. If we can agree on this, I have no doubt whatsoever and there is no reason whatsoever why we cannot attain our objectives.

I am resolved that the government, the various ministries, and the office of the Presidency will do their utmost to fulfill their task in this critical program. So, in the same spirit I would, therefore, remind you in the business community of your responsibilities and your role in this signal effort.

We ask you, therefore, to contribute your share, which is the greater share since we are a free enterprise society.

Our fundamental goal is more exports and, therefore, we must depend upon the private sector for such exports.

As we brace ourselves for our task in the coming years, let us take firm note of the central place that our export development holds in the total national development plan. The attainment of modernization of our economic life can be brought about only if the private sector—which is the cutting edge of reform, the active element in reform—will participate. And I am certain that after today, realizing the crucial importance of exports, on which our very survival depends, you will perform your role with dedication, with patriotism, and of course, with some profits. We will help you attain these ends—reasonable profits, that is.

The Philippines, a developing country, no matter how finite its resources and no matter how disadvantaged in international commerce, need not always wait upon the benevolence of others to advance and to develop, so long as it has the will and the vision to shape its future. I see this as our common charge, the charge of government as well as of the business community, to show to our country that we have the will, we have the vision for our future.

Let it be our response that we do not reject this charge but gladly embrace it. And let it be our resolve that we will do better in the coming year, whatever may be the consequences that we will have to face in the international and domestic scene.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos at the closing ceremonies of the first Southeast Asian Convention on Planning and Housing, December 15, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the closing ceremonies of the first Southeast Asian Convention on Planning and Housing

[Delivered on December 15, 1978]

The Housing Challenge

I HAVE COME all the way from the North to attend this closing-day meeting. I understand you extended it, and for this I am very grateful.

As you close your convention today with all these resolutions which General Tobias seeks to impress me, I have no doubt that he has been performing his job rather well. I would like to express of course my gratitude that the Philippines was selected to host this first meeting of planners and developers in Asia. It is our earnest hope that your conference, your discussions during these last few days, will lead to more fruitful dialogue and exchanges among the member nations of ASEAN and also among the members of the Philippine Council for Planning and Housing.

Your convention represents another vital link in the strong bond of partnership and cooperation which today joins the more than 200 million people of Southeast Asia. As one who has steadfastly sought with other leaders the emergence of a dynamic and cohesive regional community in our part of Asia. I know only too well the larger import of your initiative to develop interchange in the area of planning and housing.

It is, I believe, a development reflective of the tremendous progress we have made in ASEAN when our countries gather to consult and exchange with one another on a topic so germane to social development in our respective societies — the housing challenge.

When joined with the discussions and activities now taking place in the political, economic and cultural spheres, your conference on planning and housing provides a new and important dimension to the quest for answers to the problems of our societies.

As the first regional convention on planning and housing to be organized in Southeast Asia, your meeting may well have provided us a venue through which we can come to grips with the realities of our urban renewal and housing projects.

Those who have preceded me at this forum, both those representing the Philippine Ministry of Human Settlements and those representing the other ASEAN governments, have offered varied yet complementary insights on the housing problem in Southeast Asia. Some have spoken of the need for Southeast Asia to develop its own specialists who can fill the need for vision and expertise in developing effective housing programs for our populations. Others have talked of galvanizing the support of private enterprise in filling the critical housing needs of our millions today. And still there are those who have proposed that in the light of our remarkably similar problems, our countries should try to pool their resources in the development of the local communities in our countries.

One cannot miss in all that has been said that in our region today, housing must be regarded as a critical challenge before our societies, and that we ought to develop the will to undertake resolute effort together.

In a sense, the housing problem is but another face of the terrible duality which since time immemorial has always locked our societies in crisis: the gulf between the city and the countryside, between rich and poor, between industry and agriculture, between educated and uneducated.

It is a reflection of the duality of the developing economies that when the gulf intensifies or is extreme, the rural or poor sector falls into deeper decay, and this results in what the economist Schumacher once described as “the three giant evils threatening the life of all society: mass migration into cities, mass unemployment, and the specter of famine.”

Each of these evils represents a root cause for the terrible shortages we now experience.

It should go without saying that for any housing effort to be effective and availing, it must be woven into the mold of our strategies for transforming the developing economy into a dynamic and progressive one. We cannot abstract the housing effort from the other vital programs of any society or of any government — the programs that are vital to the changes or reforms of our societies, the programs, say, for employment, the programs for economic development, increasing exports and the studies on income and wages, balance of payments, per capita income — all the efforts at reform on the economic, social and political levels.

Thus we see, here in the Philippines at least, where housing would create its own problems if it did not go hand-in-hand with, say, economic development for the underprivileged. Even if government were to build free housing, even if government could afford to give away these houses free to the lowest members

in the economic level, the lowest members of our society, if those members are not given jobs or have no source of income, we will end up with slums in the cities or wherever we build these houses. At the same time, it is one of the earliest lessons learned by social engineers and political leaders that the least appreciated by any people are the things that are given sometimes too freely. And that in the housing program, therefore, the involvement of those who would utilize these houses and convert them into homes, their involvement must be guaranteed and assured.

And thus it is that in the Philippine program, I have directed and insisted that we not only maintain our identity as Filipinos in the housing, in the atmosphere, in the environment, but that the people themselves participate in, say, the ZIP program or the rural upgrading program. We have two models, for instance, one model is in Paoay, Ilocos Norte, the other model is in Tolosa, Leyte. In both these programs I have insisted that if there be participants who have no jobs, we must first look for their employment or sources of income. And thus in the Paoay experiment we created cooperatives. And these cooperatives were operational before we upgrade it to a barangay, before we rebuilt the houses, before we put in the services. And thus we guaranteed not only the enthusiasm and the interest but the actual repayment of part of the investment of the government and of our society.

In the Philippine model, in both the Paoay and the Tolosa experiment, practically one-half of the amount spent goes into government expenditure for essential services—water, power, roads and the like. For this, the residents are not charged, but for the upgrading of the residences, of the houses where the government advances the money, the scheme under the Philippine experiment is that the people must participate and at the same time guarantee repayment over a long period of time under concessional terms. I understand the interest rate is still a little bit too high. And I have just directed the housing authority to lower this, by working out with the financing authority the lowering of the terms of these advances and repayment, their restitution to the government.

Past efforts in the housing field were precisely inadequate and ineffective in that they lacked this “developmental” dimension. Of course the ideal, from my point of view, would be if we could increase the income of our people quickly and allow the people themselves to build their houses with their own income and thus do away with all of these complicated procedures of advancing funds and credit. Government would, however, still have to plan the upgrading of a community and you would have to bring in the private sector to implement the planning. Government would still have to build the roads, in short, supply water, electricity, all types of essential services that come peculiarly within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Human Settlements.

But, I repeat, in past development programs, housing was often treated as a completely isolated problem; and it is not an isolated problem. It is a part of this maze of problems in the entire development program of a developing society like the Philippines. Unsupported by real efforts in slum improvement and jobs creation, our housing efforts in the past produced only housing tenements in our cities that soon enough decayed and deteriorated and constituted more serious problems to both the private individual and the government.

I think today we have learned our lesson. In our respective countries, we know much more about the housing challenge than we did before, and we have a little more resource to draw upon for energetic housing efforts. There is more ingenuity, more dedication and more unity as I can see from the gathering in this convention and your effort to establish a Philippine Council for Planning and Housing. Doubtless, this will lead to a more integrated type of planning and development. There will be tremendous changes in our approaches, in the management of our affairs of the nation as well as of this particular activity and economic enterprise. I have no doubt that success, will crown all the efforts of the dedicated participants in this program.

Our countries in ASEAN are more sensitive nowadays, aware of the need to plan housing programs, to acquire institutional, technological capabilities in the housing field, and also of course, a workable land policy to go with the housing effort.

The hope so richly expressed by this convention that we can pool our efforts in such areas as research, training and technical tooling at the very least deserves the earnest consideration of our respective governments. I would like to go on record here that on the part of the Philippine government, I am happy to be able to commit the support of the Republic of the Philippines for the resolutions that you have approved in this convention. And I cite especially your recommendation for the establishment of an ASEAN Association for Planning and Housing. Such an ASEAN-wide organization can serve as the nucleus of a truly cooperative and regional effort on planning and housing in Southeast Asia.

As recommended by the convention, we should bolster linkages among recognized educational institutions, research organizations and professional associations to have a continuous review of planning activities and sustain dialogues with planners and housing experts of ASEAN nations.

The spirit of kinship and brotherhood which dominated this convention should rightfully be nurtured and constantly renewed by incorporating its resolutions under the umbrella of ASEAN, working as a growing, unified community of nations.

We, therefore, look forward to the future dialogues and discussions that will follow your convention in Manila.

Before I close, let me say that the Philippine program includes the ZIP program, that is, the zonal improvement program for Metro Manila, the SIR slum improvement and resettlement program. These acronyms that General Tobias is so in love with make me wonder whether his military background is not going to involve us in more confusion than anything else. But, anyway, they sound good — the ZIP, the SIR.

Today, I am going to sign a proclamation in your presence declaring that all sites identified by the local governments as well as by the National Housing Authority, under the supervision and control of the Ministry of Human Settlements, be included in the zonal improvement program for Metro Manila and the slum improvement and resettlement program and shall become urban land reform zones.

Now, don't be frightened by that term—Urban Land Reform Zone. When I proclaimed urban land reform, I received all kinds of inquiries from friends, from those indifferent as well as potential enemies. I informed them that the general idea is merely to authorize government planners to prepare a plan for an urban land reform area and to get everybody therein within the jurisdiction of that land reform area, to conform to the plan, or rather, to be guided by the plan. The intention is not to grab the land from the private owner and develop it as planned by government. No, it is to set the standards, the qualifications, the conditions, the terms, constraints and limits under which one can develop any piece of land. If you can develop it yourself, well and good. The government will encourage you to do so. There is no intention on the part of government to confiscate land which it does not need for public purposes.

You know, I am always astounded when our people applaud a reiteration of a constitutional provision. Well, that is a constitutional provision, and it is a policy and plan of government. However, many of you did inquire as to exactly what is meant by zonal programming, what is meant by zonification? Urban planning is a part of zonification. That's all it is.

And so, before you today, I hereby not only ratify but make clear that the Ministry of Human Settlements is the ministry that will be engaged in the zonification of land and the preparation of the plans and programs under which land development may be undertaken by the private sector. And if the private sector does not wish to go into such development, then the government will have to come in. In these cases where the government comes in, usually there is a social problem. For instance, which of the ZIP programs are operational? Marikina or Bagong Barrio in Caloocan or Tondo? Now we had a social problem there. The land did not belong to any specific individual. So the government had to step in to take over the land and distribute the land to those who were residents there. But we had to impose certain conditions under which they would own land.

The same thing is true in the Dagat-dagatan project. We reclaimed the land and we started allocating the use of the land.

But where private land lies idle, we always say, if you are not improving your land then let us give it to somebody else who can improve it. And this is a policy of the Batasang Pambansa and the old Congress as well as the Constitution. and this is still the policy of the government. If the private sector can develop the land, the government will not step in to develop it for the private sector. No, government will instead encourage the private sector to develop that land but in accordance with the zonification program and the plans and the programs which the government has adopted.

And now, in the preparation of these programs and plans and zonifications and the like. I hear you want to be consulted. That is a surprise to me because all along I thought General Tobias was consulting with you. If he has not been, then Human Settlements will now also be consulting with you. You know how the First Lady operates. But in order to formalize this consultation channel, before I go any further, let me sign this proclamation about human settlements.

In carrying on this task of identifying the urban land reform zones and to prepare plans and appropriate studies, the National Housing Authority and the Human Settlements Ministry will necessarily consult with the local governments. Now in addition to consulting official quarters and the public sector, I hereby sign in your presence a memorandum circular which designates the Philippine Council for Planning and Housing as the official professional forum for the review and discussion of proposed government policies and major programs in the fields of planning and housing. I hand over these two documents to General Tobias and the members of the council.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 12th World Congress of the International Federation of Free Teachers Union,
December 18, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 12th World Congress of the International Federation of Free Teachers Union

[Delivered at the PICC, December 18, 1978]

On the Rights and Interests of Teachers

I GREET YOU as a fellow teacher because as you know, I come from a family of teachers. I was a teacher before I became a politician. I don't know whether this is an improvement or not.

This is one of the few instances where this big plenary session hall of the Philippine International Convention Center has been jam-packed with such beauty and intelligence. I say beauty first, because I note the dominance of the female sex in the audience. I have known statistically that the majority of our teachers in the Philippines are female, but this demonstrates it very, very emphatically.

This matter of my being a teacher, of course, is something which some people say has not altered because up to now even as President, I have the habit of trying to teach.

I thought that I should add that bit of biographical information to Deputy Minister Albarracin's terse introduction, so that I may offer you a more pleasant variation of Bernard Shaw's ill-considered quip: those who can, teach; those who decide not to, or cannot, well, I say, probably they can become Presidents.

Indeed, it gives me great pleasure to be able to greet all of you and our guests on behalf of our people, our government and our teaching profession.

We are mindful of this great honor that you have granted and accorded us by holding this congress in our country. As has been noted by the president of the host organization, the Philippine Public School Teachers Association, there are about 400,000 teachers throughout the Philippines. I noted that Mr. Firster stated that teachers should be circumspect about the use of their organization in politics because they have, I think he used the term, "limited influence in politics." Here in the Philippines, Mr. Firster, the country is run by teachers.

No, seriously speaking, there is a fascinating, interesting and profound sociological study of our society wherein the fulcrums and levers of power were diagnosed and analyzed. And beyond the regular formalized structure of political parties, the question was asked outside the political structure, outside political parties: What are the centers of political power in the village, in the municipality, in the city? And the study concludes there are three centers of political power which you must learn to utilize if you are to be a successful leader. The first are, of course, the local administrators; the second are the professionals; and the third are teachers. But their influence is in the reverse order.

The government of the Philippines instinctively knew this and confirmed this in performance. Because in any project, program, nationwide or limited to, say, the region which is composed of several provinces or province with its municipalities, the city or the village, whenever there is any doubt as to who should perform the job, the government always says, "let us give it to the teachers."

It is an awesome thing to contemplate that the profession you represent, which is the largest in the world, is as numerous as the combined populations of some of the smallest states in the United Nations and is certainly more numerous than half of the 45 million population of this country.

The growth in the number of teachers is likely to continue in the foreseeable future as the growth in the young populations is expected to continue and the increase in the social and economic demands for education are expected to accelerate with the years. Indeed, it has been said, only half in jest though, that the trend in the expansion of education can be statistically projected into the future if half of the population of the world were to sit behind the teacher's desk and the remaining half in front of it.

But we need not wait for the future to feel the impact of this educational explosion, for already the staggering magnitudes involved in the present educational activities and aspirations in the world have sent parliaments and development planners to repair to the new science of the so-called economy of education, from whose new prophets they would seek some confident doctrine or less uncertain guide on which to base their massive decisions on education.

One major aspect of the education challenge of our time is the problem posed by the status and the working conditions of teachers. In the midst of so much faith and value placed on education, it is the anomaly of our times that there are no commensurate economic and social rewards paid to the educators. We have placed a high value on education, but we are unwilling or unable to pay its full price.

In the developing nations, there are obvious factors contributing to this anomaly. Allow me to mention two of them.

The first is the fact that more than two-thirds of the teaching force is composed of women. In many developing countries, where the tradition of discrimination against women still lingers, this factor operates to minimize the social recognition and to depress the economic rewards which should accrue to the teaching profession.

It is for this reason that I wish to commend your involvement in the movement for the enhancement of women's rights, demonstrated, for example, as recently as last year by the IFTU-ASEAN Conference on Equal Opportunities for Women. Such an involvement is a wise recognition of the fact that the status of the teaching profession depends in part on the status of women who comprise the large majority of the profession in both the developing and developed countries.

The second and even more important factor which militates against the elevation of the status of teachers and the improvement of their working conditions is the inadequate economy of the developing nations. When poor societies pay their women teachers poor salaries for the ostensible reason that the women teachers are not supporting a family, it is as much a sign of economic insufficiency as it is an instance of social discrimination against women.

Poor developing societies can produce little physical capital to finance development. In their destitute material circumstances, they find that the generation of human capital constitutes their only alternative to permanent poverty and underdevelopment. Education considered as the accumulation of human capital becomes for the individual and the society of developing nations the indispensable supplement, if not the full substitute, to scarce physical capital. And the result has been to make available more education than either the poor individual or the poor society can really pay for.

It is in the light of this problem that I wish also to commend you for taking up as the second theme of your congress, "The Role of Teachers' Organizations in National Development." It is again a wise recognition of the fact that the working conditions, at least, of teachers, if not their status, depend in part on the economic development and sufficiency of the country.

This list of contributing factors does not fully explain the plight of teachers, for it does not even begin to explain the plight of teachers in developed countries, where there is far less discrimination against women and far greater capacity to pay the full cost of education.

There is, I venture to say, at least a third factor, which is present in both the developing and the developed countries, that contributes to depress the status and the working conditions of teachers. I am referring, very gently I hope, to the deficiencies of the teaching profession itself.

The rapid expansion of education in the last half century and attendant great increase in the number of the teaching profession have aggravated the twin problems of maintaining the general effectiveness of the educational system and of ensuring the high competence of the educators. These problems are not entirely within the responsibility of the teaching profession alone or within its capacity to solve alone, but fairly or unfairly they reflect seriously on the reputation and the performance of the teaching profession. To the extent that the teaching profession does not bestir itself to help solve the problems, to that extent it will be responsible for the present level of its professional status and the present conditions of its work.

Thus I welcome the congress and the principles for which the IFTU stands. I am very glad that I listened to Mr. Firster because the principles which he has enunciated or which the teachers should understand are indeed the principles for which the New Society of the Philippines stands. The New Society of the Philippines stands for equality of opportunity, it stands for the work ethic, it stands for the revolution of the poor, it stands for the elimination of this wide gap between the privileged and the underprivileged. It stands for the elimination of the economic czars and the oligarchs. It stands for the grant and recognition of full rights to all individuals irrespective of their birthrights. And it also stands for the dignity of the individual. For this, therefore, I must say that the New Society of the Philippines, which I have the honor to lead by virtue of this wide and constitutional revolution, is aimed at a radical but not bloody transformation of our society, constitutional because it is in accordance with the wishes of our people, in accordance with the elections and the referenda, as well as the plebiscites that have been held.

The other deficiency which I wish to allude to before I close is one which has been aggravated by the very great numbers of the teaching profession. I am referring to a certain diffidence in the profession to engage in self-reliant organized activity to promote its own status through insistence on high professional standards and to improve its own working conditions through collective action or perhaps through some form of organized bargaining.

I wish you well in all these efforts and certainly as one who began his professional life as a teacher, I can assure you that so long as I am President, I shall see to it that the rights and interests of teachers in the Philippines will be well protected.

In our elections, I remember when we were engaged in reforming the election code that all the legislators, the members of the executive department and the judiciary were unanimous that we should discard this system of giving inspectors or election inspectors to political parties, and this was done. Political parties could no longer appoint their inspectors to participate in the voting, in the elections, in the giving of the ballots, in supervising the casting of ballots, in the counting of the ballots and in the final tally. They were out. So to whom did we give this role, this pivotal role that required honesty, integrity? You know the answer to that, you who come from the Philippines know the answer to that. For want of anybody else who could be trusted, we gave it to the teachers of the Philippines. Undoubtedly, there is no higher accolade that could have been made to the teachers. This is why I take exception to the alleged limited influence of teachers in my country, oh no. This is one reason why I am here.

My memories of my schooldays, as both a student and a teacher, are most pleasant and deeply gratifying. I feel that every teacher deserves and every pupil should have such memories.

One of the few bright areas of international cooperation in our contemporary world is international cooperation on education. I trust that you will live up to the bright expectations of your international organization and of your world congress.

I have no doubt of your success.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos on Armed Forces Day, December 21, 1978

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Armed Forces Day

[Delivered at Camp Aguinaldo, December 21, 1978]

A New Ethic for the Soldier

IT WILL REMAIN a very high and special honor for me to serve as Commander-in-Chief of this corps of gallant officers and men, especially at this time of renewal and self-strengthening in our country.

It is my privilege to be able to extend congratulations to the entire corps, and of course, especially to the awardees of today's grants and citations for courage, daring, efficiency and service to our country. I did not realize that this year, 1978, 33 years after the occasion, I would have the distinction and the honor of awarding a medal to one of the officers of the Armed Forces who certainly risked his life to help me out of a tight situation in my escape from Manila in August 1944. Allow me, therefore, to personally extend my gratitude to a comrade in Bataan and the underground, the former Chief of Staff, General Alfredo Santos.

I think it speaks well of the Armed Forces that it should now act on a sworn statement that I submitted way-back in 1946. This is also found in some of the posthumous awards for those who died in the battles of 1973, 1974, 1975, especially the officers and men who fought in the South. To each and everyone of them go my gratitude as representative of the entire Filipino people.

The challenges of our time are great and demanding. It is even greater an honor because all of our soldiery today has fully distinguished themselves in service to people and country.

Six years have now passed since the clouds of crisis and rebellion forced the leadership of our country to call forth martial law in defense of our Republic. Six years have already passed since in the very eye of turmoil, I summoned our Armed Forces to secure the ramparts of our beleaguered Republic to enforce the peace and justice of our laws and to lay the foundations for a sweeping effort of national reform and transformation.

One remembers well the starting point of our New Society because in that hour of decision many of you in civilian life as well as in the military were called to give generously of themselves, and many responded with the best they had to give. Many of them are no longer with us. For them, too, our deep and sad thoughts today even as we celebrate.

Within our Armed Forces the crisis government immediately found a loyal and committed ally who shared with us the vision of a new society rising in our land, a vision that goes back all the way to the years of war, the years of the underground, the years of liberation, and even before that, to our patriots and heroes who fought throughout the centuries for our liberation. You matched us in the idealism of our goals, in the enthusiasm of our efforts, and in the purity of our vision for the future. A leader could not have asked for a better army to carry forward the flag of reform and change in our country.

True to the steadfast and dedicated efforts that we have exerted together, we have achieved much in the interval of six years.

A time of calm, security and confidence has arrived upon our people during these years, such that as we move today to receive the blessings of the Christmas season, we can all believe that they are indeed blessings for us to give and to receive.

No age of greatness has suddenly dawned upon us, but we can say in full confidence that our nation has not only survived; it has prospered. We can say that our present encourages us all to fresh strivings and expectations, and our thoughts are lifted by the vision of the kind of nation we can become.

In all this, I sense only one danger, one peril to our national community. It is the danger of complacency, of too much comfort and forgetfulness. It is the danger of relapse into obliviousness to the efforts demanded of us all. It is the danger of overconfidence.

Now, more than ever, we are called towards a renewal of the faith that powered our early programs of reform.

We should always return from time to time to the very beginnings and roots of our common crusade, in order that we can cast off the sometimes narcotic effects that come with the exercise of authority and power,, and the terrible complacency that all too often overtakes achievement. Today, therefore, on the occasion of your renewal of loyalty to the Constitution and to the Commander-in-Chief as symbolic of the nation, of our people and our Republic, I come to you with a new mission. You and I have a new mission and that mission is to refurbish afresh our crusade for change.

I would say that this renewal should come at least every half decade in any kind of government. Every five years, we must return to the initial purity and idealism and enthusiasm of our New Society. For only under its shade can we truly decipher the correctness of national directions, and the true measure of our contributions to it.

More than five years have already passed, and what we perceived during the past years as the signs of weariness and indolence are symptoms of the erosion of ideals. The time for renewal and reaffirmation is long overdue; and so I say to you now, it is time that we sharpen our tools, that we heed once more those bold words calling us "to strive for greatness."

This is the essential spirit of the current movement astir within our country. This is the reason for our present efforts to reorient, to remotivate and to reeducate our entire body politic — the soldier, the civil servant, and the citizen.

Speaking mainly for the moment of the self-renewal demanded of our soldiery, I would say that the time is meet to turn our attention to the establishment of new and higher standards for the soldier, such that when he lives up to them, he may thereby contaminate others in society with the same zeal, the same idealism and fervor — things which usually pall or weaken with the passage of the years.

I will say again to you that being a soldier is standing vigil over many things. It is a vigil over the peace and stability of our Republic. It is a vigil over the program of development throughout our country. It is also finally a vigil over our honor and our ideals so that in our dynamic push forward as a people, we shall never forget what we most cherish and believe in.

Today, there is reason to say that more than anybody else, it is the soldier on whom we must depend. It is true and there is reason to say that the security situation in our country is good, though we must be wakeful to a number of residual cares.

The secessionist rebellion in the South has diminished, but it continues to pose a threat to national security. The combination of sustained police action and policy of attraction has resulted in the overall weakening and fragmentation of the rebellion and secessionism.

Similarly, the threat posed by the local communist movement is well under control. Our Armed Forces have sustained the drive against this insurgency, and today anti-government activities are limited to a few occasional disturbances in remote localities.

These achievements in the realm of peace and security owe much to the fortitude and dedication of our military and police forces which have worked in concert with government development workers. They are the outcome of a resolute policy that is at once compassionate and firm.

The external aspect to national security may appear at first to have been altered by certain developments within Asia and in the world.

Manifestly, our attention is drawn to such important developments as the forthcoming normalization of U.S.-China relations this coming year, to the treaty of friendship between China and Japan, to the intense jockeying for position among the powers in our part of the world, and to the disturbing conflicts that have regrettably arisen among Asian nations in the socialist bloc.

It is part of your vigil that we review from time to time our perspectives on international developments, so that never again will this nation pursue a course abroad contrary to what national pride and self-interest may demand. The assessment of these new developments, whatever may be the favorable results of such developments, the fact remains that we in the Philippines must continue to rely upon our own strength.

The same must also be said about the international economic climate as a whole and the climate for economic effort at home — for in this area rests also the chances for stability and security of our country. Again and again, we must remind ourselves that there is an umbilical relationship between national security and national development, and there is no security to be found where the policy is restive and deprived.

Under the impending shadow, therefore, of new increases in oil prices, and no doubt of new international economic pressures, we must renew our vigil over the economic development and reform effort.

For our armed forces as a whole, I would say that the present period requires us to undertake a reexamination in many areas, consonant with these developments.

It is first of all fitting that we undertake now a reexamination of the concepts, premises and assumptions of our defense planning and preparations.

A consensus will have to be crystallized in regard to the security situation, external and internal, under which our armed forces may be possibly involved in order to establish a firm direction for our defense preparation and to relate it realistically to the emerging security situation in this part of the world.

It was in line with the foregoing that I recently directed the Ministry of Defense and the AFP to undertake measures to place the country's defense posture on a realistic footing, enhance its self-reliant posture and to improve its efficiency.

It is possible that these new developments will allow the country in the near future to concentrate security efforts on the immediate task of reducing the internal threat and liquidating the conflict in the South justly and honorably. It will also allow the AFP to participate with greater effectiveness in helping the process of normalization and development.

Above all, in the review of the country's defense planning and preparation, we must not lose sight of the truth that the most important and indispensable element of the country's defense preparedness are its human resources. Unless the quality of this specific resources is insured, the quality of such resources, whether in the civilian sector or in the military, will be for naught.

And so I come back to the theme with which I began: The establishment of a new ethic for our soldiery to live by.

I have also endorsed the move of the AFP in this direction, as exemplified by the TANGLAW program for a moral renaissance in the AFP with every man in uniform imbued with this sense of the importance of moral values and renewed in his commitment to the ideals of the New Society, we can lay the basis for the humanistic development of our armed forces and of our country. At the same time, we shall be able to make the AFP truly the armed forces of the people — an armed forces which any commander-in-chief would be truly proud to lead.

Once again to all of you, my congratulations. Well done. Keep it up. To you a salute from your Commander-in-Chief and the people of the Republic of the Philippines.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 8). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the commencement exercise of the Philippine Military Academy, February 25, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the commencement exercise of the Philippine Military Academy

[Delivered in Baguio City, February 25, 1979]

The Nation's "Moral Forces"

ALLOW ME, FIRST of all, to congratulate this year's graduates from this primate and leading military institution of our country.

I always find it a refreshing and reassuring experience to come to the Philippine Military Academy during its commencement exercises. It is then when I am reminded by the splendid sight of the graduating class — the turnover ceremonies and the formal parade — that this great institution is founded on the sound principle that more than weapons or organization, the individual soldier must possess strength of mind and character.

I remember that when I came here the first time as your guest of honor 13 years ago, I found occasion to refer to one of the pronouncements of Karl Von Clausewitz, the famous Prussian military thinker.

They relate to what he calls the "moral forces," a term which he used to designate a state of moral and spiritual preparedness of a nation for war. According to him, the outcome of a military struggle may very well depend on the extent of the "moral forces" which are assembled for a given side.

Permit me to resume this theme where I left off 13 years ago, in order that I may state a brief message which I wish you and our people to hear from me today, for I find this particular principle of direct relevance to present circumstances and situation.

The "moral forces" which Von Clausewitz was referring to, do not inhere only in communities or nations; in fact they inhere primarily in individuals. So, applying the dictum of Von Clausewitz further, it might be said that the state of moral and spiritual preparedness of the individual soldier may very well decide the outcome of any military struggle.

What, you might ask, are the "moral forces" with which a soldier should equip himself In order to swing the outcome of the struggle in his favor?

Let us refer once more to the words of Clausewitz. He said, and I quote: "If we take a comprehensive view of the four components of the atmosphere in which war moves — danger, physical effort, uncertainty and chance — it is easy to understand that a great moral and mental force is needed in this baffling element; a force which we find historians and chronicles of military events describing as energy, firmness, staunchness, strength of mind and of character."

Energy, firmness, staunchness, strength of mind and character — these are the qualities which the French Marshal Ferdinand Foch tried to encapsulate when he said: "My right has been rolled up; my left has been driven back; my center has been smashed. I have ordered an advance on all fronts."

These words may sound a little old-fashioned for the so-called push-button warfare generation we are presumably living in.

I can only say that most countries have no such buttons to push, and even those countries which do have these buttons have found it neither expedient nor necessary to push them. All the wars and all the armed conflicts we have seen so far have been fought and won or lost on the performance of the individual soldier.

An American president once said in the sixties, and I quote: “Korea has not been the only battleground since the end of the Second World War. Men have fought and died in Malaya, in Greece, in the Philippines, in Algeria and Cuba and Cyprus, and almost continuously on the Indochina peninsula. No nuclear weapons have been fired. No massive nuclear retaliation has been considered appropriate. This is another type of war, new in its intensity, ancient in its origin — war by guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins; war by ambush instead of by combat, by infiltration instead of aggression.”

The words of Von Clausewitz still find application in our present circumstances; and of his words, these seem the most pertinent to military education: “The moral forces are amongst the most important subjects in war.” He could very well have said, the moral forces are among the most important subjects in the military academy.

I am happy to say that the Philippine Military Academy has always heeded these words and has applied them in its curriculum. Especially since the curriculum reform of 1971, the Philippine Military Academy has become an institution where strength of both mind and character is cultivated. In fact, I know of no other regular college in the country that is intent in establishing high academic standards as well as in building up character.

This is an example which I hope other colleges will take into heart. Education is the formation of the whole man, and college education, as much as high school education, should equally be concerned with the formation of character as it is with the formation of the mind.

I don’t think that it is only the soldier who needs strength of mind and character. If war is characterized by danger, physical effort, uncertainty and chance, as Von Clausewitz said, life is similar to war in these respects. And if the soldier must have energy, firmness, staunchness, strength of mind and character, so must any man acquire these qualities of mind and will if he intends to live a full, useful and successful life.

It is not only in the endeavors of life or in the struggles of war where we need these qualities of the mind and of the will: we need them as well in our struggle as a nation to rise above the legacy of underdevelopment and deprivation.

If it is true, as it has been said, that no nation can rise higher than the standard of excellence of its schools and colleges, then we must realize that we as a nation cannot rise higher in the struggle to attain development than what the sum of our individual strength of mind and will can attain.

No one should be in any doubt that we are at war against poverty, inequality — the host of historical ills and deficiencies which have long plagued our society. In this war, it is the preponderance of “moral forces” assembled on our side which will decide the issue.

When I was a student, I remember that President Quezon once wondered aloud before us whether or not the youth of our land of that generation had the strength of mind and character to meet the challenges which were soon to come with the independence and nationhood.

In the presence of this graduating class, whose members have received the benefits of the truly formative influence of this institution, I have no need to wonder whether you have such will and character. You have the strength of mind and will to carry out the mission that you will soon receive with your commission, because here at the Philippine Military Academy, the “moral forces” became your most important subjects.

I, therefore, wish you all success in your careers and welcome you to the Armed Forces of the Philippines as commissioned officers.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the Diamond Anniversary of the Philippine Rotary Club, March 2, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Diamond Anniversary of the Philippine Rotary Club

[Delivered at the PICC, March 2, 1979]

An Era of Transition and Change

I AM GLAD to have this opportunity to participate in this commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Philippine Rotary, and to salute on behalf of our people and government what all those years have meant in terms of service to our people and our country.

Among fellowship organizations, the Rotary is justly regarded here in our country, as elsewhere around the world, as more than just a social club; it is a major force for civic action. Indeed, it has seemed to me that the story to the Rotary is intimately bound up with our affairs as a nation.

And this proud tradition of the Philippine Rotary is nowhere more vividly signified than in the persons of your brightest luminaries — of the likes of Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, former Sen. Gil Puyat, and of many Cabinet members and business leaders who have found a second home in the folds of the Rotary.

In fact it is often said that when we can't get a quorum in the Cabinet, all we have to do is to find out if there is a Rotary meeting.

Of course, there is a certain liability in being closely identified with the formidable grey eminence of the likes of General Romulo. Many people seem to think that the Rotary is for octogenarian stalwarts like him, and I understand that other fellowship organizations have seized upon this to recruit younger people to their own movements.

But if I am to judge by this assembly, the Philippine Rotary is a happy blend of youthful dynamism and ageless probity, and we need never fear that the club will cease to carry on its redoubtable tradition of service to our national community.

When I speak to the gentlemen and ladies of the Rotary, I am aware that I speak to a community of opinion leaders for whom national affairs is of more than passing interest, and for whom the goal of national development and stability is of the greatest concern.

I think it therefore apt that on this commemorative occasion, when most of you are reminiscing over the last 60 years, I should complement the recollections by now directing your thoughts towards the future. For I fully believe that if the last 60 years had been meaningful and significant for your organization, consider what the next 60 years will be like in this most revolutionary of eras in human history.

The first three quarters of the 20th century have come under many names in the course of their unfolding. Many Rotarians will no doubt still remember the slogans back in the twenties proclaiming that this was to be the century of the common man, the century of progress, and the century of human achievement.

In many respects these bold predictions of human achievement in this century have been fulfilled. As one statesman once described it, "Humanity has formed more nations, established more self-government, cast more ballots, built more schools, studied more books, cured more diseases, and ministered to more needy than ever before," without even mentioning the fact that in this century man has reached the moon.

But there is another side to the ledger, and this is the fact, as Winston Churchill pointed out, that during this period, "More men were killing each other with greater facility than in any other five centuries put together."

And since the past is prologue to the future, we can predictably expect that the future will be laced with opportunities and dangers in equal measure, and the test will as ever be the probity and ability of humanity to deal with them.

Indeed, we seem now to be astride an era of major transition and change; some have even started to call it a time of revolution, in which comfortable arrangements, systems and assumptions about global affairs are decisively being altered.

One face of the transition is the increasing urgency and gravity of global problems, and the sense of interdependence of the entire human family. A crisis for instance in Iran is rapidly turning into a crisis of the entire world, for all humanity. Scarcity of resources put to challenge all nations, regardless of their wealth. Poverty and hunger is no longer thought of as the sole anxiety of the poor nations: they also put to challenge the wealthy countries.

By the same token, we seem to be facing a new complication in the tenuous system of international security. Within a brief span of less than two months, we have seen two major conflicts erupt on Asian continent: first, Vietnam's intervention in Kampuchea, and more recently, China's invasion of Vietnam. And both conflicts are nowhere near resolution today than they were at first flush of violence.

How ominously these events, coupled with the turbulence in Africa and the Middle East, have raised the specter of cataclysmic confrontation among the powers, one can only guess at. But clearly, the dangers are great, and the uncertainty of many nations only accentuate the fact.

For us who live so close to the scene of these bitter conflicts, there is the added factor that they are inimical to the strides our country is making in the way of engineering the development of and forging closer relations with our Asian neighbors. Suddenly, after what has seemed a period of amicable co existence, following the resolution of the Vietnam war, there is once again a cloud hanging over all of Asia, threatening to engulf all.

At this point, neither the actions of the United Nations nor the efforts of mediation by third parties has brought some light to the events in Indochina. There is more dark than light on the events today.

A third face of the transition taking place in international life is the emergence of the Third World as an independent voice in international affairs. While we have seen the Third World emerge during this decade, the fulfillment or frustration of its aspirations lie in the next decade and beyond.

Of this force, we already know that it seeks a more equitable arrangement in the flow and trade of resources, that it seeks a firmer place in the family of nations, that it aspires to develop the underprivileged two-thirds of mankind, to enable them to share in the fruits of 20th century progress.

I have spoken about these global challenges first, because I believe they preface the fulfillment of our own national efforts to achieve full national modernization and development.

Of all nations, the developing countries like the Philippines stand most to lose in the conflicts now raging and threatening to widen, because only stability and peace can provide them the chance to achieve their targets in development. Conflict has a way of stifling the growth of economies, even if the given economy is physically removed from the area of strife.

For this reason, we must look toward an early resolution of the conflicts taking place in Indochina today.

As it is, we are already beginning to feel the pinch of confrontations and conflicts upon our economic life. The ASEAN program may suffer from the Indochina developments. Turbulence in Iran threatens the stability of oil prices, with the recent news that some OPEC nations will take advantage of the situation to raise prices well beyond the increases scheduled at the meeting of OPEC last October.

Predictably also, the situation has fed global inflation and contributed to trade problems, which we all know is gravely detrimental to the development efforts of the Third World. In our case, even after a year of prolonged pressure, 1979 becomes a particularly worrisome prognosis, considering the complexion of recent and contemporary events.

It serves us well in the present situation that internally, we have a stronger sense of unity as a people, that our reforms have found some stability, that our programs are well-laid in a total national effort at transformation, and that overall there is a sense of domestic tranquility and poise in our affairs.

Personally, I have no doubt that we have now the capability and the will to accomplish what it takes to develop our economy and transform our social, economic and political life. I have no doubt that it is within our capacity to fulfill the targets set in the development plans for the entire period from now up to the end of the century.

The problematic aspect inhere in affairs beyond our borders, in the larger life of the family of nations, which at present totters on the precipice of terrifying conflict.

What may turn out to be a problem is that some members of our society may still continue to be daydreaming in the past, continue to live in another kind of world, the rosy world of yesteryears, a world without any cares, threats, dangers, inflation, no increase in the prices of gasoline, in short, the world that we knew several decades back. And yet we live in the present world of crisis. This is the reality. This is a global crisis caused by external factors beyond our control. Complaining about such a world crisis or the external factors, or refusing to acknowledge such a crisis will not change reality.

Higher prices, for instance, are a reality. The earlier we accept these the earlier we can solve them — solve the economic dislocations, possibly the shortages that will follow. The solution of course is the fair distribution of whatever difficulties, burdens, sufferings we as a people must bear, the equitable distribution of the burdens to all sectors of our society, so no single sector can take advantage of these dislocations to the prejudice of all others.

In 1971 prior to the establishment of the New Society, in an analysis of social, economic and political ills of our nation, I wrote in the book which I entitled *Today's Revolution: Democracy*, that "The poignant wish for a tranquil life will find no sanctuary in today's world. We live in a revolutionary era. It is an era of swift, violent, often disruptive change, and rather than lament this vainly, we have to decide whether we should be the masters or the victims of change. It is time we accepted the role of mastering circumstance rather than submitting to its tyranny."

And it would seem to me that if this year the nations acting together can ride over the present turmoil, and find common cause again in preserving the delicate fabric of peace, our larger hopes for the rest of this century will be fulfilled.

There would be firmer hope that the nations of the Third World will succeed in instituting a more equitable global system.

There would be hope, even certitude, in more phenomenal achievements in the sciences, in technology, and in the arts.

There would be hope that what we once regarded as the inaccessible millennium in the human story may yet be the possession of man within the next 60 years.

The building of such hope for human progress is one of those commitments which the Rotary has traditionally espoused all over the world. May our common prayers therefore be fulfilled.

Some of us of course may not longer be there in the next 60 years. But we hope that whoever succeeds us, you in the Rotary and me in government, will see the attainment of all these prayers and hopes.

I wish you once again a most happy diamond anniversary commemoration.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 35th Session of the UN Economics and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), March 5, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 35th Session of the UN Economics and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)

[Delivered at the PICC, March 5, 1979]

The Agreement to Cooperate

ALLOW ME FIRST of all, to add to my own welcome and the welcome of the people and the Republic of the Philippines to the distinguished delegates to this 35th conference of the ESCAP.

We are happy to be hosting this session. We are honored that you chose Manila, for the Philippines has been deeply involved in the programs of the United Nations development system since the organization's inception. We have looked forward to this meeting as an affirmation of that commitment.

As a regional commission of the United Nations, the ESCAP represents, as we all know, more than one-half of the world's population. This fact is both ennobling and sobering as it underscores the urgency of our work, particularly in the light of the past year's critical events.

We have entered another period of global anxiety. It is a test of our relevance and responsiveness that we meet today against the backdrop of global political and economic crisis. At the same time, we are alarmed by the truth that the prosperity that we seek for our people cannot be had without peace in the world.

The reality of actual war, the persistence of subversion, the violent replacement of governments, the inclination of almost everyone to the use of force for the settlement of disputes, the apparent breakdown — and I say, apparent — of international law, all these seem to render man's efforts at peaceful cooperation futile.

Asia has already known too many wars. The larger war, however, remains to be fought on the economic and social fronts. We, therefore, hope that the disputes that now confront the world can be settled amicably at the earliest opportunity.

There will be other and more appropriate venues for political debate on these questions. In this present session, perhaps the most that we can do is to continue to pursue concrete developmental work and thereby hope to strengthen in the long run the foundation of political and economic stability in our countries.

Thus, it may be said by history that while men of short vision mocked our good intentions, with faith and courage we persisted, and this helped to save our world from man's irrational passions.

One observes that it has been the particular advantage of the ESCAP over three decades of its existence to provide a stable forum for important consultations on matters of regional concern. As a grouping of sovereign nations, its effectiveness was derived from the willingness of its members to cooperate on collective projects.

This meeting that we open today attests to the continuing viability of that agreement to cooperate, apart from which the ESCAP can have no separate identity.

Permit me to commend in this instance the many significant achievements facilitated by the ESCAP in the course of its work.

As memories tend to be short, we might be reminded of the fact, for example, that the ESCAP, then known as the ECAFE, as Minister Romulo has well explained, worked out the principles for the establishment of a regional development bank. The Asian Development Bank emerged from that initiative and has become an important institution serving the capital needs of developing countries.

The ESCAP has likewise assisted in the establishment of other regional institutions engaged in various aspects of economic and social development. Training, research and development activities are being undertaken by these bodies with the support of national institutions.

In infrastructure, the ESCAP has been instrumental in the coordinative planning of extensive transport and communications links across the region. The Asian highway project, the Trans-Asian railway network, and the Asian telecommunications network may be cited among these.

In development planning and policy, the commission can further enable its members to identify areas for collective action. The trade promotion center can help improve the trading expertise of member-countries. Technical cooperation among developing countries can be implemented more extensively as a means to achieve greater collective self-reliance.

Through the extension of advisory service, the ESCAP can continue to assist in development planning in agriculture, industry and in the social sectors of member-countries.

We look forward as well to the success of our programs in weather moderation and offshore oil prospecting, these being addressed to the serious constraints on our economic growth.

We recognize and appreciate these achievements and prospects not only for their intrinsic merit but for the indication they give us of what more can do. Much more indeed remains to be done, given the general state of development in the region and the adverse factors in our present environment.

Within the ESCAP itself, we shall have to rationalize certain training institutions that have met with difficulties in their operations. Measures will have to be devised to improve the use of resources invested in these institutions and monitor regional programs so that they might serve us more productively. This is one means to build concretely on the achievements of the ESCAP and improve its capacity to assist member-countries in their development.

Far greater challenges lie ahead for the ESCAP, for its members to contend with, collectively and individually.

Partly for this reason, it is important for the commission to take stock of its capabilities and shortcomings where they may exist in line with the prevailing and changing realities.

We face formidable problems on the economic front. In some respects these have been triggered by political developments of profound significance. The rude shock of the energy crisis has remained with us for the past several years. While the balance of economic forces has been changing through the many instances of currency and financial fluctuations in the world economy, the energy crisis is as real and potentially as difficult as the 1973 crisis.

Recent events remind us again of the vital interdependence among nations, especially in energy resources, and the important roles played by those countries whose fortune it is to be endowed with that basic wealth. The reduction of crude oil output through the closure of production in Iran — only temporarily, we strongly hope — has already led to a new round of crude oil price increases, over and above the prices agreed upon by them in their meeting last year. These additional price charges will hurt the development efforts of the oil-importing countries, especially of the Third World, and will further aggravate the position of the most severely affected developing nations.

Translated in international terms, these new crude oil prices are a factor towards pushing the world inflationary forces since commodities dependent on oil will also experience price increases. And we have not yet seen the worst consequences of the oil price spiral.

For our part in the Philippines, we are already bracing ourselves with a larger package of economic measures that will help us to adjust to these difficult realities. These measures will be seen not only in price adjustments for basic commodities dependent on energy products but also in compensating adjustments that we believe will relieve the general public, labor and industry alike. I can anticipate that the problems we immediately face mirror in some degree the new problems faced by other countries in this region and elsewhere.

We have been fortunate in being successful, albeit modestly at the moment, in our search for oil. This has been the result of a strategic effort to reduce our dependency on imported petroleum and achieve more self-reliance in our economic growth. Nevertheless we will continue to import most of our oil requirements for still several years to come, even as we have begun to produce oil this year from offshore wells. The energy crisis, therefore, remains as much a constraint on our development as with other developing countries.

While we are reminded that the great issues of international development are settled not in regional commissions but in specified bodies designed for their resolution, it is perhaps useful to mention those issues — where we are hopeful that immediate resolutions can take place — so that we can progress towards a new international economic order.

These issues center on the area of international trade. For many years the world at large has been lectured too well on the merits of liberalized world trade. Yet today, among the industrial countries that have espoused this, there is seen the specter of protectionism which is hindering the industrialization of the developing countries.

We are hopeful that the developed countries will realize that in encouraging trade, developing countries can develop greater self-reliance and dignity in their own development.

Surely, this is the best means of securing for the citizens of the world — in which Asia's countless millions form the large component — their shield against poverty, ignorance and hunger.

The other area of great interest to developing nations is the Common Fund. We hope that the Common Fund negotiations to be resumed in Geneva will yield positive results. Hence, we can look forward to the 5th United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) to be held in May in Manila to solve the other numerous problems of international cooperation that are waiting its agenda.

To fail to agree to a common fund will dangerously expose UNCTAD to an atmosphere of recrimination and debate that everyone should avoid.

Permit me to refer to common issues of significance in the development of Asia and the Pacific. Here, the conquest of mass poverty, ignorance and malnutrition is a stark reality in the order of priorities. Each country may have its own specific strategy, but the priority essentially boils down to redressing the accumulated ills of thousands of years of underdevelopment in as short a time as possible.

We are at that critical stage where poverty and social injustice have made themselves so obvious that they cannot be ignored.

The common task that we hope the committees and organs of the ESCAP and the present and the present 35th Commission meeting will consider is to compare strategies learned from each other's experience and develop common regional goals, institutions and programs where this is possible. These activities include the possibilities of sub-regional efforts. Indeed, because the ESCAP is by and large composed of nations that are heterogeneous in their political, economic, historical and cultural backgrounds, it is essential that sub-regional arrangements and programs first succeed.

It is within this context that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has progressively developed into a well-knit regional group. The economic cooperation among ASEAN countries is growing, and we foresee not only the expansion of common and related commercial communications and cultural links but also greater trade, industrial complementation and investments within the region.

Thus, with a strong ASEAN, the regional objectives of the ESCAP can be furthered.

We live today in an era of systematic interdependence among nations and peoples so that we are wont hear from everyone. This ESCAP session can be a fine opportunity for us to lend substance to that principle — through cooperation, fairness and open and frank discussions. Even against the tide of darkness that seems to engulf all of us, such commissions as the ESCAP must patiently and doggedly, with faith and deep resolve, pursue its goals.

Every bit of good done for our brothers in Asia shall gather value and dominance with the years. Of these times which some have referred to as “the new dark ages,” it shall be said that there were wise men who labored for the new enlightenment, and that shall include you.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 22nd session of the Inter-Governmental Group on Rice of the Food and Agriculture Organization, March 20, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 22nd session of the Inter-Governmental Group on Rice of the Food and Agriculture Organization

[Delivered in Manila, March 20, 1979]

The World Rice Situation

I AM GRATIFIED with the introduction of the Minister of Agriculture. Seldom does a minister publicly allow the participation of higher authority in policies of his ministry. But you can see the reason for the continued failure in office of Minister Tanco.

I hasten to state accurately the manner in which the rice revolution in the Philippines was attained. Actually people were ripe for this type of a revolution. The fact that we have been spending for the past several decades a substantial portion of our foreign exchange earnings, (sometimes to the tune of \$500 million during the periods when prices were down) on rice imports certainly brought to the consciousness of our people, who are of course oriented towards not only rice production but rice consumption, the need for cooperative action in the area of rice production.

As I will proceed to explain later on, the essential element in any kind of revolution, including the rice revolution, is political will. But political will — no matter the political, economic and social leadership — must spring from a strong motivation. And certainly our people were deeply motivated.

May I therefore transfer the honors heaped on me by Minister Tanco, to the people of the Republic of the Philippines, for the rice revolution which converted our country from an importer to an exporter of rice. But because of Minister Tanco, I am being a bad host.

Allow me, first of all, to welcome you and to say that you again do us honor in the ten years you've been holding sessions of the Inter-Governmental Group on Rice of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

The high importance that we and everybody attach to the subject makes of this honor all the greater a privilege.

Allow me therefore to express first, on behalf of the people and government of the Philippines, our warmest felicitations and welcome, and our most fervent wishes that your conference will not fail the expectations of so many nations and people all over the world.

Within the span of a decade, the concerns, the challenges and the problems that gathered this assembly back in 1969, have known considerable transformation and change. In some respects, there has been change for the better, as our rice production capabilities have unerringly improved from year to year. In other respects the changes of the decade have served to magnify the severity of the problems we face today.

Without a doubt many of the problems that dominated the previous meetings continue to haunt the present gathering. What is new is the over whelming sense of urgency that seems to shadow these deliberations, the sense that less than the best of our efforts will not be enough to tide us over.

What was in 1969 but the grim alarums of future crisis, has unfailingly become the pervasive situation of our time. The threat of global want, the growing insecurity over food, the problems of the world trade — these anxieties of an

earlier period have come to be in the seventies, and they have been joined moreover by the specter of greater challenges and crises.

As you meet here in our country, we are already beginning to feel the repercussions of more recent events. Energy prices, long the scourge of this decade, threaten to become unhinged once again because of turbulent developments in Iran. Elsewhere, in various theaters long noted for tension, conflict has arisen, and this has not failed to have repercussions upon the global economy. Inflation once again is the great cloud hovering over many economies and threatening global economic stability. In the meantime, the developing countries, the most vulnerable to these economic forces, find themselves fighting an increasingly exacting struggle in their efforts to modernize and improve conditions. And it remains a question whether development, or the specter of poverty and hunger would proceed instead to envelop the developing countries altogether.

It is this context of challenge and crisis which lends special meaning and significance to this meeting on the status and prospects of global rice production.

For we see this meeting as an integral part of the global response to the looming food crisis, which during this decade has exercised the energies of so many nations and so many international organizations

And it is apt indeed that you should meet on this subject in Manila, for here in this part of the world, you will find it readily said that "rice" is the equivalent of survival.

And if there is one note that will seem to lighten the forbidding backdrop of crisis in the present time, it is surely the fact that almost everywhere in the world today, the challenge of food sufficiency is foremost in the agenda of all nations, developing and developed countries alike. No one believes anymore that meeting the challenge can be postponed to a later time, anymore than you can believe that it does not exist.

The consciousness of the situation we owe to the impact of the world food conference in 1974, which graphically outlines to the world the dimensions of the looming crisis, and called upon all governments to muster all resources to combat widespread hunger and malnutrition.

But if the world food conference has mobilized the most intensive and extensive food production efforts on a global scale, the fact remains that the challenge of hunger and food shortage is not yet behind us. A little less than half a billion people of the world still live in hunger and want. One third of the children born everyday are doomed to premature blight on their lives and their future.

The profound irony is that hunger and malnutrition persist despite a considerable improvement in global food production and production capabilities. While millions live in want, food producers seem to be headed towards a situation where a depression of food supplies is necessary to sustain prices.

The situation is dramatically evident in the world rice situation. And it is the core of the problem that this assembly must seek to resolve.

Records on world rice production for the last ten years definitely indicate an encouraging record of growth from a production of 281 million metric tons in 1968, production has risen to 375 million metric tons in 1978, or an average growth rate of 3.3 percent.

Crop year 1978 has been particularly favorable in so far as rice is concerned. Increased paddy production, arising from good weather, wider hectareage, and the utilization of high-yielding varieties, fertilizer and irrigation facilities, has brought about an overall surplus in rice. Specifically, rice surpluses have been reported in Burma, China, Thailand, India, Japan, Korea, Pakistan and the Philippines.

But while surplus production might immediately connote a most salutary situation, it conceals from immediate view a disturbing consequence: the decline of rice prices in the world market as a result of the buildup of surpluses. And the decline appears to be continuing.

And of course, the concomitant problem with declining export prices, is the threat of depressed production as a result of poor prices and surplus production.

But here we come to a most delicate aspect of the world rice situation: the fact that production levels are never assured, and the complementary fact that world rice prices are volatile.

Many factors, not the least of which are natural calamities, are still beyond the control of rice producers, and any such occurrence can easily reverse the present favorable situation. At the same time, there is no ignoring the fact that substantial segments of the global population still suffer from hunger, and that the population continues to grow at the rate of 1.7 percent.

We therefore believe that we cannot afford to be complacent about the present favorable situation. We must clearly pursue measures to improve and increase rice production on a global scale as a key to answering the challenge of food sufficiency.

As surpluses are produced, however, prices in the world market suffer wild fluctuations. As we all know, only eight to nine million tons, or less than four percent of total world rice production, are traded in the world market. A slight change in total production can result in either a sharp drop or a sharp rise in world prices. Thus, as a recent example, and consistent with production trends, world prices were as low as \$73 per ton in 1973. This price dramatically rose to as high as \$450 a ton in 1974 as a result of the food crisis during that year. As production slightly improved, the price dipped, and then recovered slightly in 1977-78, reaching about \$300 per ton. Today, the world rice price is about \$200 a ton. And this is so low that it is even below production cost.

These wild price fluctuations inherent in the world rice market underscore the need to create a mechanism which would provide for the accumulation of stocks during times of oversupply and release of stocks during times of short age. Such a mechanism will serve to ensure fair prices for producers and at the same time protect consumers from severe shortages and extremely high prices.

This leads us to believe that the establishment of an international rice agreement should seriously be considered as a means to stabilize the international rice trade.

Admittedly, there are many difficulties attendant to the forging of such an agreement, and these include such things as consumer taste, diversity of varieties and grades of rice in the world market. But even while acknowledging these difficulties, we need to explore the means to relieve the instability of the situation and at the same time spur rice production at high levels.

While therefore accepting that it is still premature to speak of an agreement on a global scale, we in ASEAN have taken the first step on a regional scale to establish an ASEAN emergency rice reserve of 50,000 tons, as was agreed among ASEAN heads of state at the Bali summit. With the establishment of this emergency reserve, we envision as the next step the study of the feasibility of establishing a full rice reserve with a mechanism for stock accumulation and release at predetermined trigger prices

It is our belief that this regional effort within ASEAN can serve as a model or precursor for a global mechanism to stabilize the rice trade, since we have within our association both large- and medium-size rice exporters and importers.

In any event, we must surely recognize the fact that the present surplus rice production is a touchstone to a tremendous surge in the productive capacities of many developing countries. Many of these countries, including the

Philippines, once imported rice, and the achievement of self-sufficiency and even surplus production is a gauge of the innate capacity of most Asian countries to relieve their rice deficit problems.

Speaking mainly on the situation in Asia, we cannot avoid remembering that 90 percent of the world's rice is produced in Asia, and that 93 percent of the world's rice is consumed in Asia. But if our recent experience is any gauge, Asia definitely has the capability now to solve its deficit problem right where it exists — in Asia. But only an earnest program of self-reliance and self-sufficiency can transform the present situation.

In this respect, our experience in the Philippines is perhaps instructive as to the developing countries' potential for self-reliance, and their capacity to fill in the present gaps in technology and production and other factors.

In only five years, Masagana 99, our rice production program in the Philippines has enabled us to achieve not only full rice sufficiency, but even a modest surplus production. This was achieved after a process of fully harnessing our productive resources and of integrating within one package the vital aspects of credit, technology, pricing support, and political will, and perhaps some kind of political leadership. All these factors were important, but it was political will which was perhaps decisive in the success of our rice production effort.

For in essence, Masagana 99 involved a massive institutional change in our approach to rice production, a rechanneling of national energies, and foremost of all, a fundamental reform of the ownership of ricelands in the Philippines.

Under the program we revamped our entire credit system to allow our farmers to secure crop loans for the first time in our history, without collateral. We have loaned out under this daring scheme, close to half a billion dollars in only six years. More impressive is the 82 percent repayment record that speaks so well of the character and responsibility of the small Filipino rice farmer. We literally established "banks on wheels," which penetrated the rural farms to extend financial assistance to farmers. The government subsidized fertilizer and at the same time induced farmers to use a new package of technology, including high-yielding varieties which were developed in the International Rice Research Institute in Los Baños, here in the Philippines.

On top of this, we instituted an effective price support program to guarantee our farmers a fair return on their efforts and investments.

Hand in hand, we continued to expand our irrigated areas and embarked on other rural infrastructure in support of production. The increase in irrigation areas must have been four times from the original increase in 1972.

Measured against our long history of deficit production, the Masagana 99 production records has been nothing less than phenomenal. From a low of 2.7 million-ton production in 1973, we have succeeded in raising production to 4.2 million-tons as of 1978, or an average increase of 9.3 per annum. For 1979 our self-sufficiency level is estimated at four million tons, leaving us therefore a 2 million-ton surplus rice production.

I endeavor to underscore the salient aspects of our rice production effort with a view to stressing before this body the real possibilities of an agricultural transformation in Asia today, and to underlying why is it essential that we take measures to prop up this vital upturn in Asian agricultural productivity.

Just as we must seek to encourage rice-deficit countries to achieve self reliance, so it is important to sustain the entire production machinery in our countries for the effort to surpass production levels and maintain surplus production.

We view it therefore as a necessary policy for our government to continue to provide incentives to rice farmers not only by searching for new markets, but significantly by expanding and developing domestic and new industrial uses for rice. It may also be possible for governments to provide export subsidies, in times of surplus production.

But beyond these measures, we plainly must think of means to maintain the currently encouraging rice production record in the midst of the potentially distressing decline of world prices. Production ought not to suffer because of the wild gyrations of international trade. Certainly, developing countries like the Philippines can ill-afford a situation now that will require it to cut down on rice production, for in a sense the rice production effort replicates the whole of what we aspire to do in the total modernization effort. It is a motive force for our total drive towards development.

And it may be that it is the appointed role of this assembly to lend its probity to the problems we face today in rice production and in the rice trade. Certainly, it appears to me that we cannot abstract from the deliberations of this body from the wider circle of inquiry in the global food situation.

There is a unity to our concerns, and that unity ought to be reflected in still more aggressive efforts to pull together in the direction of greater productivity and permanent relief to human hunger and want for this reason, we are most interested also in what the developed nations can do to help in alleviating the world food problem and in assisting us in this particular area of rice production.

Assistance in terms of technology and resources as well as increased investments in rice production is needed from the more capable countries as well as from international organizations. In terms of trade, special considerations should be given by developed countries with surplus stocks to developing countries to enable the latter to acquire the rice that they need immediately.

Specifically, we hope that this forum can take steps to implement policies that would primarily strengthen, rather than reduce, national rice production in both developed and developing countries.

As recommended during the 15th and 19th sessions of the Inter-Governmental group on rice, we favor the expansion of trade among developing countries, considering that increased import demand for rice in the years to come is likely to be mostly in the developing countries.

This assembly has not met under more auspicious circumstances than it does today. I say auspicious because we have before us the warming and encouraging fact of considerable, even prodigious achievement, in global rice production. This leads us to the firm conviction that in this particular part of global needs, our common and joint response will not be wanting.

But there are problems in the world rice situation that must still be faced, and I would hope that your deliberations will bring light upon these problems, and guide us to take the actions that befit the times.

The time is opportune for earnest and creative work together. Let us “work while it is yet day.”

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos before the Interim Batasang Pambansa (IBP), March 21, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Interim Batasang Pambansa (IBP)

[Delivered on March 21, 1979]

An Equilibrium in Prices,
Income and Wages

I HAVE COME to report to you that in the paramount and urgent interest of the nation, especially of our working masses, I have invoked my standby legislative power under the Constitution and caused by appropriate presidential decree and letter of instructions the establishment of a new equilibrium of prices, income and wages.

I wish you to know that I had to act in the face of a new threat posed to our economic stability and growth by a new round of increases in the price of crude oil, and that I had to act swiftly to cushion our people and our economy from the impact of these increases.

The new round of increases in the price of crude oil has gone beyond the official OPEC price of \$14.55 per barrel and over the OPEC price increases of December, 1978, for which we had prepared ourselves. As of last week, the price of oil has risen to \$15.75 per barrel and, in some cases, \$18, \$20 and even more per barrel. This unexpected increase was triggered by the disruption of oil production in Iran and although production in that country has been resumed to a certain extent, the new regime in Iran has several times announced that it will never again sell as much oil as it used to under the old regime nor under the old prices. Thus it is very doubtful if the new oil prices will soon, if ever, recede.

Other nations have followed the example of setting their own prices in disregard of the OPEC agreement. This example has been set by one or two countries and now it is being replicated at will by others.

The prospects in the local price and cost of gasoline and oil are now well known to every one of us. The studies by the government as well as by the sectors that have been consulted on this matter have suggested that the following prices may be the basis for further action by the Energy Board within the next several days, if not tomorrow.

For the current retail price of premium gasoline which was originally P1.81 per liter, there is an increase of 23.2 percent to a resultant retail price of P2.23; regular gasoline, from the current retail price of P1.66 to P2.07; kerosene, from the current retail price of P1.12 to P1.37; and diesel, retail price of P1.21 to P1.41.

There will be an average increase of about 23 percent. Notwithstanding our own discovery and exploitation of oil reserves at Palawan — the initial exploitation and drawing of oil having started as early as January 27, 1979 from the NIDO complex, which was formally celebrated in a ceremony at Malacañang Palace this morning during the awarding of the Presidential Merit Medal to Mr. Robert Sellers, chairman of the Cities Services — about 85 to 90 percent of our total oil requirements must still be imported. This situation makes us still highly vulnerable to any upward movement in oil prices as well as any scarcity or deficiency in oil supply.

We have been notified by the oil companies servicing us and with whom we have contracts that their delivery of oil will be lessened by 9 percent this year. We consume 220,000 barrels a day or a total of 19 million barrels a year at a total cost of about \$1 billion.

So we have taken steps to reduce consumption by at least 10 percent. While some industries and economic activities such as transportation and electricity will be more affected than others, the current oil price increase will generally be reflected in higher prices for commodities covered by the government's socialized pricing program.

The oil which we import is utilized in general as follows: 36 percent, which is the biggest allocation, goes to industry, and 19 percent goes to the generation or production of power.

A more serious threat is the worldwide repercussions of such developments to developing countries like the Philippines. The experience in 1973 indicates three possible serious problems that can hurt the economies of the developing countries.

First, the depressing effects of a sharp rise in oil prices on the aggregate demand of the major world markets imply that our export revenues may not grow as vigorously as we wish at a time when we most need the dollars generated from them.

Second, the added pressure on the operation of the international trading and financial system caused by a sudden transfer of income or of currency and funds from oil-importing countries to oil-exporting countries, will make more difficult the management and balancing of international payments. While I remain confident that our government will continue to be able to ease our international indebtedness through various sources of foreign exchange, I cannot help but sigh at what we could have done or could do for the further development of our country, with the funds that are flowing out of our economy every year to pay for our imported oil— which incidentally, represent the total of our balance of trade deficits valued before the increase in oil prices at one billion dollars and now expected to increase to \$1.2 billion.

Third the impetus to cost-push inflation generated in the industrialized countries (as result of the higher fuel prices) will eventually be transmitted to importing countries like the Philippines. Various estimates have indicated that fuel prices can directly and indirectly affect as much as 15 percent of production costs in the manufacturing industries. But if we include the prices of other imported items, over which we also have no control, as much as 33 percent of production costs in these industries will be subject to upward adjustments. Inevitably, the added cost of oil will be translated into a higher cost of living for everyone.

In the face of this situation, the cost of living is projected to increase beyond the annual 7 percent as anticipated by the NEDA development plan. The inflation factor will likely be closer to the double-digit level, meaning beyond the 10 percent level and even slightly more. If such price movements had come at a period of relative price stability, the magnitude of change might not have caused as much concern to everyone. Unfortunately, this new development is only the latest round of rapid price increases in a period that has significantly reduced the purchasing power of the peso.

With 1972 as the base year, the consumer price index as measured by the Central Bank and the NEDA, has risen to 227 in January 1979, or more than double that of 1972. One peso in 1972 was worth P0.49 in 1978 in Metropolitan Manila.

During the last seven years, it has been our policy in times like this to cushion our people from the adverse effects of rising prices. Thus, we have provided our workers with emergency cost-of-living allowances, 13th month pay increases in minimum wages, and 11 paid legal holidays as well as overtime pay. Moreover, even in times of recession, we have made it a policy to promote economic expansion notwithstanding the difficulties in order to maintain existing jobs and generate new employment and opportunities. In addition, we have placed certain essential commodities under what we refer to as the socialized pricing program in order to keep their prices within the reach of the working masses. In the case of rice, our staple food, we have been subsidizing its production and regulating its supply and price.

It has been the policy of the government, as reflected in PD 1123 and 1389, to adjust and insure the peaceful and orderly establishment of an equilibrium in prices, income and wages. On the other hand, the impending price increases have threatened to erode the real income of workers. Against this backdrop, we have therefore, instituted

certain measures aimed at restoring the buying power of the peso for the Filipino workers while at the same time ascertaining the continuing growth and expansion of our economy to insure the provision of employment opportunities for a growing labor force.

In view of the exigency, I took it upon myself last week to invoke the emergency powers to enact decrees vested in me by the Philippine Constitution as Prime Minister and President of the Republic in order to arrest an impending economic crisis which could seriously affect the well-being of our people and the entire performance of our economy. I refer here to my signing Presidential Decree 1614 last March 14 and, of course, Letter of Instructions 829 on the same date. I have also taken other governmental measures to counter the adverse effects of higher oil prices.

As I have said, I decided to exercise the standby legislative power under the Constitution because our workers and the great number of our people — the workers numbering 16 million — and their dependents needed immediate, urgent relief. To have made them wait, no matter how briefly, would have been to make them doubt the efficacy of the New Society in coming to their help on time. The New Society is founded on faith in the identity of interests and aspirations between the people and the government. We cannot permit any doubt to undermine such faith.

Presidential Decree 1614 is intended to cushion the wage earners from the impact of the scheduled rise in prices. This measure is based on the recommendation of the National Tripartite Conference on minimum wage adjustment, attended by representatives of organized labor, the business management sector, and the government, which was held last March 7 to 8 in Tagaytay City.

As you are well aware, the National Tripartite Conference is a mechanism that is enshrined in the Labor Code and it is a mechanism that brings together all the sectors of our economy in order to recommend to the President the adjustments that may be necessary on this subject of wages, income and prices.

On the recommendation of the participants of that conference, I have signed Presidential Decree No. 1614, adjusting the minimum wage as follows. Although this has been well published, allow me once again to put on record these adjustments: for non-agricultural workers in Metro Manila, P13 a day; for non-agricultural workers outside Metro Manila, P12 a day; for plantation agricultural workers, P10 a day; and for non-plantation agricultural workers, P9 a day.

These adjustments reflect a general two-peso increase in the legal minimum wage.

But this is not all. In addition to the minimum wage adjustments for workers, Presidential Decree 1614 also provides for a cost-of-living allowance to employees who receive less than P1 ,000 a month, based on the following schedule: for non-agricultural workers, P60 a month; for plantation agricultural workers, P40 a month; for non-plantation agricultural workers P40 a month.

All told, the effective take-home pay of agricultural and non-agricultural workers throughout the country will increase by an average 28 percent. For non-agricultural workers in Metro Manila, the increase will be P4.66 per day or 28 percent from the existing P16.64 to P21.30 per day; for non-agricultural workers outside Metro Manila, the increase is P4.67 per day or 30.1 percent from P15.52 to P20.19 per day; for plantation agricultural workers there is an increase of P3.86 per day or 29 percent increase from the original P13.29 to P17 15 per day. For non-plantation agricultural workers there is an increase of P3 08 per day or 25.3 percent from the original P12.17 to P15.25 per day.

Since the P8 minimum wage in 1972 is now equivalent to P19.78 in actual purchasing power, the new effective minimum wage for non-agricultural workers inside and outside Metro Manila has exceeded the 1972 minimum wage by 1.52. In agriculture, while the cost of living has increased by only 44 percent since 1972, the agricultural minimum wages have increased by 360 percent for plantation agriculture and 321 percent for non-plantation agriculture.

The increase in the cost of living since 1972 is 244 percent. In order to recoup this, we have increased the minimum wage in agricultural wages by 360 percent, and in non-plantation agriculture by 321 percent.

In relation to the American dollar, the effective minimum wage today can buy US\$2.91, while the P4 minimum wage in 1951 could buy only \$2 flat, and the P6 minimum wage today buys more than the minimum wages in 1951 and in 1972. Therefore, we have succeeded in protecting and even improving the purchasing power of wages of our low income groups during the last seven years in the face of the most savage assaults of inflation and recession the world over.

The new Minimum Wage Law has closed the last remaining gap between the real wages of 1972 and the real wages today, and as I said, in fact exceeds this further, goes further to improve upon the real wages of that index year. The index year we refer to is 1972.

Now with PD 1614, the new minimum wage or the new package add up, for Metropolitan Manila, to a total of P21.30 as against P16.64 before PD 1614. This consists of the basic minimum wage of P13 and the pre-existing cost of living allowance under PD 525 and PD 1123. For all workers receiving P600 monthly or less, or 64 percent of the wage earning population, the new cost of living allowance under PD 1614 is P2.39. For all workers receiving P1,000 or less, or 90 percent of the entire wage-earning labor force, we have an additional P1.08. Eleven paid holidays, now including National Heroes Day under LOI 814, P0.47, for a total of P21.30.

In addition to the benefits already cited in the package under PD 1614, the workers under the Labor Code also enjoy 25 percent premium pay for overtime work, and 10 percent night differential pay; 100 percent additional pay for work on legal holidays; 30 percent premium pay for work rendered on weekly rest days and special holidays; and a minimum five-day vacation leave with pay which is commutable.

In addition to this minimum labor standard established by law, most of the organized workers numbering about two million enjoy wages and benefits significantly higher than those required by law.

There are a total of over 2,000 collective bargaining agreements which extend to the workers a wider range of benefits than those granted by law.

This timely wage adjustment was made in order to arrest the erosion of the purchasing power of the incomes of our wage earners, and at the same time ensure their financial capability to meet the additional expenses in the event that the cost of living will increase by more than 10 percent in 1979.

While the government is aware that the fixed income groups, especially the great mass of wage earners, have to be helped to cope with the higher cost of living, it has not failed to note the problems of industries and the other need of ensuring the continuing growth and expansion of industry and the provision of employment opportunities for a growing labor force. This is why I have issued Letter of Instructions No. 829, governing the implementation of PD 1614, to the Ministry of Labor with the end in view of establishing a viable equilibrium among prices, income and wages and relieving the temporarily distressed, labor-intensive and export-oriented industries of the difficulties that may arise resulting from the higher minimum wage levels. This is to ensure the viable operation of these industries and the continued employment of their workers.

Letter of Instructions No. 829, therefore, aims to avoid the dislocation of distressed enterprises and of those enterprises which because of their nature cannot readily adjust to higher minimum wage levels.

The cottage and handicrafts industry, for instance, will be exempt from PD No. 1614 until further notice, provided that the additional wage increase of P2 provided under PD 1389 will be implemented by all firms in the industry starting April 1, 1979. This means that the minimum wage shall be P10 for NACIDA-registered firms employing more than 30 workers, and for all other employers, P11 for workers outside Metro Manila and P12 in Metro Manila. The cottage and handicrafts industry accounts for 47 percent of all non-agricultural employment and is the main source of additional income in the rural areas.

As everybody knows, the sugar industry has been exempted from the minimum wage levels until the effective composite price of sugar to producers reaches 13 U.S. cents per picul at its peso equivalent.

However, I have ordered the Philippine Sugar Commission to allow the sale of sugar domestically at reasonably increased rates. This requires a study as to how the new minimum wage can now apply to sugar.

In the hotel and restaurant industry, 50 percent of the credited tips or service charges shall be included in the computation of the minimum wage for the purpose of compliance with PD 1614.

The labor-intensive export industries such as the shoe and leather industry, furniture, electronics and the garments industry shall be required to implement the new minimum wage on May 1, 1979 and the P60 allowance on June 1, 1979, in order to give them time for the necessary adjustments, especially with respect to their overseas contracts, which I understand, cover an advance period of six months at the very least.

For construction and service contractors, compliance with Presidential Decree 1614 shall be the joint and several liability of the contractor and the principal unless the contract provides for an automatic escalation clause.

In the retail and service establishments, the new minimum wage shall not apply to establishments employing not more than 10 employees. However, the PI increase scheduled on May 1, 1979 under PD 1389 shall be implemented on April 1, 1979, and another PI increase shall be implemented on May 1, 1980.

Private educational institutions shall comply only with the new minimum wage upon approval of their petitions for tuition fee increases by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The measures we have adopted under PD 1614 and LOI 829, by themselves alone will not give the economy the necessary countervailing thrust to fight the recessionary effects of the oil price increase. Rather, these measures represent only a portion of the total package that will be used in order to ensure for us that our overall development programs will not be derailed.

Toward this end I have issued, or will issue, the following additional instructions:

1) I have authorized the creation of the Energy Development Fund with an initial capitalization of P500 million. This fund will be utilized to accelerate the exploration and development of both our oil and non-oil energy sources, such as the NIDO and Matinloc areas, the geothermal and hydro-power projects, and the coal development and other sources of energy under our programs. The objective is to reduce our total dependence on imported oil.

2) I have directed a reordering of government expenditures. Current government expenditures will be reduced by another 5 percent. This is in addition to the 10 percent reduction I had previously ordered. The funds from these savings will be channeled to government capital expenditures so that priority development projects will continue to be implemented without impediment. On the other hand, I have also relaxed the restrictions imposed by LOI 805 and 806 on the grant of personnel allowances, the filling up of vacancies, the hiring of casuals, temporary and emergency employees, including consultants and contractual personnel so as not to hamper essential services and activities of the government.

Under this proposal or order, we expect to save from our total budget an amount equivalent to P3.5 million. It is expected that we will require about P3 billion in additional cost for infrastructure.

3) In order to assist priority industries which may be seriously affected by the wage-price increases, I hereby instruct the economic ministries to revise the financial fiscal assistance and incentive packages which could be availed of by these industries. The ministries will submit these measures before April 1, 1979.

4) Corollary to this, I also hereby instruct the monetary authorities and the monetary board to recommend proposals to reduce the rates of interest in order to make available money on easy terms to priority industries.

5) In order to encourage the production of essential goods which have been placed under socialized pricing, the government has de-listed milk, sugar, textiles and school pads and notebooks except those made of newsprint. Other

items like GI sheets, cement, cooking oil, laundry soap, selected drugs and medicines and infant dietetics are being considered for an increase in price ceilings or for de-listing.

It is expected that hearings will be conducted on this matter.

6).To help employees who are not covered by the wage increase, I have authorized the NGA to sell rice at subsidized prices to firms for the use of their affected employees and laborers.

7).To partially offset the expected tuition fee increases, I have directed our financial institutions to increase their loan fund for education — which now totals to about P40 million — by P5 million each. This is the Study Now Pay Later Plan — and to expand the coverage of the loan program to parents for educational purposes. This merely means that if the parents feel that they lack the funds for the schooling of their children, they themselves can apply to this loan fund.

8).To bring down the prices of certain prime commodities, I have instructed the Tariff Commission to submit to me a list of items — such as tin plates, tomato paste used in sardine manufacture, beef briskets for the manufacture and processing of meat products — for tariff reduction, if not complete elimination.

In the meantime, I have also directed the Ministry of Agriculture and the Bureau of Animal Industry to now directly handle the possible retailing thru the markets in Metropolitan Manila of chilled or frozen beef to bring down the price of meat and release funds to support the activity. This low-priced meat will be sold at every public market in Metropolitan Manila.

At the same time, I have ordered the entering of both government and the private sector into a contract with the biggest soya bean producers for soya bean products or what are referred to as textured vegetable protein. These are the products similar to meat but which are produced from soya bean and which sell at prices 30 to 40 percent less than beef or meat or chicken or pork.

9) I am also fully aware that the scheduled increase in prices will also affect our government workers and employees.

I have ordered the fiscal and budgetary authorities of our government to now start granting proper and corresponding salary increases to government officers and employees. I say officers and employees, but I am afraid this will not include the members of the Batasang Pambansa. The increase will total an expenditure of about P800 million to P1 billion. Its aim is to approximate the wage adjustment that workers and employees of the private sector will get.

I am, therefore, directing the Ministry of the Budget to submit to me a definite proposal to effect salary increases amounting to P800 million to P1 billion for government employees.

10) Last, but not the least, I am reiterating my directive on energy conservation, as contained in LOI 328, to all agencies in the government and private sector. While it is a known fact that the Philippines is in a stage of rapid industrialization, which from the experience of many other countries is a point of increasing energy consumption, I am also certain that there is still enough leeway to cut wasteful and non-essential energy consumption.

I hereby immediately require all ministries, bureaus and agencies of the government, including all government-owned and controlled corporations to reduce their oil, electricity and power consumption by anywhere from five to ten percent and to institute energy conservation measures in their respective offices and operations. A report on this will be submitted directly to the Office of the President.

I am also asking and challenging the private sector not only to do the same but to take the active lead in this regard. For after all, such economies and conservation measures will redound to the benefit of these industries

I also hereby direct the various ministries, particularly the transport-related agencies and the Ministry of Finance to immediately review and recommend measures that will further encourage conservation, particularly in the areas of the use of transportation, both public and private, and other unnecessary use of electricity, like neon lights.

In spite of some difficulties that may lie ahead, let me also assure you that we still have a dynamic and flexible economy that is expected to grow in real terms by at least six percent annually, a rate still higher than the long-term historical record of our country and other developing countries. In fact, the Center for Research and Communication (CRC), a private research institution that is well known for liberal forecasts of the Philippine economy, is even bolder in a rare economic assessment which sees 1979, "as a year of recovery, not of recession," with the growth prospect better than the performance of 1979, notwithstanding the oil price increases.

In this rare optimistic forecast, the CRC economists view the wage price adjustments not only within reason and limits but as very essential to the overall economic health of the country. According to the CRC, "Business firms (after initial difficulties) will soon experience an improvement in consumer purchases, especially in the urban markets. Beyond that, they will have prepared for themselves a solid base that is, capacity expansion) for sustaining the economic recovery even into 1980."

In effect, the various measures that we have instituted are not only in the right direction but are necessary and timely countervailing thrusts that will bring further expansion, instead of its being overwhelmed by external adverse forces.

These are the measures I have taken and will take in the near future to defend our people and our economy from the adverse effects of this new crisis that is a building throughout the world.

I have acted swiftly, and I reiterate that I have acted only after due consultations in accordance with the Labor Code, with the representative organizations of all our economic sector. I have acted to restore the real wages of the Filipino worker, not only to restore his purchasing power as of 1951 or 1972 but even beyond. At the same time, I have ascertained the future viability of our enterprises and the continued growth on the Philippine economy.

I have acted to alleviate specific hardships, but at the same time, I have acted to respond comprehensively and fundamentally to the problems raised by the new round of increases in oil prices.

In so acting, I believe I have vindicated before our people the capability of our government, the crisis government, to cope not only with political but with economic crisis as well.

We face uncertain and trying times ahead. And yet there is no doubt in my mind that we shall prevail. We shall succeed. We shall overcome all difficulties. The Filipino people have proven equal to all the challenges of the past and will no doubt prove equal to the present one. The crisis government we established seven years ago has always proven equal to the task of defending the national, as well as the economic, security and stability of our country; and will no doubt again prove equal to the present task of defending the people, the economy and the entire nation from the ravages of this economic crisis. Together, the Filipino people and their government meet this new challenge.

Together with you, the members of the Batasang Pambansa, I am confident that we shall be able to cope with the crisis and that we shall be able to avoid being detained in our national development efforts.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos during the dedication ceremonies of the NIDO oil complex in Palawan, March 21, 1979

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the dedication ceremonies of the NIDO oil complex in Palawan

[Delivered at the Maharlika Hall, March 21, 1979]

Reducing Our Dependence on Oil

THIS IS INDEED a happy occasion. These ceremonies were supposed to be held at the production platform of the Cities Services and the Philippine companies of NIDO Palawan today. Unfortunately circumstances did not allow us to proceed to the site. And perhaps it is therefore best that these ceremonies that are principally a formal recognition and appreciation of the work of the private sector in oil exploration and exploitation in the Philippines should happen here in Maharlika Hall, the hall of free men, which symbolizes not only the authority of the President of the Republic of the Philippines but also the sovereignty of the Filipino people.

These ceremonies and the formal opening of the production of oil from the NIDO complex coincide with the worldwide oil crisis occasioned not only by the OPEC price increases but also the developments in the Middle East which have resulted in the deficiencies in oil supply.

The present NIDO complex started operating January 27 this year, meaning that as of that date, we started to draw oil commercially from the two wells under contract with Cities Services and the Philippine companies. I spoke of the Philippine companies. I also wish to refer to the Philippine organizations that have strongly supported the government program on oil exploitation: Oriental, headed by Mr. Vincent Recto; Philippine Overseas by Mr. Henry Brimo; Landoil and Basic, headed by Jose and Oscar de Venecia.

The question has often been asked me: To what do you ascribe the sudden spurt of oil exploration in the Philippines which dramatically increased in 1972? I place the cutoff date on December 1972, for on that day, I signed Presidential Decree No. 87 which converted the old concession system into the service contract system.

Under the service contract, we encouraged the entry of private capital, both foreign and domestic, under a sharing arrangement — 60 percent of production to go to government and 40 percent to go to the service contractors. This particular sharing formula was the result of a long study which had been pending the Office of the President and with Congress for many, many years, before 1972. For many varied reasons, Congress could never get around to amending the old system of oil exploration by concession.

It is the policy of the Philippine government that the principal action agents in exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons in the Philippines should be the private sector. The government, of course, in accordance with its basic policy in economic development, sets the atmosphere, the guidelines, the orientation, works out the support organizations from government, and to a certain extent spends for whatever infrastructure may be required for oil exploration and exploitation. But the principal agent of the entire operation for oil exploration and exploitation is and will continue to be the private sector.

On this occasion, therefore, I wish to announce that it is the intention of government to continue with this policy in order that there may be no slowdown in the participation of the private sector in our oil exploration efforts.

At the same time, however, government has organized a government-owned corporation that engages in drilling and possibly exploitation. However, based on our studies, my own personal studies, and the studies of my advisers, I believe that the resources of government could best be utilized not in oil exploration but in the development of other

sources of energy. This is the reason why in the energy program for the next ten years, there is programmed an expenditure of \$ 13.9 billion, or about P111 billion, for the development of such sources of energy as coal, nuclear power, geothermal, hydro-electric, solar, even biogas or marsh gas, and whatever else that we feel can be utilized in the Philippines.

This ten-year program is just starting. It is only two years old. But we consider the program on oil exploration one of the principal and basic supports of the program. For up to now, the main source of energy in the Philippines is oil; 36 percent of the entire energy costs is allocated for transport energy cost, meaning, the gasoline that we use for all kinds of vehicles. Both government and the private sector consume 36 percent of our entire oil bill; 35 percent is consumed by industry; 19 percent goes into the generation of electricity. In the generation of electricity, again, most of the sources are powered by oil.

And thus it is that the exploration of oil and the exploitation of available indigenous sources of hydrocarbons become a very critical matter for the survival and the economic development of our country.

Today, the NIDO complex produces a total 10,000 barrels a day from the two wells. The third well is being drilled right now. And it is hoped that there will be five producing wells. By June or July, according to the program by Cities Services and the consortium, we will be producing 40,000 barrels a day from five producing wells. If we do produce 40,000 barrels a day, then we should be producing about 15 percent of our requirements.

Our requirements as of today are 220,000 barrels daily, or 90 million barrels annually. It is the intention of government that we should reduce this dependence on oil all around. It is the intention of government that our people should participate in the effort to cut down on the use of oil products.

As with other countries of the world, we have been notified by the oil companies that there will be a shortage of oil deliveries of about 9 percent of our requirements. Our immediate reaction to that is to transmit to our people this information and to appeal to each and everyone now to take steps in order to reduce the consumption of oil throughout the country by at least 10 percent. This is embodied in many and various letters of instructions and decrees. Indeed as the Philippine consortia and the Cities Services, as well as the other service contractors like Chevron, Caltex, Amoco (which is going to drill in Cadlao), Phillips, Shell (which has just finished its second well in Palawan), Houston Natural Gas, and many others, it is the belief of the Philippine government and the Filipino people that the Philippines has sufficient oil to meet all the energy requirements of the country. However, we cannot just await the possible exploration and development and exploitation of these resources.

And thus it is that we are moving forward towards the development of the cheaper sources of energy. As of now, I have issued instructions that greater emphasis be placed on geothermal development. And thus we have one geothermal source already in operation in Tiwi, Albay. It is now producing 55 megawatts. It is due to produce ultimately, in about five to eight years, about 200 to 300 megawatts.

We are also moving into the Banahaw and Makiling areas where our service contractors have discovered a similarly substantial source of geothermal energy. Right now there is also a development in the province of the First Lady. In Togonan, Leyte, it is hoped the 100 megawatts of energy that will be produced there will be utilized by a copper smelter plant that is supposed to be located in the municipality of Sta. Isabel, near Ormoc City.

Today, our country formally recognizes the sacrifice, the dedication, the continuous and patient work that has been put into the exploration of oil in the Philippines.

We recognize the achievement of Cities Services not only in the discovery of oil but in immediately putting into production the NIDO complex, and now it is moving into a similar complex, Matinloc, which Cities Services also discovered a few months ago.

We recognize the efforts not only of the Cities Services, not only of the members of the Philippine consortium, but also the efforts of all service contractors and the other persons in the past several years, or for that matter, many years, inasmuch as the exploration for oil started as early during the Spanish times. I understand that oil was

discovered in Cebu but in non-commercial quantities a long time before the arrival of the first American soldiers. However, this is the first real commercial discovery in the Philippines.

As we congratulate Cities Services, it is also our hope and prayer that they will continue to discover more complexes like NIDO.

Allow me, therefore, to say on behalf of our people and the Republic of the Philippines — as we did in the citation that has just been read on the award of the Presidential merit medal to Mr. Sellers — that this happy event does indeed strengthen the resolve of the Filipino people to meet and overcome all obstacles and all problems with which we are confronted today. With such achievements, we are confident that we will succeed.

And to each and everyone, therefore, again, we say, congratulations.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the opening ceremonies of UNCTAD V
May 7, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening ceremonies of UNCTAD V

[Delivered at the PICC, May 7, 1979]

The Meaning of UNCTAD

I AM DEEPLY honored to welcome you on behalf of our people and the Republic of the Philippines.

It is indeed a singular and unprecedented honor for us, for from my point of view you represent all of humankind. I say advisedly that you are representatives of humankind, for naive as it may sound, I do believe that in your deliberations in this conference, you will act, feel and think, first and foremost, as delegates of a common human race and not as representatives of this or that country, or this or that group of interests, or this or that social or economic system.

Perhaps while in flight to Manila from your respective homes, you must have seen through the window that only the natural and permanent configurations of the earth are discernible — the land, the seas, the rivers, the mountain ranges, the green valleys, the yellow deserts, and occasionally the habitations of man, sad or proud, miserable or majestic. From that height one can no longer tell the outward difference of one man from another. One cannot see whether the man is brown or white, or yellow, or black. Nor can one hear the languages they use, or know the gods and the philosophies they believe in. One cannot say whether they are poor or rich, primitive or sophisticated, bound or free. For from that height, frontiers disappear, and disparate allegiances, the rancorous grievances, the ambitions, the failings and discontent — all these are lost. And one, single elemental fact of real significance remains, and that is the men and women who have an equal share of common fate and destiny.

It is this fundamental truth that I hope will inspire the deliberations of this conference. For I am certain that we are done with platitudes, with the angry demands and the arrogant refusals, the exhortations, the dramatic declarations, the sweeping programs. We are done with all of these, and after twenty years we must now settle down to some hard and strenuous bargaining.

It is our hope that all our preparations for this conference are to your satisfaction. For as has been said, we are a small and poor, developing country, but we have strained our limited resources in order to demonstrate to you the hospitality of our people, and also because we realize the crucial importance of this conference.

You also come in the midst of a resolute effort on the part of our people to restructure our nation and our society. It is our hope that you will see in this a paradigm of your own task to design and build a new world economic order. For not too many years ago, our people were enmeshed in a bitter and seemingly insolvable conflict between those who had too little and those who had too much and yet wanted more. We were slowly sinking in the morass of indecision, in destructive divisiveness, in arrogant hostility, until we realized it was bringing us to only one conclusion: disintegration and national suicide.

We decided then to put an end to this arid and useless anguish and struggle and arrived at a common consensus over and above individual party and ideological differences, a consensus to create a new society of social justice and nobility and dignity, with equal opportunities for the resources of our country as well as the obligations, and equal opportunity to determine our common fate.

A comparative vision is what I commend to the common interest of all the delegations, the nations represented here — a common interest in the restructuring of an antiquated economic order. For indeed, this is the very purpose of UNCTAD. This is the fifth conference, and the first four conferences have left a record which somehow makes it difficult for us to state the conclusion — that we are not moving anywhere after twenty years.

The less developed nations in their predicament are moving from bad to worse, and if there are any marginal advances by the other developed countries, this is due to their resolute, individual efforts against the handicaps imposed by an antiquated and mostly irrelevant and unworkable economic system. And now almost everyone must face this common difficulty of a resurgent protectionism.

Yes, this is UNCTAD V. We have had four before this. And the record may speak of ambivalence, nay, of ambiguity. Perhaps of slow, reluctant advances but more of stubborn stalemates, and the impression that there has been consistent frustration of the cogent plans and programs prepared by a dedicated and highly trained secretariat headed by Secretary General Corea and his predecessors, to whom I must now pay a well-deserved tribute.

Yes, notwithstanding all the constant reminders and all the gallant efforts of the other theoreticians and the activists of change, notwithstanding the deterioration of the national economies and the resulting international interaction, there seems to be some kind of a despondency, a mood of impotence. We are content to drift from day to day, from year to year, from one small emergency to another, from one local difficulty to another. If it is not currency, it is inflation. If it is not scarcity, it is stagnation.

And this is what UNCTAD is all about. UNCTAD is the instrument which was organized and created in order to attain and approximate some equality and balance in the international economic order.

The first UNCTAD was initially a success inasmuch as it established the instrumentality for the implementation of the policies seeking to attain this objective of equitable distribution of resources.

The second UNCTAD in New Delhi established the preferences or generalized scheme of preferences for manufactures and semi-manufactures of developing countries, which unfortunately will soon expire.

The third UNCTAD in Santiago de Chile established the charter for the rights and obligations of states. It was approved in the latter part of 1964 by the United Nations.

The fourth UNCTAD which was held in Nairobi in 1976, and which I personally attended, commissioned by the Group of 77 in the Third Ministerial Meeting here in Manila to present the Manila Declaration and the program of action, including the establishment of a common fund, an integrated commodity program for commodities on which most of the developing countries depend.

And now we have the fifth UNCTAD, and its agenda is impressively comprehensive. For it attacks a broad front. It looks into an assessment of the world economic situation as well as trading and, more particularly, resurgent protectionism. The commodities program, the monetary and fiscal policies, the diversification and increase in exports of the developing countries, the participation of developing countries in shipping, trade between countries of different economic and social systems. Even in the best of times, agreement on working arrangements or even on principles would have been most hazardous, and yet these are not the best of times. For every country feels this atmosphere of crisis. Slowly we are sinking and sinking. And I repeat, everybody feels the impotence that seems to bind our thoughts and minds, incapable of innovation, of working out practical solutions to our problems.

And yet UNCTAD V seeks to attack this broad front of problems. Barely a few weeks ago, after three years of strenuous and arduous negotiations, most of the countries have agreed on some kind of a compromise agreement on the commodity fund. As to function, as to objectives, as to finance commitments in the amount of pledges of \$400 million and an expected \$280 million — in this conference, I dare, I venture to hope for the fulfillment of these expectations.

UNCTAD was the answer to the panic that ensued in response to crisis. For UNCTAD has always meant the noble pursuit of an equitable system throughout the world. It also is a system which grants the developing countries an opportunity to demonstrate that the proposals that they have submitted do not mean an outstretched hand on which the benevolent rich countries may deposit their charity. But rather, it is a program of increasing self-reliance that can confer benefit even on the rich nations, that may have a corresponding benefit to give.

UNCTAD was the answer to the panic that ensued after every crisis, for it meant courage — courage on the part of every nation and every country. Courage to realize that the old order established by the victorious western countries after the Second World War is no longer working. Courage to face the reality of a new world that followed the disintegration of metropolitan relationships, and the entry of new forces into the traditional equilibrium. Courage also to participate in this inescapable and common task of dismantling the remnants of the old order and creating a completely new one, instead of shoring up this creaky world machinery with emergency measures that will merely prolong our agony and our common embattlement.

Yes, UNCTAD also means vision, the capability of everyone, rich and poor nations alike, to lift themselves from the common ordinary level of statements of immediate loss and profit to the disregard of immediate benefit for future stability.

And so I end with the same thought. Naive as it may sound, I still think you represent all of humankind. Naive as it may sound, I trust that you will act as delegates of each and every man on earth, not of any country nor any interest, nor any social or economic system. Naive as it may sound, I know you realize the urgency. For the great number of deprived peoples in this world can no longer wait. They cannot stand on quibbles and reservations and exceptions and further study. The weary and weather-beaten farmers and their wives and their children who sometimes feel cheated because of falling prices beyond their control — they cannot wait. And neither can the black-lunged and black-faced miners who seem impotent before industrial forces. Perhaps the rich can wait. And the powerful, they will wait; they will bide their time. But the impoverished, forsaken peoples of our nations cannot wait.

UNCTAD V must do its best to break this vicious cycle of crisis and impotence. And by one single pragmatic act of accommodation and not of arrogant confrontation, start a momentum of change and creativity which will solve our present distemper.

I am certain, I am confident that the delegates to this conference will be those representatives, born on the wings of the most exulted and noble aspirations of humanity. They will act with greatness, with courage, with vision, with dignity.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 5th Philippine Business Conference

[Delivered at the PICC, November 16, 1979]

WE HAVE JUST heard the recommendations of your study groups. I have just received this voluminous report which reads more like a reorganization of government than anything else. As usual the chamber, now with the cooperation of the Federation of the Filipino-Chinese Chambers of Commerce, has the answers to all the problems of government.

I am always inspired whenever I come to this gathering. I don't know of any other country where one can gather all the experts of the private sector; they come voluntarily and work on the problems of the economy, by the corresponding departments and ministries, agencies and offices of government. They work out these problems and actually act as consultants and advisers of the President, as well as of the Cabinet.

I can only say that it is also a manifestation of the fact that there is really nothing that can test the effectivity, validity and the wisdom of the various government policies than to have them worked out by the private sector, diagnosed, analyzed and looked into in a very intensive manner as you have done — to the minutest detail.

I have no doubt that the forum which you have here is slowly being institutionalized into an effective instrument of cooperation between the private and the public sector. I am certain that no leader in the future will be able to do away with this forum.

For five years now we have been meeting. For five years now you have analyzed all the government operations. You have been free to present recommendations and to criticize both the policy as well as the implementation of government.

This review of government policies, business problems and economic opportunities is to me one of the reasons why I have great confidence that while today we are confronted with a serious crisis all over the world and in the Philippines, this period will be remembered in our history as the period of explosion, of initiative, of talent, of the growth and progress of our economy.

It is indeed strange how the Filipino operates. Unless he is pressed hard and becomes almost desperate, he sort of moves along, floats with the current. But once pressed with difficulties and confronted by danger, he unites with everybody and confronts the common enemy. And this is happening today.

Who could ever have imagined that at this very dark period of our history and of the world's economy the Philippines is planning to move into the development of industry, the explosion of big industries.

There are many who would look at this with serious misgivings, with skepticism. But knowing the psychology of the Filipino, I am almost certain that it is precisely because of this crisis, because of this danger that the Filipino will utilize all his talents, all his time, and all his God-given gifts in order to attain this laudable objective. And in this effort, of course, the two chambers — the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Philippines and the Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chambers of Commerce — must be congratulated.

The presence here of these two chambers does remind me that there is really nothing lost in bringing together all elements. Of course this may not be true in politics, but there is nothing wrong with this cooperation coming in and working with us in government, including those who do not see eye to eye with our policies, or who don't think very much of Marcos, anyway. But for the present, since we are confronted with common enemies, common problems, common dangers, I think it is time that we unite and overcome our difficulties. And then after we have overcome them, let us quarrel all over again about the division of party. Right now, I don't think there is very much to quarrel about.

You know, my critics are really smart. They criticize me, but they don't want to assume the responsibility of solving the problems, so that in case of failure they can take over. But when they do take over they will compound and complicate all the problems. So I don't think we will give them a chance to do that. I mean, on the basis of past performance, we, you businessmen — talk of track record — I am not campaigning now, but compare the track record of all these vociferous individuals who seem to know all the answers but are living in a dream world. And find out what they did when they were in power. What solutions did they have? They have nothing but timidity. They have nothing but pessimism. They have nothing but quarrels, stalemate between factions in Congress. You even had a burgeoning subversive problem, anarchy and all these.

Now, against that, you present the track record of the present administration and there is really basis for comparison. So I guess — I am just thinking aloud — I guess I have reason to say as I said when I was asked yesterday during the press conference: What do you think of this plan to call a national election, discard the Constitution and throw away the laws that have been approved from 1972 to 1979? And naturally, I said, that must have been said with tongue in cheek. Meaning, it was told as a joke, so we should treat it as a joke because these guys are a big joke. They cannot seriously consider the fact that we are meeting with reality. Reality is here and now. Heaven and hell is here and now. It is not in the afterlife. It is here. And I have a feeling that this period, starting with 1979 and on from there, will see the explosion of such initiative, of such development, of such progress in the Philippines that we may even surprise ourselves. I don't know, but this is gut feeling. It is an instinct which I have within me.

And I repeat, if I know the Filipino — he has been pushed hard enough, he has been made desperate enough, and today he has made up his mind, well, he is not going to be left behind. And we are going to develop the country on those lines that we have set in order to attain our dreams and objectives.

I can only say that those recommendations that were presented by the conference had taken into account even LOI 942. However, there are certain aspects of the problem which, I think, we should look into. And I intend to do this now.

This conference occurs at the end of a decade. We have just finished let us say, the decade where we attended to agriculture, to such programs as land reform. We divided the big landed estates, and the tenants, who were the source of subversion, revolution and rebellion, were given their shares of land. Labor was rationalized, given a better share of the income and the fruits of progress and modernization. The educational system is slowly being made relevant to the requirements not of the political system but of the economic system. And the political organizations also have been reorganized, so drastically, in order that our people may participate in the various levels of decision-

making We slowly built up the barangay, which is, historically and traditionally the smallest political unit, to the sanggunians or councils, municipal and provincial. In two regions, Region 9 and 12, two regional legislatures are operational in accordance with our international agreements for the settlement of the secessionist movement in the South.

Once, we were a rice-importing country. Over the last several years, we succeeded in converting our country into a rice-exporting country. Now we are also exporting corn. And if anybody thinks that was easy to do, I can point out to you the number of countries who perhaps by a miscalculation or failure in decision-making, have not attained that objective. Whatever is said, we attended to agriculture. And the reason for this was the first emphasis on the great majority of our population. Anywhere from 60 to 70 percent of our population were dependent upon agriculture. So we went in and uplifted this depressed part of our population by increasing their income.

I am of course rather disappointed over the ignorance of Western observers about the results of the radical restructuring of our society. I was just reading a book about Manila written by a supposedly outstanding correspondent from the United States. He says that all the streets in Manila are dusty and that we have not laid any cement roads, that we are still living in shanties similar to those in Tondo. How can anybody say this, this outright fabrication? I am surprised. Of course, I know that they are writing all these fabrications to sell the book, to sell their story. That's quite all right. But certainly to come here, claiming to be our friend, then going back to make a fast buck by lying and insulting us. That's a bit too much.

So yesterday, I limited the press conference to local correspondents only. I refused to meet with any more foreign correspondents. Whatever you tell them, they have got predetermined stories. And they want to sell their stories. They don't care what you feel. They think that they have all the answers. And so look, what do they have? They have Iran and the United States. That's a classic instance of guys who know too much.

But I have no feeling of spite or anger. I'm just a little sad. I'm just a little sad because it indicates the kind of world that we live in.

The Philippines, however, will progress irrespective of what the Western correspondents write about it. Because we have people who know the truth. For instance, the head of the Dutch delegation, the trade mission that came here - they know what is happening here. No matter what anybody writes, they come here and offer to invest. We have on the respective tables in our various ministries and in the Office of the President, in the Board of Investments and in the Central Bank, so many offers of investment. Now we have to prioritize everything.

The fear now is that we will exceed our self-imposed limits of indebtedness as well as the limits imposed by IMF. And that is wise, you know, the 20 percent limit on the earnings in the previous year as the limit to the amortization that we must pay on our indebtedness. And therefore, we are dependent on our fiscal and monetary experts — the new Minister of Trade and the Minister of Industry.

We have with us in the Cabinet today men who can actually make government operate, perhaps, even without the intervention of the President. Of course, the job of the President is simple. All he does is kick a few butts every now and then, especially when I saw what happened at the BIR. I suppose that is necessary. You need some kind of parent who will not spare the rod and spoil the child.

I am happy to note the reorganization efforts in that part of our administration, the effort to kick out all the corrupt elements in government. The threat to send them all to jail and remove them, eliminate them. And we are removing the corrupt in all offices, not just at the BIR or Customs, Transportation, or the board of examiners, but all offices. We are looking into all the corrupt elements and kicking them out. And to me, this is going to be one of the best foundations for this great explosion of industrial progress which I anticipate in the decade of the 80s.

I speak of this because whatever our plans, whatever these solutions that we shall work out, you and I know very well that these policies, these decisions often break down at the bureaucratic level, among the clerks and even, at the assistant minister level where some have a clerical mentality.

One of my biggest disappointments is the regionalization of offices. What did we intend to do when we regionalized our offices?

We wanted to appoint a regional director in each region who would have the powers of a Cabinet member and who could make decisions right there and then. What do we discover? Some of these regional directors are such clerks that they won't make any decision. They are so afraid of making a decision, they send it up to the Cabinet, and the poor people who are involved have to come to Manila.

And so I speak of clerk mentality whenever somebody passes the buck to the higher officer. This is the usual work of subordinates. I don't think you see it very much in the private sector because it involves not only the success of your enterprise. And you see to it that the men who are assigned to each respective office duty is somebody who can be depended upon, who obligates himself to make a decision.

I do wish I could pirate many of you into the government, because we have too many men in government with this clerical mentality. This is one of the things that we have to review, reassess, and work out solutions for.

You speak of many of these problems which are either procedural, institutional or policy. But they will all break down at the levels of the bureaucracy unless I reorganize the government and eliminate those ineffective, corrupt elements in the government, and I intend to.

The last decade has tested the resiliency of the Filipino and of our institutions. We have had to meet a host of problems which I need not review here. But we face a new decade and, undoubtedly, there are many problems. The oil problem is just one of them. And these problems are actually the symptoms of an international economy that is ailing. Very soon, some of these problems will become intractable unless we do something about them.

We shall continue to contend probably with some of the same problems during much of the coming decade. We can only take courage from our demonstrated ability, from the track record of our economy, to surmount these problems and to boldly press on with our development program.

And it is to this — the substance of our economic policies and directions — that I wish to direct my remarks this afternoon. I would like to elaborate on the topic that has dominated so much of your discussions — the imperatives and challenges of our national industrialization program — and its implications on our on-going exports expansion program.

In the previous staging of this conference in December 1978, export also was the dominant theme of the discussions. But there is the difference that this year we convene in the wake of government's recent announcement of an aggressive industrialization policy beamed towards the greater expansion of our foreign trade.

Industrialization for exports — that is what we in government and you in business and industry proclaim and I think, by and large, we accept this as the fundamental thrust of our national economy today.

There is natural and necessary correlation between our new industrialization program and our export expansion program which stands at the forefront of our national economic goals today. And it bears noting that this important thrust represents in itself a new policy direction in our country, both in the scale of conception and in the high priority we attach to it today.

Since the day we regained our national independence in 1946 and began our march to modern statehood, we have been repeatedly cautioned by economists of various persuasions against adopting over-ambitious industrialization programs. Our attention was frequently invited to the fact that heavy industries which are capital-intensive are inappropriate to our developing economy. It was pointed out, time and again, that full industrialization would create a balance of payments problem for us which would be beyond our capacity to bear. And we hear some of these admonitions still being bandied about even up to this day.

I believe such words of caution have lost their validity for us today, if indeed they had any validity at all in the past.

In 1976, the World Bank released a report which, among others, stated that since 1946 our national economy has grown by six percent in real terms. The report states, and I quote: "This would be a satisfactory achievement except that it provided no basis for self-sustained, long-term development; distribution of the benefits of growth has been unequal; and the rate of growth cannot be maintained without changes in the pattern of growth."

This insight of course is not new. It is not unfamiliar to us. We have been saying this for quite a long time. We had been gearing our efforts towards the attainment of a well designed system of distributive justice something which is very sensitive to the Filipino, which culminated after the proclamation of martial law in 1972, in the emancipation of our tenant-farmers and the adoption of laws intended to assure equal opportunity for all sectors and levels of our society.

We have provided a ladder which any one is free to use to ascend whatever heights his ability and determination may enable him to seek. The task at hand is to provide the prize at the end of the ladder. And we intend to provide that prize for each and everyone of us.

I believe this task cannot be achieved without a full national industrialization program. And that is what we are talking about.

To shrink from the risks of installing full industrial capacity at this time will result in the perpetuation of an essentially import-substitution economy in this country.

And we are well aware of the implications of the failure to industrialize. The result will be that it will penalize domestic consumers, to whom the high cost of raw material inputs to production of consumer items will have to be passed.

Continued importation of intermediate goods will strain our national capacity to generate foreign exchange.

Worse, while our foreign exchange requirements will continue to grow, our capacity to earn foreign currency to pay for them through our exports will be limited by our inability to transform import-substitution industries into export-oriented enterprises and to expand facilities for existing export products, and install capacity for new ones.

I consider these implications unacceptable.

It's true we are hostage today to a global crisis, which is likely to worsen before it yields to solution or control. And the ransom it demands from us is determination and boldness. The determination to surmount the crisis and the boldness to adopt and pursue policies that befit the times. These are not the times for timid leadership.

There are considerations which have impelled me to announce a new industrialization program, the principal components of which are 11 major projects designed to achieve three specific objectives, namely:

First, to minimize imports of certain basic raw materials, which we need in the domestic economy, by producing them locally, thereby limiting foreign exchange outflows;

Second, to optimize existing productive capacities of established enterprises to improve volume, quality and competitive price for export purposes through modernization of plant facilities and the rationalization of operations industry-wide; and

Third, to undertake backward or downstream projects in order that we can produce raw materials for export manufactures, rather than merely depend upon second stage processing facilities that make third and fourth processing phases uncompetitive.

This new industrialization program is the first cornerstone of the new economic structure we seek to build.

The second cornerstone of that structure is an aggressive export program.

Our export program will perform three essential functions in support of our industrialization projects.

First, it will generate the foreign exchange required to finance the importation of capital-intensive equipment and technology for heavy industries during their gestation period.

This function of the export industry will be critical in the years ahead. In the same report I earlier quoted, the World Bank, predicted that our import expenditures will increase to \$6.9 billion by 1980 to \$13.4 billion by 1985. Evidently, this projection did not take into account both the sharp escalation of oil prices which recently occurred and the cost of a full industrialization program we presently envision. These statistics bring home to us the magnitude of the problems our export sector must deal with in the years ahead and the extent to which it must expand its capacity to generate foreign exchange inflows.

Second, even before the by-products of our full industrialization program are turned out in quantities required for export, we must gain secure footholds in the international market as reliable exporters even of products, the raw materials of which we do not presently produce, in order that once our industrialization program succeeds there will be definite channels of distribution for the products of our industries.

Third, and most important, once our new industries reach full production capacity/and the limits of domestic consumption is reached, our export program must be capable of expanding the international markets for Philippine goods to the extent required to absorb the overflow.

This is our answer to all those critics who admonish us that our economy is not large enough to support heavy industrialization. And it is an answer which finds support in the economic experience of other countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea, whose internal markets are very much smaller than ours, and which yet were able to develop export-oriented industries.

One can only wonder where these three economies would be now had they failed to marshal the will to industrialize and had been content with import substitution. Very likely they would be in the same difficult straits as most developing countries today.

The demands of full industrialization and aggressive export expansion are not of course to be met simply by policy adjustments or announcements. They exact tremendous commitment of will and resources of dedication.

Specifically, in line with our export expansion program, we must learn to meet desired targets, and once attained, hold fast to them. Among these priorities are:

1) While we must continue to support and promote our traditional exports, we must expand our export inventory by developing new products. It can be easily foreseen that the expansion of our export volume in garments, electronics, leatherware, and furniture, to mention a few, will be inadequate to our anticipated needs although these products are proving to have high export potential. Diversification now must plainly be the focus of concern.

In line with this policy I have directed the Ministry of Trade to initiate an extensive market research program. What is the objective of such a market research program? To identify at least 100 new products in which we can develop comparative advantage. I expect the results of this program to be forthcoming by the end of this year. On the basis of these results, we can work back from specific and accurate market data to product development and promotion.

2) We must bear in mind that in developing new export items, we should not be limited by our existing resource base. This is the secret of the success of resource-poor economies, such as Japan for one, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong

Kong which have managed to become formidable international market competitors in spite of their relative disadvantage insofar as natural resources are concerned.

We are a labor-surplus economy. Increased agricultural productivity has released a substantial part of our labor force from agriculture and made it available for industry. This, according to Heilbroner, is an essential condition for full industrialization. If so, we have succeeded in creating that condition in our economy. We must therefore use it to the fullest extent, by importing, if necessary, the raw materials which our relatively low-cost labor can turn into finished export products through an effective import-reexport program similar to that developed in Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, while concurrently developing the downstream projects that will ultimately produce the raw materials that we, maybe for the meantime, are importing.

If we can manage such a program, I think we can, by following one clear line of approach, provide a partial solution not only to our trade deficit problem but to our unemployment problem as well.

3) Another useful approach to the problem of identifying new export opportunities is the intensive study of the products being imported by other countries. What these countries import constitute our potential exports. Accordingly, I am directing the Ministry of Trade to field roving teams of experts and analysts to key importing countries in order to undertake such a market study and to gain insight into the shopping lists of these countries.

4) In our search for new markets and in our attempt to attain deeper penetration of the markets in which we have established footholds, we must necessarily contend with the new wave of protectionism brought about by a worldwide recessionary trend. For this reason, our new export program must contain a component designed to study and analyze the regulatory framework governing the entry of exports into world markets. We must broaden and intensify our knowledge of and insight into the existing tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, as well as the emerging pattern of multilateral arrangements on the flow of goods through international channels. Where we can, we must make serious attempts to influence the pattern of these arrangements, and where we cannot, we must anticipate and solve the difficulties we may be confronted with.

5) We must also develop a sophisticated mechanism for market planning, capable of dealing with the increasing complexities of international trading activities. Side by side with the existing facilities for data gathering which was designed for monetary control and macro-economic planning purposes, we must install a mechanism for collecting, processing, and analyzing market information in micro-economic terms suitable for market planning and export promotion. Such a system must be capable of monitoring the complex and volatile conditions of the international market and anticipating shifts in product preference brought about by cultural social economic ecological or technological factors.

6) Since success in the international market hinges on comparative advantage, our new export program must provide for continuing review and analysis of the factors that influence our competitive position. Accordingly, cost of labor, shipping terms, raw material resources, technology, production efficiency, and other similar factors affecting cost of exports must be continuously monitored and definite trends anticipated in order to forestall unforeseen developments and fashion solutions ahead of difficulties.

7) In formulating our national export strategy, the focus of concern must be in developing operational content in more detail than heretofore achieved in terms of specific marketing tools to be employed, the timing and phasing of market promotion initiatives, and the elements to be assembled in gaining entry and the necessary leverage in specific world markets.

8) Finally, in fashioning an export program in response to our present circumstances and the changes we seek to achieve in these circumstances, we must, above all, be reminded that we are planning changes in a world of change. In this world the idea with the least to recommend it to our attention is the one presented to us with no qualification other than that it worked well in the past, or that it looked workable on first impression. We are building a structure which we hope shall endure on shifting foundations. We must therefore fashion its lines of support in anticipation of future stress, according to a dynamic and flexible design which will absorb drastic alterations in the conditions prevailing in the international market.

In accordance with this principle, I have recently effected changes in the regulatory framework governing exports and the system of incentives available to exporters. I note that some of your recommendations refer to this. Now, let me outline to you what is included in the latest Letter of Instructions 942, which I signed last October. I remember that this was signed at the meeting with many of the exporters. Two to three hundred exporters met with me in Malacañang on that day, October 4th. Let me outline what we did then in accordance with our agreements in that meeting in the Palace. I have ordered the following changes:

- 1) Importations of raw materials inputs to production of export goods shall be exempt from margin deposit requirements.
- 2) The Philippine Export and Foreign Loan Guarantee Corporation shall allocate more resources to export-oriented small- and medium-scale industries.
- 3) The Central Bank of the Philippines shall study the feasibility of providing rediscounting facilities for long- and medium-term credits for the acquisition of capital assets.
- 4) Venture capital operations, particularly for small- and medium-scale
- 5) The consular invoice requirement will be abolished. Now, I understand that this has not been implemented by the bureaucracy. I suppose this merely requires my asking the Ministries of Trade, of Finance, and Industry to follow this up. I so order today in your presence that we check these particular aspects.
- 6) Immediate payment of duty drawback and tax credits due to indirect export producers upon the delivery of export goods to a bonded manufacturing warehouse can now be authorized without waiting for the final settlement of determination of value.
- 7) The presentation of tax clearances per shipment basis prior to securing export permits shall no longer be required; and the report on foreign sales required by the Central Bank shall now be made quarterly instead of, as I understand, on every shipment.
- 8) Commodity clearances shall now be issued on a yearly basis subject to actual periodic examination for quality control purposes. I note that there are some recommendations in your resolution which I refer to the executive committee of the Cabinet to work on, headed by Minister Virata
- 9) The registration function of the Philippine Export Council under PD 1469 will now be transferred to the BOI which has been directed to further simplify the registration process and limit registration requirements.
- 10) The four percent export tax on shrimps and prawns is now abolished.
- 11) The export and premium duties on metallurgical chromite are suspended until market prices for the item improves.
- 12) Bonafide exporters duly certified by the Ministry of Trade are exempted from travel tax.

Now, let me bring the process of re-fashioning the operating environment of the export industry just one step further.

Recognizing that private sector participation in export planning must be reoriented for greater effectiveness I have determined that the functions of the Philippine Export Council shall be transferred to the Ministry of Trade and a new Philippine Export Advisory Council, composed principally of private representatives must be created. I therefore sign in your presence a new decree creating that council and providing for the transfer of the functions of the present PEC to the trade ministry. This is no reflection on the incumbent Philippine Export Council; I think this

has been the request of many of you from so long ago. You know, my staff is a little over-efficient. They gave about a hundred papers. Anyway, I consider this particular order, I sign this in your presence.

And let us go a little further and refashion some of the tools that we have at our disposal on exports. The need to provide the export program with a more effective mechanism for implementation and coordination is very obvious. To fill this requirement, I now direct the reorganization of the Ministry of Trade and charge it with the responsibility not merely to contribute to the export effort but to take the lead and to initiate. I would like to sign in your presence a new decree restructuring the entire Ministry of Trade which I now direct to be immediately implemented.

The basic amendments of this decree are as follows: We increase the number of deputy ministers to two; one for international and the other for domestic matters.

I note the recommendation to create a new Ministry of International Trade, something like the MIT in Japan. I think we can face this movement instead of creating a new department, and thus waiting for another three, four months before the new department can really operate. It would be best if we instead saved time by creating a new deputy minister under the present Ministry of Trade who will do nothing but attend to international trade – that's exactly an answer to your recommendation.

I have also created in this new decree three assistant ministers, and they are the Assistant Ministers for International Trade Relations, Domestic Trade Promotion and Regulations, and for Administration and Manpower Development. Incidentally, the Ministry of Trade is possibly one of the few if not the only one of the ministers with two deputy ministers and now three assistant ministers.

Then, we create in this new decree, the new bureaus of exports promotion, trade relations, domestic trade promotion and consumer affairs.

At the same time, we realign the Philippine International Trading Corporation as the corporate arm of the ministry. Incidentally, for the information of the Ministry of Trade, I remove your power to appoint commercial attaches and keep it in the Office of the President. There are some legal questions as to the appointment of foreign representatives, because they are given certain privileges under international law and, therefore, should be appointed by the highest possible officer, since they may be considered a representative of the highest officer to a foreign land.

Now, in your presence therefore I sign this Executive Order.

It is my hope that with these substantial changes not only in national policies and priorities, and equally important adjustments in the regulatory framework of our trade, we shall truly spur national export expansion and economic development.

We are fully convinced that we have the policies and the leadership and the people with talent, dedication and application that will avail; and so we dare to hope that these will also serve to rally our entire business community behind our national export program — awakening your sense of enterprise and emboldening you to venture into new labors.

Above all, we dare to hope that in these times of difficulty for almost all nations, we shall indeed pray for our deliverance from crisis, and achieve our full modernization as a nation.

I repeat, my instinct tells me that we are faced with a new period of development, which shall change the entire landscape of the Philippines and the entire economy. It will depend, however, as usual upon the private sector in view of our adoption of an economic system, which depends upon the private sector as the driving wedge and the sharp point and edge which shall cut forward towards our ultimate objective.

I therefore commend to you all of these policies and assure you that while I am President, and while this administration is in power, priority shall be given to this program of industrialization and export expansion.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 35th annual general meeting of the International Air Transport Association (IATA), November 27, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 35th annual general meeting of the International Air Transport Association (IATA)

[Delivered on November 27, 1979]

A New IATA

MINE IS A difficult task. I am from Asia, and the Orient where tradition requires that when the lady of the house has spoken, the man keeps quiet.

However, not being too notorious for timidity, I essay to violate some of the rules of peace in the home, and seek to welcome you for and on behalf of the entire Filipino people and the Republic of the Philippines.

This is the second formal meeting and gathering of this body here in our country. You have singled out our country to host your meeting, I am certain you have varied reasons for it. For all of this, however, we are grateful, for this is a distinct honor.

It is with appreciation, therefore, that I come to speak before you. I remember that I addressed a similar assembly in 1967, recalling that earlier assembly, one cannot help noting how different the world was then, and how different now the circumstances in this conference. Some of you perhaps will not fail to note how different Manila and the Philippines have become. I hope that you like the change.

The physical changes that you see now mirror an even more profound transformation, as we seek to radically restructure our society — that old society that was so subjected to anarchic events that was common to many of the small and developing countries, not only in this part of the world but for the rest of the Third World. It was in a determined move to once and for all assume for ourselves the role of deciding our destiny that we sought to restructure that society.

We have in 1972 established what we refer to as our New Society, this has been a period of building and of change in our country, in which at last we have made a determined bid to accelerate the growth and development of our whole society, and the introduction of rationality in the implementation of our plans.

Of all the international industries, perhaps the aviation industry, which bears a most eloquent witness to the changes taking place in our world, can testify to the changes in our country.

There is a parallel between the rise of the developing countries in this decade and the unprecedented changes that have occurred in world aviation during this same decade. It is for instance a marvel to note that in 1979, world air travel exceeded 800 billion revenue-passenger miles, or twice the volume of the previous decade. More impressive still is the fact that in 1959, at the outset of the jet age, the volume of air travel was barely one-tenth of the current year's achievement. This massive movement of peoples and cargo by air throughout the world was made possible by the combined efforts of the members of your industry.

And we all know that much of this change has meant greater traffic into parts of the world that in earlier periods were virtually unknown.

In the future, it is estimated that the mass movement of people will exceed one and one-half trillion revenue-passenger miles by the end of the coming decade. We can thus appreciate what these prospects mean in terms of new aircraft requirements, estimated at a level between \$100 billion and \$150 billion by 1989.

All of this progress has been made possible among others, by the dramatic technological advances achieved by the aircraft – and engine-manufacturing industry. In place of the old lumbering piston-propelled machines of the past, with their limited capacities and speed, a large population of modern jet aircraft—varying in size from small jets to the huge jumbos, but all fast, sleek and highly efficient — streak across our skies every day. Where air travel used to be the prerogative of a small elite, it is now accessible to the masses. The daily routine movements of travellers, cargo, and mail made possible by modern air transport are helping to expand tourism and trade all over the world, and to promote the continuing development of countries, regions, and indeed the entire world.

IATA also has come a long way since that day in August 60 years ago when a handful of men of vision representing six European airlines met in the Hague to set up this worldwide association of air carriers, realizing even then that the key to the orderly development of the air-transport industry is mutual cooperation and concerted effort.

The changes that have taken place in the industry since then can only be described as phenomenal. Happily, the association has consistently responded to the needs of the times — accepting more members, restructuring its internal organization, broadening the scope of its activities, liberalizing its tariff-coordinating activities — so that today, at the threshold of a new decade, it fittingly speaks of a “new IATA” and of the opportunity its members have to face — the substantive issues confronting the world aviation community today and in the years ahead.

But even with all the progress that have taken place, I am aware that you are now meeting at a critical juncture in the history of world aviation. Like all other major industries, you are confronting a future clouded by prospects of recession, inflation, a continuing fuel crisis, turbulent financial markets, and political uncertainties. Moreover, your own specific industry must contend with a challenge somewhat unique to you: the fact that the regulatory environment under which you operate is now being pulled in different directions by different philosophies and national policies. In one school of thought are the advocates of de-regulation. Pulling in the opposite direction are those who advocate protectionism. In the midst of all this, I understand that the general membership of IATA stands for the continuation, although in much more liberalized form, of the framework of multilateral cooperation under which your industry has operated for many decades.

The Philippines has time and again manifested its support of multilateralism. On the one hand, it has strongly supported the efforts of its fellow members of ASEAN or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the members of which are Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines — in seeking the liberalization of certain protectionist aviation policies that now confront our region. On the other hand, through formal manifestations issued by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as by our flag carrier, we have joined more than 80 governments and airlines in urging caution and moderation in current efforts to fully de-regulate the international aviation industry and diminish the role of multilateral cooperation. The active participation of Philippine Airlines in IATA and of the Philippine government’s aeronautical authorities in the International Civil Aviation Organization, are further manifestations of where our country stands.

Multilateralism, after all, is indispensable to political, economic, and social harmony in the modern world. It is a principle enshrined in the United Nations, which we strongly support, as well as in all its subsidiary international organizations, to which we are also firmly committed.

In aviation, as in many areas of life, the most ideal arrangements are not to be found in any extreme: neither in the ruinous anarchy of unbridled competition nor in the stifling regimentation of excessive regulation. They are to be found rather in balance and in harmony. In a judicious combination of the virtues of all systems, which in turn can be arrived at only through multilateral cooperation and consensus.

The Philippines finds no inconsistency whatsoever between its commitment to multilateral cooperation and the free-enterprise system on which our society is committed. We believe in competition as a force that fosters efficiency, high product quality, low costs, and innovation. But while the marketplace is the final court in which definitive

judgments are rendered on competitive success or failure, it does not provide the institutions that help improve and enhance the competitive process itself.

For example, in aviation, such basic infrastructure facilities as airports, air-traffic-control facilities, road access to airports, customs and immigration services, as well as the organization and manpower for all these are provided by governments, not by competing private enterprises.

Nor are the benefits of facilitation and interlinking a creation of competition in the marketplace. The worldwide air-transport industry is one of the most complex systems that exist today. The fact that massive volumes of passengers, cargo, and mail can move all over the world on a round-the clock basis with relative ease and convenience is due to the continuing collaborative efforts of your industry to design and improve the institutional machinery and systems involved and to make sure that they work. The fact that, say, one passenger can buy one ticket with one currency from one travel agent that will take him to multiple destinations around the world on many carriers, and still allow him to change his mind along the way, is a convenience that competition could not have provided. It is clearly the product of cooperation among competing airlines, the cooperation that takes place within the framework of the traffic conferences and the trade-association activities of your organization.

I am happy to note, however, that your association has decided to reorganize itself with the view to providing its members the opportunities of meeting the needs of the marketplace competitively without surrendering the prerogative of cooperating whenever and wherever necessary. I also understand that the philosophical and strategic inclinations of your member-airlines are hardly uniform nor homogenous — some preferring less regulation and more competition, and others preferring protection. I believe it is to the credit of your organization that it has now decided to liberalize the terms of its membership in order to accommodate such a broad range of viewpoints.

In this spirit, it becomes especially important that the worldwide aviation environment accommodate the aspirations of developing countries to start and maintain a viable national flag carrier. For these are essential instruments of economic development, tourism and trade, and national security. They are at once export-earning as well as import-substituting industries. They link our economies to our neighbors and to far-off lands; enable us to promote our country as tourist destinations; provide our peoples with the opportunities to come in contact with other countries and other cultures, assist in the development of local technology and highly skilled manpower, induce the development of related industries; and provide the stand-by capacity for internal and external mobility that the country needs for its internal and external security.

Whatever kind of market or regulatory environment that the airline industry and the different governments decide to evolve, the industry cannot in any way abdicate its prerogative to act in concert. For we are all aware that in certain vital areas of aviation, isolated efforts cannot achieve what concerted action can.

I am also convinced that it will take nothing less than the collective efforts of airlines and governments to meet what appears to be the major and most intractable problem now faced by your industry: the fuel crisis. Your industry will have to devise an equitable method of distributing access to fuel supplies. The shortage and high cost of fuel should serve as a sobering antidote to any undue intoxication with unbridled, predatory, and ruinous competition. No individual airline nor government alone, but only the combined efforts of all, can effectively produce the wide-ranging measures needed to achieve savings, economies and efficiencies in fuel consumption. It needs collective action on many fronts — from the technical to the operating to the aeropolitical — including the straightening of air lanes and the improvement of air traffic-control systems.

There are many more issues and problems that doubtless will occupy you in your present meeting and in your future activities. They include, among others, the need to reduce and control the environmental pollution by fuel exhausts of the numerous aircraft in service; the demand for the reduction of noise, especially around airports, or for what has come to be called the “right to silence;” the economical carriage of airmail; the parallel developments of the travel-agency and the cargo-agency industries; and many others.

I also understand that among the highest items in your agenda is a discussion of the future shape and directions of your tariff-coordinating machinery, which under your new structure has been liberalized, made optional rather than

compulsory, allows and encourages more flexibility and innovation, and will be open to outside observers. I hope for your success in your deliberations on this important topic.

With the same high hopes for success, I single out for mention here the need for cooperation between airlines and governments in solving one of the bottlenecks that now exist in the air-transport system, and which paradoxically is a bottleneck not in the air but on the ground. I refer to the growing congestion in customs, immigration, and health procedures at all major airports. I am fully aware that the phenomenal growth of passenger and cargo traffic that I referred to earlier has not been matched by the commensurate expansion of airport facilities nor by improvements of their clearance systems and procedures.

Admittedly, the Manila International Airport is no exception. But with the completion this coming year of the new, larger and more efficient terminal building — incidentally, our original terminal was burned during those riots and disturbances that I referred to earlier in my speech — the situation will vastly improve. And even pending the completion of this building, I have issued instructions, which I hereby reiterate, to the Bureau of Air Transportation, the Airport Management, the Bureau of Customs, the Commission on Immigration, and the Ministry of Health to give top priority to speeding up and facilitating passenger- and cargo-clearance procedures at the airport in order to serve, in the best way possible, the convenience of travellers and the interests of shippers and consignees.

Finally, in line with the spirit of multilateral cooperation and the continued growth of aviation, I would like to mention here the one sinister problem that continually casts its dark shadow over your industry: this is the specter of terrorism through hijacking, sabotage, and related criminal acts against airlines and the travelling public which has grown in frequency during this decade. I am aware that security coordination is one of your quiet but more intensive programs. But clearly this is a problem that must fully engage the family of nations, not merely of the airlines acting together with resolve. On this, IATA can count on the full cooperation of the Filipino people and the Philippine government with the airline industry in minimizing if not totally eliminating the incidence of these criminal acts, and of devising effective ways of coping with them should they occur.

But even when we take full account of the many problems confronting your industry, I do not believe there is any other way of looking at the future except with optimism and hope. You have faced other crises in the past, and you have managed not only to survive but to grow to your present unprecedented scope and size. There is no reason why the same wisdom and skills which your industry has applied to its past crises will not succeed again in overcoming your present and future problems.

It is by virtue of this optimism and hope that Philippine Airlines, our government-owned national flag carrier, is embarking on a bold and aggressive expansion plan, acquiring new aircraft and disposing of its old, fuel-inefficient first-generation jets, and expanding its maintenance facilities, its in-flight catering facilities, its worldwide computerized reservations system, and others. It has likewise been expanding and diversifying its route structure, building air links to more and more cities of the world, and enhancing the importance of Manila as a gateway city in this part of the world.

You will see in this that we have nothing but confidence in the future. We have confidence in the future of civil aviation. As we have confidence in the future of our race and of our country. And this confidence in the long-term prospects of the Philippines is made possible by the political and economic successes of the New Society that we started to establish in 1972.

We are now in the midst of remoulding and re-establishing a democratic society. I am quite happy that as you confront your own problems in your meeting in Manila, you can also observe first-hand the strengths, the confidence, the hopes, and the energies that our people apply to meeting the same crises that confront you, and to building our destiny and our future. I trust that our innate optimism will be contagious.

You have done us great honor in choosing the Philippines as the venue for your 35th Annual General Meeting. You have also done us honor by placing the presidency of IATA during the past year in the hands of a Filipino, Mr. Roman A. Cruz, Jr., the chairman and president of our own flag carrier, Philippine Airlines. As he prepares to relinquish the presidency of IATA at the end of his term this month, we would like to express the hope that he has

served you and your organization well, and we would like to convey our good wishes to his successor for the continued success of your organization.

Once again, may I say that the Philippines certainly will continue to support IATA and the efforts at multilateralism of this organization.

May I, therefore, wish you a most constructive and fruitful meeting, and a most pleasant stay in our country. If there is anything that I can do in order to make your stay more pleasant and more fruitful, please let me know.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos on Armed Forces Day, December 21, 1979

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Armed Forces Day

[Delivered on December 21, 1979]

The Road to Normality

I AM PROUD to stand once more on Armed Forces Day with the Filipino soldier, to whom the Republic owes an invaluable debt.

Kung ang ating Republika sa ngayon ay matatag ang tindig sa harap ng daigdig, kung ang lupain natin ay hindi hati-hati at watak-watak, kung sa ngayon ay nakikita natin ang katahimikan sa lahat ng lalawigan at lunsod, ito ay dahil sa mga sundalong Pilipino.

If today the Republic stands, its territory intact, its countryside secure from dissidence, and its urban centers freed from the grip of anarchy and terrorism, it is because of the Filipino soldier.

Future generations will remember that at a time of the greatest peril to our nation, the greatest test of our Armed Forces since the end of the Second World War, the Filipino soldier rallied to the banners of the duly constituted government to save the Republic and to make possible the reform of our society.

In saluting the Filipino soldier today, I salute his loyalty, his courage and his discipline, the qualities which decisively tipped the scales towards political stability and national unity when the fate of the Republic hung in fearful imbalance.

It adds significance to our celebration of Armed Forces Day today that we are about to take what may be the penultimate step to the full restoration of our normal political process. For on January 30th, it is now definite, we shall hold nationwide local elections.

Memories of the organization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines cannot but return to our minds, on this 44th anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the beginning of the Commonwealth in 1935 and Commonwealth Act No. 1 under which the Armed Forces of the Philippines was organized.

It is proper, therefore, that some of the officers and men who served at the beginning of that period, receive medals for courage and daring like the two generals, General Vargas and General Bondad; the first, for the Asedillo campaign in 1935, and the second for the Sakdalista campaign in Santa Rosa in the same year.

It makes me smile to think that they were 3rd lieutenants at the time. Yes, indeed, that was 44 years ago. And I am glad that they could still receive the medals standing up.

Although late, it is a fitting recognition to some of the acts of courage performed in Bataan that we have honored two other officers whom I personally recommended for the Gold Cross, Colonel Salvador Villa, G-2 of the 31st Infantry Division, and Colonel, now Ambassador Nicanor Jimenez, Battalion commander of the same division, for action against the enemy in the Abu-Abu-Salian junction in January 1942.

Other decorations were given to young men who fought during our present crisis; to the men who, for instance, maintained their detachments and their forces in Balut Islands in Sulu and in the various NPA-infested areas in 1975, 1977, 1978 and 1979.

Yes, we have come a long way during the last 44 years. Since that time, we fought a world war beside our allies and gained our political emancipation in 1946.

The decision to hold the elections on January 30th is therefore something of great significance to all of us. For the Armed Forces of the Philippines and your Commander-in-Chief is committed to the normalization process, and the calling of elections is a tangible symbol of such a process.

This decision was not an easy one to make. You will recall that in the old society local elections constituted the most turbulent part of our political process. More than the national elections, local elections were contested more bitterly, more expensively, more fraudulently, and more violently. That we have decided to hold them now, with the reasonable expectation that the excesses of the past will not recur, is a measure of how successfully we think our crisis government, with the full support of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, has altered the conditions prevailing throughout the country. Indeed the holding of these elections constitutes a measure of our common achievement.

Yet, as I said, it was not an easy decision to make. As late as yesterday, I received from a group of distinguished citizens a petition against the holding of elections at this time. In their opinion, which I believe is shared by many of our countrymen, what we need now is to conserve our energies and our resources; not to squander them on these elections, but to employ them in coping with the difficulties which the new year is expected to bring to our shores from abroad in the wake of the deepening world inflation, world recession and energy crisis.

These anxieties are certainly well founded. I wish to assure all who belong to this persuasion and therefore fear the consequences of holding elections at this time, that their point is well taken.

It was in deference to this important point that I decided to recommend that the Batasang Pambansa limit to only 30 days the duration of the campaign allowed for these elections. It is in consideration of the same point that the rules limiting campaign expenditures will be strictly and uniformly enforced.

I call upon the Armed Forces of the Philippines to play its role as the guardians of this law squarely and fairly, and not to take sides with any political party in this campaign.

It is my intention to lift the effects of martial law throughout the entire country during the 30-day campaign period. Despite these measures, or perhaps because of these measures, the holding of these elections will constitute a hard test of the political maturity we have achieved since the demise of the old, unlamented society. It is a test that we must pass before the full restoration of normal political processes.

I have observed that since martial law was promulgated in this country, certain quarters here and abroad have not stopped calling for the immediate lifting of martial law. What these quarters fail to fully appreciate is that prudence dictates that the lifting of martial law cannot be accomplished by a simple act without inviting disastrous consequences. If we wish to avoid falling into the same pit we found ourselves in before the imposition of martial law, we must first of all take steps to remove it.

The course that we adopted from the beginning was to lift martial law not by any single act but through a series of acts; or better yet, phase the normalization process so that it can be advanced quickly or slowly as actual conditions warrant. In this context we have, during the last seven years, concentrated on changing the real conditions in our country — economic, social and political.

As a result of these changes, and dictated only by our perception of these changes, we lifted by degrees the effects of martial law and progressively restored popular consultations, popular elections and representative institutions. By this method, we have advanced not as abruptly as some quarters have been hectoring us to do, nor as slowly as other

quarters might have wished us to do. But we have made great advances on a broad front, with developments in our political, social and economic sectors keeping abreast of one another.

This to me is the only acceptable process, the prudent process. Through this, we have been able to maintain stability even as we reach this penultimate step to the full restoration of normal political processes. We have done all these without either endangering the gains we achieved in the new society or hazarding a retrogression to the old society.

We intend, in the forthcoming elections, more than the hastening of political normalization. We expect the duly elected local executives to exercise greater responsibility for the peace and order situation in their respective localities

These past few years, the military has borne almost single-handedly and with great fortitude the burden of maintaining peace and order in the various localities. We believe it is time and in keeping with the whole normalization process, for the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Defense Ministry to study the transfer of such responsibility to the local governments, particularly the local chief executive. They must now bear a greater share of this burden.

We now shift from what has been critically called military responsibility to political responsibility. The calling of the local elections marks the shift from one period into the other.

For this reason, I have ordered that in combat zones the local police shall be placed under the operational control of the local chief executives, the mayors. In addition, effective today, in areas where there is a marked increase in criminality, especially by syndicated crimes, operational control over all police units shall immediately be transferred to the local chief executive.

Normalization is a broad process; it encompasses too the normalization of military functions. But this is a process to which you are no stranger, you who have already experienced, among others, the normalization of the extraordinary judicial functions formerly granted to the military at the height of the crisis.

As it has been your glory to have come to the fore to help save the Republic, so shall it be to your lasting credit to make possible and to actively seek the return of the Republic to normal political processes.

All this is not to say that the crisis, in its many aspects, is over. We face in fact a new year which does not promise us a complete relief from that crisis. We face in fact the more complex task of subduing the continuing crisis which has now become worldwide and which, in certain respects because of external factors, is threatening not to recede but to intensify, while at the same time accelerating our normalization process in those areas where actual gains permit it.

In facing this complex task, I feel happy, privileged and reassured to know that our nation, the political leadership of our country and the entire citizenry can rely on the loyalty, the courage and the discipline of the Armed Forces of the Philippines in whose honor we have especially set aside this day.

On your 44th anniversary therefore, I stand before you and salute every officer and enlisted man of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and say, "Well done, carry on".

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Christmas Message of President Marcos to overseas Filipino, December 25, 1979

Christmas message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To overseas Filipino

[Delivered on December 25, 1979]

A Message of Joy,
Hope and Brotherhood

AS WE GATHER once more to celebrate and enjoy the blessings of Christmas, our thoughts here in the Philippines turn in affectionate and heartfelt greetings to our Filipino brothers abroad and to our many friends in foreign lands.

We are especially glad of this opportunity to address this message to you here in the United States, to each and every member of your families, young and old alike. We pray that this Christmas will not fail to lift up every heart, and renew every hope and expectation, as the old year passes and the new year is born.

We pray that this will be so not only for every individual and his family, but also for every nation and most of all for the family of nations.

The year that is passing has been marked by great difficulty and turbulence. All these months, and especially during the past few weeks, statesmen and leaders have been laboring long and hard to bring to resolution some of the great problems confronting mankind today. We earnestly hope that by the time this message gets to you, we will already have joyful news about the situation of the American hostages in Tehran; we will have new light and hope about the situation in Cambodia; and that everywhere else, there will be a resurgence of peace and goodwill.

The joys of this Christmas season cannot, of course, completely dispel the mood of tension and uncertainty that has visited homes, families and nations in these difficult times. But we have always had this great faith, that what is vouchsafed to us every Christmas Day is the spirit and the strength that enables men to gather together, and to surmount their difficulties.

It is in this spirit that at this moment, we reach out to our Filipino brothers in the United States, who have not shared with us the hopes and the cares of our society these many years. Among the deepest sorrows our young nation has felt these past few years, the one we feel the most is the regret of separation, of seeing some of our people working at cross-purposes with our government, when they could otherwise be helping us to build for the future.

We hope that given the time that has now passed since our nation ventured into the fateful course of crisis government, all will now see in what earnestness we have tried to rebuild and strengthen our society, and the real vision of national life that governs our plans for the future. To all Filipinos abroad, including those who may not now share with us our hopes, we say that we invite and we welcome their participation in the labor that must continue.

The foundation upon which our nation stands is much richer and firmer than the sympathies that may occasionally divide us. And we never know this more truly than in Christmastime. In good times or in bad, under clear skies or under the shadow of uncertainty, the Christmas message is the imperishable one of joy, hope, and brotherhood.

Our wish this Christmas is that you and your loved ones will find joy in your personal life together, and will again renew and strengthen your ties with your native land.

Merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1980). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 9). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Extemporaneous speech of President Marcos on the proclamation of the official candidates of the KBL, January 7, 1980

Extemporaneous speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the proclamation of the official candidates of the KBL

[Delivered on January 7, 1980]

Ang Uri ng Pamahalaan sa Metropolitan Manila

ANG ARAW NA ito ay itinakda bilang proklamasyon ng mga kandidato opisyal ng KBL sa iba 't-ibang lungsod at bayan ng Metropolitan Manila Commission. Ngunit, bago ko iharap at itaas ang mga kamay ng ating mga kandidato, nais ko sanang ipaliwanag ang tungkol sa kalagayan ng pamahalaan ng Metropolitan Manila Commission, sapagka't sa wariko ay hindi lubos na nauunawaan ng marami sa ating mga nanonood kung anong uri ng pamahalaan mayroon tayo sa Metropolitan Manila ngayon.

Noong ika-27 ng Pebrero, 1975 ay nagkaroon tayo ng referendum-plebiscite at ating itinanong sa mga mamamayan ang ganitong katanungan: "What kind of government should Metropolitan Manila have?" Kung naaalala ninyo, ang pangangasiwa sa labin-tatlong bayan na kinabibilangan ng labin-dalawang bayang hinugot sa lalawigan ng Rizal at ng isang bayang hinugot sa lalawigan ng Bulacan ay inilagay natin sa ilalim ng Metropolitan Manila.

Kaya ang unang nangyari ay nagkaroon tayo ng general manager sa buong Metropolitan Manila, samantalang hindi pa tinatawag ang referendum na ginanap noong ika-27 ng Pebrero, 1975. Sa nasabing referendum-plebiscite ay ating iniharap sa mga mamamayan ang iba't-ibang katanungan. Halimbawa, isa sa mga katanungang iniharap natin sa kanila ay ito: "Nais ba ninyong magpatuloy ang mayor and board of councilors form of government in Metropolitan Manila, or do you prefer a commission-type of government where a commission runs the entire Metropolitan Manila in accordance with what the President will prescribe?" At ito'y sinundan pa ng isang katanungan: "Nais ba ninyong mabigyan ang Pangulo ng Pilipinas na si Ferdinand E. Marcos ng kapangyarihang magtatag ng commission-form of government under such conditions and qualifications that he may prescribe?" Ano ang naging sagot sa mga katanungang iniharap natin sa referendum-plebiscite na iyan? Ang sagot ng tao: "Oo. " Or, yes, we prefer a commission-type of government and we authorize the President to establish the form, the conditions, the qualifications and limitations of such a commission-form of government.

Sang-ayon sa legal opinion ng Minister of Justice at ng Solicitor General at ganoon din ng COMELEC, ang katanungang iyan ay hindi lamang para sa referendum kundi sa plebisitong ipinagbibilin ng Saligang Batas na dapat ganapin bago mapalitan ang pamahalaang lokal. Ang balak natin noon ay palitan nga ang form of government, ang uri ng pamahalaan dito sa Metropolitan Manila. Kaya nararapat ngang itanong sa ating mga mamamayan noong panahong yaon kung sang-ayon o tutol silang mapalitan ang uri ng pamahalaan sa Kalakhang Maynila.

Kaya pagkatapos ng referendum-plebiscite at mapag-alaman nating kailangang maitatag ang commission-form of government sang-ayon sa mga kasagutang ibinigay ng ating mga mamamayan, aking nilagdaan ang isang dekreto, Presidential Decree No. 824, na nagtatag ng Metropolitan Manila Commission and other purposes. In this decree, we established the territorial jurisdiction of Metropolitan Manila. The territorial jurisdiction is, as originally established, under the manager-form of government. Kasama ryanang cities of Manila, Makati, San Juan, Las Piñas, Malabon, Navotas, Pasig, Pateros, Paranaque, Marikina, Muntinlupa and Taguig in the province of Rizal and the municipality of Valenzuela in the province of Bulacan.

The decree further provided for the creation of a Commission to be composed by a chairman or governor, a vice-chairman or vice-governor and three commissioners or board members. One for planning, another for finance and the third for operations, all of whom shall be appointed by the President and shall hold office at his pleasure.

The Governor of Metropolitan Manila is no other than Imelda, *ang inyong kaibigang si Imelda Romualdez-Marcos*.

Sang-ayon din sa mga pinagtibay ng Batasang Pambansa sa pagtatag ng mga bise-gobernador at vice-mayors sa lahat ng lungsod, lalawigan at bayan sa buong Pilipinas, aking nilagdaan ang isang bagong dekreto na nagtatag ng isang vice-governor in addition to the governor.

Ang Vice Governor ng Metropolitan Manila ay walang iba kundi si Mel Mathay. Naririto rin si Commissioner Calaguio, Commissioner for Finance, at ang Commissioner for planning, si Commissioner Einsiedel Ang puwesto ng Commissioner for operations ay bakante.

Isang katanungan na nasagot ko na ang muling itinanong sa akin kahapon. Mayroon ba naman tayong Sanggunian? May konsehal ba ang mga mayor? Wala po, sapagka 't commission-type ito. Nguni't sino ang katulong ng Commission at ng mga alkalde?

Nais kong ipagbigay-alam sa lahat na noong 1975, pagkatapos ng pagtatag ng Metropolitan Commission ay ating inalis ang mga konsehal sa buong Metropolitan Manila and in their place—inglisin ko at nang maintindihan na rin ng mga manunulat na dayuhan na kung minsan ay binabaligtad ang aking sinasabi—following the abolition of the council in 1975, we created the Sanggunian ng Kalakhang Maynila, in accordance with these provisions which I shall read to you:

“The city and municipal councils in Metropolitan Manila are hereby abolished and in lieu thereof, there shall be consultative legislative assembly that shall assist the Commission in the formulation of ordinances, resolutions and other measures affecting the four cities and thirteen municipalities within Metropolitan Manila which shall hereafter be known as the Sanggunian ng Kalakhang Maynila whose members shall hold office at the pleasure of the President.

“The Sanggunian ng Kalakhang Maynila shall recommend to the Commission ordinances, resolutions and such measures as it may adopt; PROVIDED, that no such ordinances, resolutions or measures shall become effective until after the approval of the Commission; And PROVIDED FURTHER, that the power to impose taxes and levies, the power to appropriate money and the power to pass ordinances or resolutions with penal sanctions shall be vested exclusively in the Commission.

“The Sanggunian ng Kalakhang Maynila shall be composed of the following members who shall be appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the Commission:

- (a) Two representatives from each of the 13 municipalities.
- (b) Four representatives from each of the cities of Quezon, Pasay and Caloocan.
- (c) Six representatives from the City of Manila.
- (d) Sectoral representatives as may be determined by the Commission.

“The members shall elect from among themselves a presiding officer and a deputy presiding officer who shall be responsible for the orderly conduct of the meeting and proceedings of the Sanggunian. The presiding officer and deputy presiding officer cannot subsequently be replaced without the approval of the Commission.

“Functions of the Local Chief Executive. In addition to the present powers and functions which are not inconsistent with this decree, the local Chief Executive, who shall be elected by the duly qualified voters of his city or municipality, shall have the following functions:”

Kinakailangang basahin natin ito at nang malaman ng lahat na buhat pa noong 1975 at 1977 ay akin nang ipinagbigay-alam sa lahat na magkakaroon ng halalan para sa mayor at vice-mayor.

Marami ang nagsasabi na binigla natin sila sa pagkakaroon ng eleksiyon ukol dito. Sa dekreto ng ito ay maliwanag na ipinagbigay-alam na natin sa buong madia noong taong 1975 and 1977 that there will be an election for mayor and vice-mayor for each of the cities and each of the municipalities. Hindi maaaring ipagkaila ng ating mga kalaban na hindi nila alam ang batas o dekreto ng ito sapagka 't iyan ay nasa rekord.

“The Chief Executive of the locality shall have the following functions in addition to his existing functions now:

1. To implement the integration of the common essential municipal and public services approved by the Commission as they pertain to their respective local units.
2. To furnish the Commission such information as it may require and to assist in carrying out the integration of the common essential municipal and public services.
3. To perform such other functions as the Commission may direct.

The local Chief Executive shall have a term of office of six years. *Kaya pipiliin natin sa halalang ito ang mga mayor at vice-mayor na manunungkulan sa loob ng anim na taon. Salig din ito sa tagal ng panunungkulan ng iba pang opisyal, sa ilalim ng Saligang-Batas, katulad ng mga delegado sa Batasang Pambansa, na ang taning ng panunungkulan ay anim na taon. Ang mga mayor ay anim na taon ding manunungkulan under the Local Election Code. Mauupo rin ng gayong katagal na panunungkulan ang mahahalal na mgamayor outside of Metropolitan Manila. Kaya silang lahat ay manunungkulan sa loob ng anim na taon.*

Pagkatapos na basahin ko ang dekreto at inyong malaman ang uri ng pamahalaan sa Metropolitan Manila, ano ngayon ang pipiliin ng ating mga mamamayan sa Metropolitan Manila sa susunod na halalan? Itinatanong ng iba kung totoo nga bang hindi na tayo pipili ng Sanggunian. Totoo po iyan. Hindi kasama ang Sanggunian sa pilian. Bakit? Sapagka't ang pamahalaan ng Metropolitan Manila, sang-ayon sa plebisito. ay commission-type of government. Sino ang pipili? Ang pipili ay ang Commission at ang maga-appoint ay ang Presidents Gayundin, ang mga nasabing appointive commissioners ay consultative lamang.

Ang talagang mabibigyan ng kapangyarihan ay ang Commission at saka mayor and vice-mayor.

Sino sa mga ito ngayon ang napalitan? May mga nagsasabing pare-pareho raw ang mga mukhang inihaharap natin. Datingang mga mukha sapagka 't ang mga iyan ang nagtagumpay noong mga nakaraang hala-lan. Sila ang naging katulong sa pag-unlad ng buong Metropolitan Manila. Iyan ang mga taong subok na at maaaring pagkatiwalaan. Iyan ang mga taong may program of government. Kung papalitan natin ang mga iyan ng mga bagong mukha at wala namang masasabing program of government, magiging baluktot ang palakad ng ating pamahalaan. Kaya dapat ninyong muling ihalal ang lahat ng mga kandidato opisyal ng KBL.

Sa ilalim ng commission-type of government, malaki ang gagampa-nangpapel ng mga Vice-Mayor. Sapagka't in the absence or temporary disqualification or immobility or non-performance of duty of the mayor, automatically the vice-mayor will be acting mayor. And it shall be the policy of the Commission and of the President to see to it that the vice-mayors shall be trained in the performance of the work of all the mayors in Metropolitan Manila.

Ang mga bise-alkalde ngayon ay Hindi na mangangarap o mananalanging mamatay ang kanilang alkalde o di kaya ay maghihintay na mamamatay ang mga ito na siyang iniisip nila noon sapagka't bibigyan sila ngayon ng sariling kapangyarihan ng Metro Manila Commission.

Ang wika naman ng mga kalaban natin: “Sino ngayon ang makiki-alam sa mga gawain ng mga alkalde na kinapapalooban ng mga gas-tusin ng gobyerno sa pagawaing-bayan at iba pang proyekto?” Naririyang ang Sanggunian at ang ating mga vice-mayor at gayundin ang Metro Manila Commission na pinangunguluhan ng inyong kaibigang si Imelda Romualdez-Marcos. Ang mga opisyal na iyan ang ating garantiya na walang magaganap na katiwalian sa pamahalaan ng apat na lungsod at 13 bayan ng Metropolitan Manila.

Sa kampanyang ito ay sinasabi ng ating mga kalaban na walang garantiyang maaalis ang mga kabuktutan, ang mga katiwalian dahil sa walang mga konsehal. Nguni't sapalagay ko ay magiging high na epektibo kung ang magiging garantiya natin ay ang mga appointive officials sa Sanggunian na huhugutin natin sa kalipunan ng mga mamamayan at naglilingkod sa pamahalaan base sa kanilang kakayahan at karunungan. At higit sa lahat, hindi pahihintulutan ng Metropolitan Manila Commission ang ano mang katiwalian sa buong pamahalaan ng Metropolitan Manila. Kaya kung ano man ang kahilingan at karaingan ng ating mga mamamayan tungkol sa mga kabuktutan at katiwalian sa Metropolitan Manila ay makararating agad sa kaalaman ni Imelda sampu ng mga alkalde, bise-alkalde, at gayundin ng Sanggunian para sa karapatang aksiyon.

Kahapon ay hiniling sa akin ng COMELEC sa pamamagitan ni Chairman Perez na kung maaari ay palugitan ko pa ang filing of certificates of candidacy from January 4 up to January 10. Ito raw ay kahilingan ng ibang kandidato na hindi nakapag-file ng kanilang certificate of candidacy.

Ano ang dapat nating gawin diyan? Ito po ang aking ginawa. Itinanong ko kung ilan ang kandidato sa buong Pilipinas. Ayon sa pagsusuri, umaabot sa 60,000 ang mga kandidato sa buong Pilipinas. At ilan naman ang puwestong pinaglalaman? Ang puwestong pinaglalaman ngayon ay 18,000. Samakatuwid, lumalabas na tatlong kandidato ang naglalaman sa bawat isang puwesto sa buong Pilipinas. Sa Metropolitan Manila ay 34 na puwesto ang pinaglalaman. Hang kandidato ang nag-lalaman-laban sa 34 na puwestong iyan? Sa mayor ay 73, sa vice-mayor ay 71. Kung gayon ay five candidates for each position. Sapat na siguro iyong limang kandidato sa bawat puwesto. Isipin na lamang ninyo ang labu-labong iyan. Hindi na ninyo malaman kung sino ang mga iyan, kung si Bagatsing o si Cuneta. May mga kalaban na ang mga iyan. Sa aking palagay ay puro pipitsugin ang ating mga kalaban. Nguni't mga kalaban iyan.

Ngayon, what is the significance of this date, January 4? Iyan po ay itinakda ng Batasang Pambansa. Under the Constitution, the President retains the reserve power to legislate. Under the amendment to the Constitution on October 1977, I have the power to amend any legislation. But what have I declared as a policy? I have declared as a policy that unless the reasons are supervening and overwhelming, I will not use the reserve power and will allow the Batasang Pambansa to establish the policy especially in elections. And therefore I have returned to the Commission on Elections their resolution requesting an amendment with the statement that I do not believe that it is necessary to extend the period of filing a certificate of candidacy.

Maliwanag ang ibig sabihin niyan. Atpinag-aralan namin ang bagay na iyan. Ano ba ang dahilan at hindi nakapag-file ng certificate of candidacy ang mga taong iyan na humihingi ng extension of the period of filing of certificate of candidacy? Ang sagot ay nakaligtaan daw nila. Ang katwiran naman ng iba, sila raw ay nalito at hindi malaman kung saan magpa-file. Ang iba kasi sa kanila ay nag-file dito at nag-file doon, nguni't pagkatapos na nang alasdose ng January 4.

Ang bagay na iyan ay hindi na maaaring gamutin sa pamamagitan ng dekretong manggagaling sa Presidente. From my point of view, we will have a free and open election and, therefore, it is my considered and deliberate decision that there shall be no extension of the period for the filing of certificates of candidacy.

Mga kasama sa Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, pagkatapos kong maibigay ang mga paliwanag hinggil sa bagay na iyan ay bumalik tayo sa ating pinakamahalagang gawain sa umagang ito. At iyan ay walang iba kundi ang proklamasyon ng mga kandidato opisyal ng apat na lungsod at 13 nayon ng Metropolitan Manila.

Ang Kilusang Bagong Lipunan at ang mga opisyal na nanunungkulan sa ilalim ng KBL hanggang ngayon ay malaki pa ang utang na loob sa inyong lahat. Sapagka't ang lahat ng kapangyarihang ipinagkaloob mula sa Pangulo ng Republika ng Pilipinas hanggang sa mga assembly men o kagawad ng Batasang Pambansa—kasama na riyan ang Unang Ginang—at sa mga taong pinili at hinirang sa pamamagitan ng kapangyarihang ipinagkaloob sa Pangulo o iyong tinatawag na appointing authority, ay galing sa inyong lahat. Kaya't kami ay may utang na hob sa inyong lahat.

Ang kapangyarihan at lakas na nasa kamay ng inyong abang lingkod, ng Unang Ginang, ng ating mga kandidato at ng mga kagawad sa Batasang Pambansa ay utang naming lahat sa inyo. Hanggang ngayon ay hindi pa namin lubos

na nasusuklian ang kagandahang-loob ninyong iyan. Ano ang aming isinukli o ibinayad diyun? Sinuklian namin ang inyong kagandahang-loob at pagtitiwala ng mga tagumpay sa lahat ng larangan— sa kalusugan, sa pamumuhay. sa ating pakikipag-ugnay sa ibang bansa sa buong daigdig.

Kung namamayani man ang katahimikan sa buong Pilipinas. iyan ay isang tugon sa inyong ipinagkaloob na tiwala sa lahat ng mga nanunungkulan sa ilalim ng KBL. Ang inyong tiwala ay hindi maaaring suklian ng iba pang bagay kundi sa pamamagitan lamang ng mga gawain at tagumpay na aming iniaalay sa lahat ng mga mamamayan sa buong Pilipinas, lalo na ang ating mga maralita at dukha.

Kung ang KBL ngayon ay tinatangkilik ng nakararami sa buong Pilipinas, iyan ay sa dahilang ang KBL ay may program of government, may palatuntunang sinusundan. Hinaharap ng palatuntunang iyan ang lahat ng suliranin ng bawa't isa sa ating mga mamamayan, lalo na ang mga mahihirap at kapos-palad.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1985). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 10). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Speech of President Marcos during the inauguration of the Philippine Refugee Processing Center, January 21, 1980

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the inauguration of the Philippine Refugee Processing Center

[Delivered on January 21, 1980]

Sagisag ng Tagumpay ng Lahi

NANG BATIIN KAYO ng Unang Ginang at sabihing kayo ang tunay na bayani sa ating sentrong ito, ako ang unang-unang pumalakpak. Ang katotohanan, ako ay hindi naniwala na matatapos ninyo ang mga bahay na ito sa loob ng ilang araw lamang. Nguni't pinatunayan ninyo na kaya ninyo sapagka't natapos nga ang project sa loob lamang ng 21 araw.

Ang katotohanan niyan, mga kasama, this project will only succeed if it receives the protection and support of the people of Bataan, especially the town leaders of Morong. Itong proyektong ito ay magtatagumpay kung kayong lahat dito sa Morong, Bataan at ang inyong mga pinuno o lider ay tatangkilik at tutulong sa proyektong ito. Sapagka't, hindi maaaring ipagkaila, ang proyektong ito ang siyang pagsisimulan ng isang bagong diwa. Kaya't kailangan niyan ay diligin at patubuin ng lahat ng mga tao. Aking hinihiling at ipinamamanhik sa inyong lahat, lalung-lalo na kayong mga taga-Morong at Bataan, na tangkilikin ang proyektong ito.

Dapat kami ng Unang Ginang ay nasa ibang lalawigan sapagka't panahon ng kampanya. Siyam na araw mula ngayon, boboto tayo sa halalang lokal. Matagal na tayong hindi nagkakaroon ng halalang hkal kaya lahat ng tao, pati yoong may sakit at hindi makalakad, ay bababa marahil para bumoto.

Sa araw na ito ako sana'y nasa Pangasinan, o nasa Baguio. Nguni't nang mabanggit sa akin na kailangan din akong pumarito kasama ng Unang Ginang sapagka't kailangang ipakita, ipamalas sa madla ang pakikiramay ng sambayang Pilipino at kanilang mga pinunong pambansa sa mga nahihirapan noting mga kapatid na gatling sa Vietnam, ako ay di nag-atubiling pumarito. Sapagka't ang Vietnam ay ating kapitbansa, kapitbahay. Kung patungo ka dito matutumbok mo ang bansang Vietnam; kapag kumuha ka ng isang maliit na bapor patungo dito, ang unang daratnan at matutumbok mong bansa ay Vietnam. Sapagka't ang Vietnam nga ay ating kapitbahay, ang kanilang paghihirap ay paghihirap din natin.

Alam ninyo, itong Morong at Bagac was the Western terminal of the last line of defense of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East in the fighting in 1942. On April 9 when that line collapsed, the western terminal of the line was Morong. Dito sa Morong ay maraming labanan, maraming kapatid natin ang nalipol dito. Kaya't noong ako'y palipad, while flying over Morong again and passing by Mount Samat, Mount Natib, Mount Silanganan—Mariveles and Layac Mountains are to the South, Natib and Silanganan Mountains are to the North to our right—naalaala ko na ang palusong na iyan, iyang mababang dinadaan na iyan mula sa Pilar ay patungo sa Bagac to Morong. Naalaala kong lahat ang ating mga kapatid na nasawi dahil sa digmaan. Alam nating lahat ang hirap na bunga ng digmaan. We know the misery, deprivation and the death because we lost about one million people in the last war and even now during the fighting in Mindanao. Sapagka't alam kong marami sa atin na naging sundalo noon ay napalaban din doon sa Mindanao. Alam ninyo na 500,000 to one million people were displaced—nawalan ng kanilang mga tahanan, nawalan ng hanapbuhay at marami sa kanila ang nagkasakit at namatay noong unang labanan doon sa Marawi noong 1972 at sa Cotabato noong 1973 hanggang 1976. Marami pa sa kanila ang hindi nakakauwi.

Kung tutuusin, ang mga Pilipino ay galing sa lahi ng mga refugees sapagka't may mga nasa kasaysayan natin tungkol kina- Datu Puti at Marikudo. Ano ba iyang si Datu Puti kundi refugee rin? Refugee iyan na galing doon sa Borneo, At si Marikudo, ano ang kasaysayan niyan? Ang katotohanan niyan, si Marikudo at si Datu Puti ang

pinanggalingan ng lahat ng lahing Pilipino. Sila ay napaalis ng isang malupit na pamahalaan na nilabanan nila. Ayon sa kasaysayan bumalik at lumaban si Datu Puti sa Borneo. At ang lahi na namayani dito at namuno sa Maynila, Ilocos at Pangasinan ay galing sa bandang Timog. Kaya't kayong lahat, tayong lahat ay tunay na masasabing galing sa lahing refugee.

We are actually a nation composed of many refugees. The various races that have come here are either Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Bornean, Malaysian, Thai and many others. When Kublai Khan sent a large naval contingent to attack the islands in the South China Sea, many of the refugees in Malaysia moved towards the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and other Asian countries.

And so to our foreign guests, we say, we know how it is to be a refugee, for our history is replete with many instances of our tribes receiving refugees and allowing the infusion of new blood to strengthen the entire race.

Today, once again, we see different races throughout the world committing the most common errors of man-solving our problems by war which causes the dislocation of many people.

Today, however, we come to open a center in an effort to recover what has been partially lost of man's humanity and integrity. Today, you see the very same nations who fought against each other on this soil—Japan against the United States and against the Philippines—coming together to establish a refugee center, which shall reaffirm once again man's humanity for his fellow human, and perhaps, give us fresh hope that no matter how delicate the fabric of the international community, that fabric will not be torn apart because the great majority of men do believe in the maintenance of harmonious international relations and peace.

Hindi ba nakapagtataka, mga kasama, na naririto ngayon ang iba't-ibang bansa na noong nakaraan, gaya ng nabanggit ng Unang Ginang sa kanyang talumpati, ay napalaban dito. Sino ang mga nakalaban dito? Ang Hapon ang kalaban natin at ng Amerika. Ngayon ay nagkatagpo, nagkaisa ang mga naglaban na iyan upang bawiin ang tunay na kara-ngalan ng isang tao, na ang unang iniisip ay ang kanyang tungkulin sa kanyang kapwa tao at sa Poong Maykapal.

On the evening of July 20, 1979, I received a call from the American ambassador indicating the need for some kind of initiative in view of the fact that there was a stalemate in the Geneva Conference that had been called by the Secretary General of the United Nations, on the request or initiative of Prime Minister Thatcher of England. The story here was that the entire conference would fall if there was no offer of some kind for a refugee processing center.

The truth of the matter is that I have been trying to convince many of our friends in the ASEAN to set up such processing centers long before the Geneva Conference. Indonesia and the Philippines had agreed to reserve certain islands for this purpose. And so I immediately took up the suggestion and called up Minister Carlos P. Romulo who was in Geneva sick with fever. *May sakit, nilalagnat nang kaunti nguni't ginising ko at ang wika ko, "Sabihin mo diyan sa conference sa Geneva na ang mga mamamayang Pilipino ay magbibigay ng kapisang lupa upang tirahan ng mga kawawang mga napaalis sa bansang Vietnam."* Tayo rito sa Pilipinas ang magbibigay ng lupa na iyan at ang lupa na iyan ay hindi sa Palawan, dito sa Bataan sapagka't alam ko na ang mga mamamayan dito sa Bataan ay pinakamaawain. makatao at makadiyos.

And so we made this offer. We are very happy that it broke the stale mate in Geneva. We are very happy that we have been able to help our friends in arriving at a solution to this problem.

Why Bataan and not Palawan? *Bakit pinili ang Bataan? Sapagka't malayong lubha ang Palawan. Noong tuusin ang mga gastos, nakita na ang kalahati ng gastos sa pagtatayo ng isang processing center ay mapupunta sa transportasyon. At tuwing kikilos tayo ay maiipit o di kaya kailangan gamitin ang ating mga bapor. Ang mga bapor naman natin ay kakaunti. Kaya't napilitan na ilapit at naririto ngayon sa ating minamahal na lalawigan ng Bataan ang ating processing center.*

Nabanggit ko nga na hindi na sana ako paparito. nguni't upang maipamalas sa inyong lahat. sa inyong mga mamamayan dito sa Morong at Bagac, at ang mga kapitbayan dito sa buong Bataan na itong proyektong ito ay proyekto ninyo. proyckto ng mga mamamayang Pilipino kaya kailangan tulungan natin.

Gayundin, nasabi ng Unang Ginang na tayo ay makikinabang din sa proyektong ito. Bakit? Ang gagamitin ditong mga kasangkapan at bilihin at mga pagkain ay dapat bilhin sa mga kapitbayan. sa Morong at sa iba't-ibang dako. Limampung libo iyan. mga kababayan. Alam natin na angperang gagastusin ay pupunta sa inyo sapagka't sa inyo mungagaling ang mga bilihin na gagamitin at kakanin dito sa sentrong ito.

Marahil, maari nating sabihin na mapalad tayong lahat. Mapalad tayong lahat sapagka't sa pagbibigay natin. sa pakikiramay natin ay tayo pa ang makikinabang.

We should therefore extend all our support to this project, I say that this is a national commitment, not only a commitment of your President, but a commitment of the Filipinos. Therefore, it is necessary that we extend all our support and cooperation to this project.

Baka mayroon sa inyong nag-aalangan. mga nag-aakala na ito ay paraan natin na mapipilitan ang mga taong iwan ang kanilang mga sakahan. Hindi po. Ang mga sakahan ninyo ay magpapatuloy. You can continue farming your fields. They will not be taken away from you. I heard some of the people asking, "Will this settlement expand so that it will mean our losing our farms which are not covered by homestead." The answer is "No." Unless you voluntarily give it up and unless we need it. And I don't think we will need it. On the contrary, it will be necessary for you to farm properly so that you can sell your produce to the processing center and in the process you will gain, you will earn money and you will have a market for your products.

We also feel that there are many ways in which this particular project will be of help to you because it will show you that the Vietnamese, *itong mga Vietnamese ay masisipag na tao. Kaya huwag kayong magkakamali kapag nakita nakita ninyo sila. Makikita ninyo na walang tigil sa pagtatrabaho. Maigi naman na mayroon tayong parang sukatan, sukatan n gating kagalingan, katangian. Sukatan ng ating dunong at talino sapagka't hindi natin maaaring sabihin na ang mga taong iyan ay mga mangmang Hindi po! Matatalino at masisipag sila.*

Ako ay Ilokano pero mas masipag siguro sila kaysa sa Ilokano at mas matipid, ano? Alam ko dito sa Bataan ay matipid din ang mga tao, parang Ilokano rin kayo. Kaya ang wika nila. "Bakit napakarami ang pinagagawa ng Presidente?" "Mangyari kasi," wika ng isa, "Ilokano iyon e. kaya wala nang ginawa iyan kundi tipid nang tipid."

Talagang kailangang magtipid, hindi mo naman sarili ang perang iyan. Pera ng tao iyan, perang mga mamamayan. Gayundin ang perang ito. Itong perang ginagamit dito ay hindi natin pera. The money that is being spent here is not our money. This money comes from various nations. And therefore must we use it properly. There must never be any question at all about its proper expenditure.

Kaya sinabi ko sa United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, ayaw naming hawakan ang perang iyan. Baka may mangyari pang hindi maganda. Kaya sinabi ko, siya ang humawak ng pera at siya ang gumastos. Kung mawala iyan, kasalanan niya at hindi natin kasalanan.

Pero anuman ang mangyari, itong perang ginagamit rito ay hindi galing sa kaban ng ating pamahalaan. Ito ay kontribusyon ng ibat-ibang bansa. Lahat ng aking tinawag na ambassador, iyang lahat na iyan ay nagkokontribusyon sa ating gawain dito. Sapagka't ito ay isang proyekto ng iba't-ibang bansa sa buong daigdig. Kaya't tulungan ninyo kami na maipamalas at maipakita sa buong daigdig na ang Pilipino ay maaaring pagkatiwalaan ng anuman, ng dangal at ng pera. Honor and money can be entrusted to the Filipinos. Iyan ang ating kailangan ipakita.

Pinasasalamatan ko ang Ministry of Human Settlements. Alam ninyo sa mga ganitong oras ay inaalaala ako ng aking kabiya. Dala-dala na niya ang aking pagkain pagka't marami pa akong trabaho sa aking tanggapan. Kaya para akong natutuwa na pumarito uli sa Bataan. Hindi lamang ninyo nalalaman na nag-uumapawang kagalakan sa

aking puso tuwing paparito ako sa Bataan. Bakit? Sapagka't ako ay buhay, dapat ay kasama akong namatay dito kung minalas ako. Nguni't sa tulong ng Poong Maykapal, naririto pa ako.

Noong araw, naglalakad lang kami riyan na sira-sira ang mga suot namin, gutom, mamamatay na. Ilan ang sugat ko? Mga lima ang sugat sa katawan. Ngayon naka-helicopter pa ako, isipin mo iyan. Hindi ba nakakatuwa? Ako ay masayang-masaya.

Pinagmasdan ko ang Bataan noong ako ay naka-helicopter at nabanggit ko na napakasarap mabuhay. Kaya ako naman ay nagagalak na makapagsalita sa inyo sapagka't dito sa Bataan, noong labanan sa Mount Samat, isa ako sa sumumpa na mamamatay na kaming lahat dito. Limang libo ang sumumpa. Di ba kayo ang mga kasama kong sundalo noon? Noong susuko na, wika namin, tutal mamamatay rin tayo kahit na tayo'y sumurender, magpakamatay na tayo dito sa Mount Samat. Lahat ay nanumpa na ang limang libong sundalo ay mamamatay dito sa Mount Samat. Walang maliligtas. lahat nang ibig mabuhay umalis na. Kami ay lalaban hanggang kamatayan. Ang masama lang, ako ay tinamaan ng malubha. Nawalan ako ng malay-tao. Nang magising ako, aba, kalaban na ang kaharap ko at sinusundot ako ng bayoneta. Pinalakad na kami sa Death March at hanggang ngayon, hindi ko nga malaman kung bakit ako nabuhay.

Mayroon akong katabi, labimpito ang tama ng bayoneta, tumindig din kasama ko. Wika ko, "Lumakad tayo, huwag mong ipakita na may sugat ka." Lumakad kami, at nasama sa Death March, pasan-pasan ko siya. Pasan ko si Priming San Agustin sa haba ng mga limampung kilometro.

Ngayon naririto ako, nagtatalumpati, nakikinig pa kayo. Nasa init kayo, ako nasa lilim. Napakasarap iyang maalala mong lahat ang mga pighating nangyari sa iyong buhay, pagkatapos natutulungan ang mga kawawa rin naman na walang bansa.

Kaya ako ay nagpapasalamat sa inyo, sa inyong lahat na tumulong sa akin noong ako ay isang sundalo lamang na walang katungkulan kundi ang lumaban; at sa ating Poong Maykapal na binigyan ako ng pagkakataon upang ipamalas sa lahat na ang ating lahi ay marunong magsarili sa dangalat sa tagumpay. Iyan ang ating iniisip na kailangang ipakita sa madla. At itong sentrong ito ay sagisag. simbulo ng tagumpay ng ating lahi.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1985). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 10). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the KBL Rally, January 27, 1980

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the KBL Rally

[Delivered on January 27, 1980]

Ang Pagpapatag ng Ating Lipunan

BINABATI KO ANG lahat ng mga piling panauhing dumalo sa pulong na ito, lalung-lalo na ang mga pinuno ng iba't-ibang barangay ng distrito ng Maynila. Ibinalita sa akin na hindi lamang pala itong distritong dating kinakatawan ni Mayor Bagatsing noong siya ay kinatawan pa ang naanyayahan kundi maging ang buong distrito ng Maynila. Kaya nariritong lahat ngayon ang mga kinatawan ng Lungsod ng Maynila.

Alam ninyo, sa aking pagkakaupo kanina ay mataman kong pinakikinggan at pinagmamasdan ang hindi magkamayaw na pagsasaya at pagkakaingay ng mga tao nang marinig nila ang pahayag na pagmamay-arian na nila ang mga lupang kinatitirikan ng kanilang mga bahay.

Nag-uumapaw sa kagalakan ang aking puso sa kasiyahan aking nakikita sa mga mukha ng ating mga mamamayan. Nadarama ko ang pagdinig ng Diyos sa panalangin ng inyong abang lingkod noong mga araw ng kagipitan at araw ng kahirapan hindi lamang noong panahon ng digmaan pandaigdig kundi noong panahon ng pakikipaglaban sa mga komunista na ibig umagaw sa kapangyarihan ng Republika ng Pilipinas. Di ba nagkaroon ng laban na kung tawagin "The Battle of Mendiola Bridge?" At ilan ang namatay dito? How many were killed here in Mendiola, in Bustillos during the fighting in 1972 when the NPA-organized and motivated demonstrations attempted to enter Malacañang Palace? And entering Malacañang Palace attempted to kill the President and the First Family? And at the same time attempted to burn down the city?

Naaalala ba ninyo ang araw na iyon? Ano kaya ang pagkakaiba noon sa gabing ito ng ating pagpupulong? Kapayapaan, katahimikan, at kasayahan ang iyong nasasaksihan. Hindi ba ito ay kasagutan ng Poong Maykapal sa pag-alay ng buhay ng ilang tao? Noong 1972 ay kinailangang itaya noting muli ang ating buhay at anumang pag-aari, lalung-lao na ang pinakamahalaga sa lahat sa isang tao — ang karangalan. Ang karangalan ay muli nating itataya upang mabawi ang karangalan ng karamihan sa mga Pilipinong nawalan ng dangal dahil sa madugong himagsikan ng ating mga kasama.

Kaya mga kasama, kayo'y nagsaya at pumapalakpak noon aking lagdaan itong dalawang dikretong nagbibigay ng lupa. Naibalik na ang lupa sa inyo. Nguni't lalong mahalaga ang matbakh na ang karangalan ng ating mga mamamayan. Ang Pilipino sapul noong panahon ng ating mga ninuno ay isang marangal na mandirigmang lumaban sa mga dayuhan sa ating bansa. At pagkalipas ng mga ilang taon ay nawala sa kanila ang karapatang magkaroon ng sariling lupa. Iyan ang dahilan kung bakit muli nating itinaya ang karangalan ng buong bansa at ng ating mamamayang Pilipino.

Ang ating bansa sa ngayon ay isa sa labinlimang miyembro ng Security Council sa United Nations. Maipagmamalaki ng Pilipinas ang kanyang mga anak sa mga pulong ng matatalino at magagaling na kinatawan ng isang daan at limampung bansa sa buong daigdig. Tayo ay maaaring humarap kanino man at sabihin na ang Pilipinas ay lalong gumaganda. Ang Maynila ay maaaring ipagmalaki. Kung pahihintulutan natin ang ating mga kalaban na muling agawin sa pamamagitan ng balota ang kapangyarihang ipinagkaloob sa KBL sa sunud-sunod na halalan ay rhanunumbalik ang karimlan, ang kahirapan, at ang kagipitan.

Ako'y naririto, isang maliit na mamamayan katulad ninyo na nagkapalad na mahalal bilang Pangulo noong 1965. I was reelected President in 1969 at noong referendum 1973, 1974, 1975. Every year, there was a referendum. On

December 7, 1977, *pagkatapos na maaprobahan ang* Amendments to the Constitution, the question was asked you: "Do you want President Marcos to assume the position of President and Prime Minister in the coming election?" And you answered: "Yes, all the way." More than 90 percent of the entire voting population voted that the New Society must continue. That we must recover the dignity of the individual Filipino. That we must return the pride of the Filipino nation. And that we must aspire for greatness as a country and as a people.

At ngayon ay naririnig na naman natin ang ating mga kalaban na nabigyan ng pagkakataong magsisigaw. Sinasabi nilang si Marcos daw ay diktador. Mayroon ba namang diktador na humaharap sa karamihan ng tao at nagpapaliwanag? Ang diktador ay nagtatago lamang sa kanyang palasyo. Mayroon ba namang diktador na humaharap sa mga mamamayan at ipinaubaya sa kanila ang kapasiyahan kung magpapatuloy pa ang kanyang pamahalaan? Ilan ang tinawag nating referendum? Ilan ang tinawag nating plebisito? How many times did I lift martial law in order that there may be free meetings like this? In order that there may be free debate? In order that there may be free referendum and election? This is not the mark of dictatorship. And our opponents, the leftists and the rightists who want to grab the powers of government, went to the Supreme Court several times. In all those instances, I appeared before the Supreme Court. Is that the work of a dicta tor? If I were a dictator, iyang mga manlililang sa atin, iyang mga nagbabatikos, iyang masasama ang bibig, iyang masasama ang balak ay matagal nang nailigpit. Nguni't pinagbibigyan natin sila. Kaya ko lang nasasabi ito dahilan sa muli tayong humaharap sa kagipitan. Muli na namang dumidilim ang iba 't-ibang dako ng daigdig. Hindi dito sa Pilipinas kundi sa ibang bansa. Nagkakaroon ng kaunting gusot at kaunting alitan. Ang Amerika'y tila ba naghahanda na para sa digmaan. Manalangin tayo na ang anumang gusot at alitan ng Russia at Amerika ay hindi hahantong sa isang digmaang pandaigdig. Ngayon ay sumasalubong tayo sa isang kagipitang pangkabu hay an, economic crisis. Tumaas ang presyo ng langis. Tumaas ang presyo ng lahat. At ang wika ng ating mga kalaban: ' 'Iyang si Marcos pinataas ang lahat ng presyo. "Ang ibig sabihin nito ay mangmang at manlililang sila. Sapagka 't ang presyo ng ating mga inaangkat galing sa ibang bansa ay hindi natin sakop. Kagaya ng langis na nagpapataas ng presyo. At ano ba ang ibig sabihin ng OPEC? Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Alam ninyo, mga kasama, tinataas nila ang presyo. Tayo naman ay bumibili sa kanila ng langis na hindi natin maiwasang bilhin. Kailangan natin ang langis sa ating kabuhatan. Kung hindi na tayo bibili ng langis, walang tatakpong jeep, walang tatakpong trak, walang tatak-bong generator ng elektrisidad, walang tatakpong pagawaan. At tayong lahat ay mawawalan ng hanapbuhay. Kaya't napipilitan tayong bumili ng langis. Anumang presyo ang hingin ng OPEC ay kinakailangang bayaran natin. Nguni't ipinagpapatuloy natin ang pagtuklas ng langis sa ating bansa. Mayroon na ba tayong nakita? Opo, nadiskubre na natin. Mayroon pala tayong langis sa Palawan. Ngayon, tayo ay nakakakuha ng apatnapung libong bariles araw-araw sa Nido complex. Pagkatapos, isusunod natin ang Cadlao complex. Pagkatapos, Matinloc complex. Ang lahat ng iyan ay may langis. Kaunting tiyaga lamang. Kaunting tiis. Marahil ay sapat na ang langis na galing sa Palawan. Kaya't pagtaas ng presyo ng langis ay tumaas din ang presyo ng ibang bilihin. Nguni't ano ang ginawa ng inyong pamahalaan? Itinaas natin ang minimum wage. Gaano ang taas ng presyo? Inflation rate is anywhere from 18 to 22 percent. But we raised the salaries of officers and employees in the government and of laborers and employees in the private sector to 24 percent. We increased the income of the people more than the inflation rate. Kinakailangang tulungan ng Bagong Lipunan ang gating mga kapus-palad at maralita.

Nakalimutan kong ito pala ay rally para kay Bagatsing at Barbers. Sila ba ay kailangan pang ikampanya natin.

Alam ninyo noong nilalagdaan ko ang dikreto para sa lupa pinagmamasdan ko si General Barbers at si Mayor Bagatsing. Pag-akyat ko rito sa entablado ay may nagsabi sa akin na ang kailangang harapin natin ay ang isyu ng lupa sa Tambunting at Sunog-Apog. Ibigay na raw, natin ang lupa sa ating mga mamamayan. Kay a alam ko na si Bagatsing at si Barbers ay para sa ating mga dukha at maralita. Si Barbers ay ang namumuno sa mga pulis sa Maynila. Apat na libong pulis ang nasa ilalim niya. Marunong at mahusay siya saadministration. At walang dungis ang kanyang pangalan at puri. Alam ninyo, marami sa atin ang hindi nakakaalam na si Barbers ay abogado na pala. Ito naman si Mon, tingnan ninyo ang bionic mayor. Alam ninyo, nakakapagtataka rin itong mamang ito. Talagang mayroon siyang katulong sa langit. Unang-una, nakalibre sa bombing. Talagang iniligtas siya ng Panginoon upang ipagpatuloy ang kanyang paglilingkod sa ating mga mamamayan. Eh, naging pulis at jeepney driver siya kaya alam niya ang kahirapan ng ating pangkaraniwang mamamayan. Alam ninyo, binasa ko ang plataporma ng National Union for Liberation. Ako ay sanay sa pagsukat ng diwa at kaisipan ng kaibigan o kalaban. Ang plataporma ng National Union for Liberation ay kahiya-hiya. Plataporma ito ng komunista at socialista, hindi

ng Pilipino. Ito ay hiram na diwa sa ibang bansa. Hindi ko na kailangang pag-aralan ito. Ang mga nakasulat dito ay hango sa propaganda ng mga komunista na ating nilabanan noong 1971 at 1972. Itong propagandang ito ay panggagalingan ng sakit ng ulo ng ating mga mamamayan. Ang mga taong ito ay naniniwala sa pag-agaw sa mga pag-aari ng iba. Agawin daw ang mga corporation at ibigay ang mga ito sa pamahalaan. Ang ibig sabihin nito ay wala ng pag-aaring pribado. Kung kakailahganin ng pamahalaan ang nationalization of industry ay dapat mabayaran. Kailangang palakihin ang mga corporation na ito ng pamahalaan at pagkatapos ay ipagbili sa ating mga pangkaraniwang mamamayan. Kabaligtaran ang kanilang gagawin. Ito ay hindi maaari. Ito ang makakasira ng ating ekonomiya. Ito ang isang malaking isyung hindi maaaring tanggapin.

Mga kasama, ang inyong abang lingkod ay magpapatuloy na Presidente anuman ang resulta ng halalang ito. Manalo o matalo si Bagatsing at si Barbers, Presidente at Prime Minister pa rin si Marcos. Ang palakpakan ninyo ay ang inyong sarili sapagka't kayo ang nagtiwala at nagbigay ng kapangyarihan sa akin. Paano ginagamit ang kapangyarihang ito? Nakita ninyong pumirma ako ng isang dikreto na parang isang batas. Kung hindi Presidente at Prime Minister sa ilalim ng government si Marcos ay wala siyang kapangyarihang gumawa ng dikretong magbibigay ng lupa sa inyo. Iyan po ang kahulugan ng pag-halal sa akin. On December 7, 1977, I was directed by more than 90 percent of the entire vote of 22 million Filipinos, to assume the powers of the President and the Prime Minister and continue to pursue the goals and objectives of the New Society. Under those powers, I have the power to issue this decree. I give you the land today through the Ministry of Human Settlements, through the general Manager of the National Housing Corporation.

Marami pa tayong gagawin upang linisin ang ating lipunan at patatagin ang ating pamahalaan. Nakikita ninyong nililinis ko ang ating pamahalaan. Pinabibilanggo ko ang mga manlililalang at mga kawatan sa highways. Naririto ang minister of Highways. Bakit ko inilipat si Minister Paterno sa Highways? Sapagka't maraming nakawan sa highways. At kailangan natin ang isang malinis, magaling, at matalinong lalaki katulad ni Minister Paterno. Pero kung hindi Presidente at Prime Minister sa ilalim ng martial law si Marcos, wala siyang kapangyarihang alisin ang mga kawatang iyan. At ganoon din sa Professional Regulation Commission. Ilan sa inyo ang nag-eksamen sa pagka-nurse, pagka-engineer, pagka-deck officer? Magkano ang inyong ibinayad sa mga examiner? Kayo din naman ay nagbabayad kung minsan. Nahuli namin silang nangingikil. And under my powers, I immediately ordered the arrest of all members who were caught in the act of extorting money from the examinees. If I were not President with these powers, I could not do that. Wala akong kapangyarihan. Kaya't mga kasama, marami pa tayong kailangang gawain. Hindi pa sapat ang ating ginawa upang linisin ang ating lipunan. Patatagin natin ang ating pamahalaang pambansa at pamahalaang panlokal upang malinis ang Maynila. Kailangang iboto natin si Bagatsing at si Barbers.

Ito po ang huling rally dito sa Maynila. Ang huling rally na parang miting de abanse. Kaya't maigi naman at naririto ang inyong mga pinagkalooban ng kapangyarihan sa Batasang Pambansa—Imelda Romualdez Marcos, Tolentino, Camara, Alinea, Soller, Espina. At naririto ang namumuno sa Batasang Pambansa, si Speaker Makalintal. Kami pong lahat ay nagpapasalamat sa inyo.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1985). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 10). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos at the 29th Annual Pacific Travel Association Conference and Workshop, February 1, 1980

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 29th Annual Pacific Travel Association Conference and Workshop

[Delivered on February 1, 1980]

A Dialogue of Cultures

IT SHOULD BE no surprise to you that I have come to deliver my first public address after winning an election here during this annual conference of the Pacific Area Travel Association; for after all, the Philippines expects much from PATA and tourism.

Nothing can be more fulfilling than being able to address oneself immediately to some of the concrete problems we are confronted with. It is for this reason that I have come all the way back from the hustings to be able to speak to you.

But I gathered that this is the fifth day of your conference, and so you must be completely inebriated with speeches. So am I.

Let me, however, meet the demands and imperatives of protocol and welcome you. We welcome you and thank you for choosing for the third time this humble country and city of ours as venue for your annual conference and workshop. You have accorded us a privilege for which I would like to add my words of thanks and appreciation to that of the First Lady who, I understand, addressed you last Monday. Were I a wiser man, I should have kept my silence, since the Lady of the house has spoken. But never having been known for timidity, let me perform the role assigned to me by this new dictator of tourism, Minister Jose Aspiras. Did you know that he came all the way to the North, the northern part of the Philippines from where I come, to drag me back to Manila in order to attend this particular meeting?

I am certain that the impressive array of speakers led by Prime Minister Muldoon indicates the importance of this conference.

That I have arrived only at this late stage of the conference must be indication of the temper of the times. Needless to say, this has been a hectic period for all of us in the Philippines. We not only had a nationwide election of local executives, we also had two state visits—one by the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky, and the other by Prime Minister Robert Muldoon of New Zealand. In addition to this are the usual meetings of the National Security Council, our Foreign Policy Council and the National Economic and Development Authority, necessitated by the current and contemporary changes in the international environment.

So I am happy to be able to come and meet with you or at least to say goodbye. The international travel and tourist industry, I am sure, has not failed to feel the same temper of the times. For, if this is a hectic period in our nation's life, it merely reflects the change and ferment in the times we live in. All over the world today we note bewildering turns in the affairs and relations of nations. We feel the impact of changes taking place; and we sense the tremors that such changes bring about.

This is true not only in the world in general but also throughout the Philippines. For you come at a period when we are in the process of building a New Society and the radical restructuring of our economic, social and political institutions.

As we begin a new decade for our industry, we note many of the factors that will make for growth or difficulty within the industry. We see many problems rising to the fore. We find some of our earlier initiatives requiring reexamination. As this is true of your industry, so is it with small developing nations like the Philippines.

In all this, we have only the certitude that in bidding for growth, we have to make way for change in aspiring to build afresh. We have to make adjustments in the planning and promotion of this industry, particularly in the Pacific which is the compass of our concerns in this conference.

It is of vital importance that, at this critical turning point for travel and tourism in the Pacific, we have a dynamic international organization to temper and soften the asperities of change. The PATA family of several hundred tourist organizations in the countries of the Pacific Basin constitutes a vital force for the maintenance of stability and dynamism in international travel and tourism. This has been the organization which has spurred over the decades the growth of international travel and the opening of new countries to tourism.

We in the Philippines, for one, are glad to acknowledge that it was PATA which in the early days opened our country to global tourism. And it was its expertise which guided our fledgling tourism industry to its new place among tourist distinctions. What we say of our experience is no doubt true of many other countries in the Pacific.

The success of PATA in the pursuit of its objectives has always flowered from the strength of its unflagging principles: friendship and goodwill, solidarity and unity among all the nation and peoples of the world, irrespective of race, color or creed. What really makes this organization unique among many other international associations is that it has always been strictly based on voluntary membership. Therein lies its fundamental strength: that its members recognize their mutual inter-dependence on each other, and pool their expertise and resources together to achieve common goals and objectives. For growth and genuine progress cannot be imposed. Nor can they be legislated.

This is particularly true of such a complex industry as tourism, which reaches out and affects just about every aspect of the socio-economic life of all nations throughout the world. And yet precisely because of this effective potential of the industry, it is one which must be nurtured and guided at all times, and it is an undertaking that requires the cooperation of every sector concerned.

It is timely, indeed, for all of us, especially in the government, to begin to unfold. You have chosen as the theme of your conference "Preparing for Growth," and grow, certainly, the tourism and travel industry will.

The Seventies have been for everyone of us a sobering experience, and none of its lessons have been as sobering as the new knowledge that growth and progress, too, have their parameters, and that we may no longer forge ahead without at the same time looking back.

In looking back, I don't propose to just look back at the past decade. As a student of history, may I say that the antecedents of tourism in our part of the world is no less than the fateful encounter of East and West, which began almost at the beginning of known history and continue to our own time. This encounter, which throughout history has been marked by the tumult of war and conquest, was never quite simply a case of the West penetrating the East, or as Hegel conceived it, "a matter of human civilization rising like the sun in the East and setting in the West." It was rather more of a dialectical interaction continuing indefinitely—with both worlds carrying on their ancient dialogue, meeting their mutual challenges and responses, with the slow but perhaps inevitable movement towards the unification of the world. Whatever it is, this ancient dialogue of the cultures of the East and of the West and among the various races, promoted and maintained by the agencies of war or exploration or trade or hegemonic ambition, is only a reflection of the character of previous eras of human history. And what we see developing now in the conduct of this fundamental encounter between the East and West is in its way the reflection of the progress we have made in our own time towards unification and, hopefully, peace.

The significance that we must attach to international tourism is this: more than just being an effect of modernity, tourism is a fundamental part of the maintenance and promotion of this dialogue, a replacement, if you like, of the old encounters carried on through war, exploration, blood and thunder, religion, and other expedencies. It is, I dare say, one of those indispensable agents for peace and fruitful exchange between East and West in contemporary times, and there is, therefore, all the more reason to nurture it in the face of current threats to global order.

Odd as it may seem, many of the great feats in ancient history were inspired at root by the same impulse of modern-day travel and tourism: the curiosity of peoples about one another. Alexander's grand dream of winning Asia grew from a fascination with the East. And who can ever doubt that Marco Polo was a tourist of great imagination and daring? What Genghis Khan and the Mongolian Empire brought to the East-West encounter, what the travels of Marco Polo opened to the West of the mystique and the riches of the East, what animated Alexander the Great to seek union with Asia, and reach the Hindus, what brought Europe to Asia in the 16th century—the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, the takeover of Malacca, Albuquerque, in both Goa and Malacca, Serana and Tarnate in the Moluccas, Magellan in the Philippines—all these were in their own way precursors of the encounters of people, which, broadly speaking, lies at the heart of tourism.

In recalling before this forum the deeper historical dimension of tourism, I am suggesting that perhaps the way through the contemporary uncertainties of the industry may well lie in a firmer vision of our values and our goals in the industry, a vision that covers not merely economic ends but the larger considerations of culture and history. This is also to suggest that you will find answers if you look and try to understand the words of our time and the meaning of events, and not simply be enclosed within the concerns of purely tourist economics.

In the past, the basic assumption on which the future development of tourism was predicated was that, given the natural course of events, the industry would continue to grow and expand steadily and indefinitely in proportion to population growth, the rise in disposal income, and the development of the necessary technology to accommodate the evergrowing number of tourists and travelers in search of new destinations. This, in turn, was premised on a number of more fundamental assumptions: that there would be a constant and virtually inexhaustible supply of energy and natural resources; that the international economy would grow according to an orderly pattern and gradually result in a more equitable distribution of wealth among the nations of the world, and that this growth in turn would, in the end, lead to harmony, peace and political stability.

Then came 1974 as well as 1979, and nothing has ever been quite the same again.

In attempting to map out industry strategies and programs for growth in the Eighties, one fundamental reality seems to stand out clearly: the tourism and travel industry can no longer view its prospects for the future as separate from the main stream of human socio-economic development. For tourism and travel are no longer the special prerogatives of the wealthy, the powerful and the few. They have, in our time, become the patrimony of all, regardless of class, color or creed, and must, therefore, reflect as accurately as possible the broad spectrum of society's concerns.

And what, in essence, are these concerns?

The optimal utilization of resources, first of all. Perhaps, the bigger, richer and more powerful nations of the world do not yet regard the problems of the tourism and travel industry from this perspective. But we who belong to the developing nations of the world realize only too well how precious little of our resources we can really afford to squander. Every investment in a new hotel or resort, each new aircraft and money spent on promoting our respective destinations around the world is a resource that would otherwise go to even more pressing requirements like food and shelter, health, education and social welfare.

It is of course well and good for our experts to delve into the mathematical intricacies of the benefits to be derived from tourism income, or how many times that income multiplies itself before it spreads out to the broad base of our population. The question, however, is: Does that income feed mouths that are hungry, or provide other basic necessities, or provide employment opportunities?

Every developing country in this decade must ask itself these questions, not only of tourism, but of every industry it lends priority to. One thing is certain. Glamour alone, or prestige, no longer justifies this industry or any industry for that matter. If tourism is to remain relevant to our times, it must broaden the base of its social concerns

Secondly, the industry must reflect the powerful concern today of many nations for the protection of the environment and the preservation of culture. Environment and culture once lost or destroyed, are absolutely irreplaceable. Thus, they may neither be ignored or prostituted for material or selfish ends, as they often have been in the past. In the Eighties we may no longer allow tourists to indiscriminately spear fish in our waters or hunt our wildlife. We would like to see less high-rise hotels on our beaches. On tours, we would rather that our visitors and guests see more of our historical monuments and ethnic dances than our shopping centers and our night life. Or better yet, that they see both of them, one at night and the other in the daytime.

Third, there has to be some new regard for the honesty of travel experience. The traveler of today demands quality of service and genuine value for his expenditure. We, as destinations, must show him not merely the cosmetics or the glamour of it all, but also as many facets of ourselves and what we really are. For if tourism is to be an effective vehicle of understanding and communication among us, it must at least be an honest experience before it can become an enriching one.

Enrichment and education, these, today, over and above mere recreation, are the values the traveler seeks. They are therefore the values we must seek to project to him. Friendliness as shown through the warmth of a smile cannot be promulgated. To touch someone and affect his life is an effort of the heart.

On the whole what we would like to see, both as laymen and as policy planners of the tourism industry and of government, is a simpler, yet at the same time more honest, travel experience that emphasizes not merely numbers or profit margins, but also the human factor and a quality of service consonant with it.

In the years to come, we will see travel becoming more and more accessible to as wide a segment of the human population as possible. And in this accessibility, we cannot but perceive tourism's potential not only for its own growth, but also for a truly positive contribution to the development of human brotherhood. For tourism has left virtually no part of the world untouched. More than any attempt at propaganda, or mere public relations by the government of the world and their peoples or even diplomacy as art, it is travel that perhaps in the end will actually supply the link to mutual understanding among all the peoples of the world. Where all the statesmen and the diplomats and the political leaders now seem to fail, it would seem, travel and tourism will succeed.

All this is to suggest that we ought to redirect our aspirations and our goals in this industry to its truly vital mainspring which is the desire of people to know one another, the pristine pleasures of travel and that historic dialogue between the East and the West. This is to say that we must think once more of tourism as a bridge—a bridge to understanding and knowledge among the nations and peoples of the world.

Even with the formidable problems that must surely be confronted in the present decade, growth, I agree with you, is possible and can be planned. And I venture further to believe that international tourism will continue to contribute much to global understanding and knowledge, even when other agents of international goodwill may despair and abandon the quest.

In this we share your hope, then, that the 1980s will be truly years of growth, not only for your industry but also for the world we live in as a whole. May your industry be a genuine and enriching factor in this growth for as long man's curiosity over what lies across the mountains lives within him; tourism and travel will continue to grow.

I therefore wish you the best of luck and congratulate you on your successful conference.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1985). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 10). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Address of President Marcos during the 17th Congress of the International Society of Sugarcane Technologists,
February 4, 1980

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the 17th Congress of the International Society of Sugarcane Technologists

[Delivered on February 4, 1980]

A Climate of Stability
in the Sugar Industry

IT IS INDEED a pleasant task for me to come and appear before you during this period immediately after the elections. It certainly is very fulfilling to be able to come and speak on a very concrete problem immediately after victory in the elections.

I am astounded at the many hats that Ambassador Benedicto wears. Barely a few days ago, we were on the hustings, campaigning for votes. I never realized that he had any claim to being a sugar technologist. It is therefore a pleasant surprise for me to see him chair this conference of the International Society of Sugarcane Technologists. This gives me a chance to look into his qualifications.

It is most auspicious that we meet today, when it seems that the sugar market has made a turn for the better. I gathered from the economic experts, especially our people in the National Economic and Development Authority and the Monetary Board, that they are very optimistic about prospects of an increase in our foreign exchange earnings from sugar. The price of sugar is now 22 cents per pound. That certainly is a big improvement over the old price of 6.5 cents about a year ago. This probably is the reason why sugarcane technologists can meet in a conference again.

Certainly, sugar is crucial to the Philippine economy. There was a time when this commodity constituted about 50 to 60 percent of the entire exports of the Philippines. That was way back in the early days of the American occupation, from 1909, 1913 to the 1920s. But as we moved along, we had developed other traditional exports. Sugar led the way, then coconut products, mineral ore, including copper, gold, silver, nickel chromite as well as wood products. Those were the four basic exports. Basic because they constituted about 85 percent of the entire exports of the Philippines, until a few years back when I became President and we started to diversify.

Now, these traditional plantation crops, or primary products, as the economists are wont to call them, constitute barely 50 to 55 percent of our exports. But still they are very substantial contributors to the sources of foreign exchange which, as everybody knows, is a measure of a country's financial stability.

May I therefore join the Governor of Metropolitan Manila in welcoming you for and on behalf of our people and the Republic of the Philippines. In behalf of the Filipino people, I would also like to express the hope that you will have both a pleasant and profitable stay.

We are the sixth largest producer and fourth largest exporter of cane sugar in the world. It follows that we in the Philippines should attach great importance to the work of the International Society of Sugarcane Technologists, and share the high hopes of many for the success of your deliberations.

In all the years since the Society was founded and convened its very first international congress, the work of sugarcane technologists has always stood prominently as a force for vitality, efficiency and productivity in the world

sugar industry. Today, more than ever, we look to your field of specialization for continued vigor and vision in support of an industry which in recent years has known severe difficulties.

In this tremendous technological feat, we also read the promise of a better future for the industry. Many of us look today to continued advances in sugarcane technology as an essential factor in building greater stability and profitability in the world sugar industry. For while our problems may seem to arise from the instabilities of global trade, we know and recognize that long-term stability will depend on the success of the efforts now being undertaken to maximize efficiency in sugar production and to reduce production costs to levels that will assure profitable prices even in the midst of abundance. At the same time, it will be necessary to look for new and other uses for sugar.

As the world moves towards rectifying the problems engendered by the past, and towards implementing the terms of the International Sugar Agreement (I.S.A.) of 1977, we will witness an improvement in world prices of sugar. Yet the fact will remain that given better mechanisms for trade, there is no substitute for efficiency and productivity in the industry, no alternative to the effective utilization of resources in attaining growth and stability in sugar.

The experience of the Philippine sugar industry is revealing of both the problems and the prospects of the world sugar industry. And I hope you will permit me to speak of this experience in keynoting this congress.

The sugar industry occupies a prominent position in the economy of the Philippines, as I have said. As the country's oldest export industry, it has provided livelihood for large segments of our population from the early times towards the latter part of the last century, and again in the 1920s to mid-1930s. It is said that it was the main pillar of the Philippine economy, with sugar constituting, as I have said, sometimes up to 60 percent of our total export trade.

The rapid growth of the industry during these periods could have led to the development of a one-crop economy in the country but for the protracted interruption caused by American War in 1898-1902 when the civil government was established, and subsequently, by the operations of the Philippine Independence Act of 1934 which established the Commonwealth regime and which partly coincided with the war here in the Philippines from 1945—a global war that not only decimated our population (for we lost about a million of our people) but also destroyed the infrastructure of the sugar industry, as it did other industries.

The U.S. Sugar Act limited the entry of duty-free sugar into the United States market in 1934. You are also well aware that as of 1974 the trade agreement between the Philippines and the United States was terminated. In the face of these developments, the Philippine sugar industry nevertheless remained an important element in the economic growth of the country. Despite the quota restrictions under the U.S. Sugar Act, the industry provided a relatively stable source of export income, equivalent to an average of over 20 percent of total export receipts during the 40-year period that the act was in force, excepting, as I said, for the war years and the post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction period. It is indeed regrettable that such a finely-tooled piece of sugar legislation as the U.S. Sugar Act, which had worked well under all but the most unusual circumstances, was allowed to languish and fade out.

Since the expiration of the Sugar Act in 1974, the Philippines has become part of the world free market. As a member of the international sugar organization, we have participated in the U.N. Sugar Conferences of 1973, and 1977, and cooperated in the international efforts to negotiate an agreement with economic clauses, so as to achieve a measure of order and stability in the world market. These efforts culminated in the successful conclusion of the International Sugar Agreement of 1977, and we in the Philippines would like to believe that we have helped make possible by sacrificing 100,000 tons of our own basic export tonnage to break the deadlock on quota levels which was being disputed up to the closing day of the conference.

When the agreement entered into force on January 1978 we had hoped that world prices, which had dipped to as low as 6.11 cents in 1977, would improve. However, it took a much longer time than expected for the agreement to take hold. In the first 20 months, when the agreement came into effect, the monthly average of I.S.A. daily prices fluctuated between 6.4 cents and 8.6 cents, which are way below costs of the world's most efficient producers.

As a result of extremely low prices and greatly reduced volume, our export income from sugar in 1977 and 1978 declined for the first time in a peacetime year to less than one-third normal level. For a small, developing country with limited resources like ours, the effect of such an extreme reduction of income on our economy, which is already reeling from the impact of constantly escalating oil prices, has been predictably severe. Due to price constraints, large areas shifted to other and more profitable crops, and production dropped sharply to 2.3 million tons in the last two years, from 3.0 million tons in 1975-76. At this reduced production level, the industry operated at less than two-thirds of capacity.

After more than three long years of disastrous prices, the world market began to pick up last October with the price reaching 11 cents, the minimum price of the I.S.A. price range for the first time under the agreement. Since then, the I.S.A. prevailing price has advanced to 15.73 as of January 18, while the I.S.A. daily price was 17.96 cents as of the same date. The last quotation yesterday I understand was 22 cents.

It appears that the price advance has been fueled by a decline in production, which is attributed to adverse weather, low prices and quota limitations on exports under the agreement. World production for crop year 1979-80 is currently estimated at 86.6 to 87.7 million tons as against consumption estimates of 90.6 to 91.6 million tons, which leaves an apparent deficit of four million tons. However, this does not mean that a shortage of this size actually impends. It only means that carry-over stocks from last year, which stood at some 30,000 tons or 33 percent of yearly consumption will go down to 26,000 tons to cover this year's deficit. This volume is equivalent to 29 percent of consumption. In effect, world supplies will be tighter, and therefore, prices should be higher.

However, the statistical picture does not suggest a price explosion, which is triggered only when stocks go down to 24 percent. This is according to the experts and statisticians. That, we believe, is for the best since, as everyone knows, the familiar "boom and bust" cycle of the industry is not in its own interest, nor that of the consumers, and should therefore be avoided whenever possible

Perhaps more than anything else, the industry needs a climate of stability, under which it can progress and grow in a manner which would enable it to meet the rising world demand for this important food. The mechanism for achieving this stability already exists in the International Sugar Agreement of 1977, which is now beginning to show its usefulness in this regard, and therefore all possible and necessary means should be utilized by the world's sugar community to strengthen it and preserve its integrity.

One aspect of our sugar industry that bears repeating is the fact that the administrative supervision and control of the industry has, since July 1977, been consolidated and vested in one government agency, the Philippine Sugar Commission, which is headed by Ambassador Roberto Benedicto, in order to promote the stabilization and integrated development of the industry. The Commission formulates and implements government policies affecting all phases of the industry. As the single selling agency for sugar, it buys and sells all sugar exports as well as domestic distribution at prices which would assure fair returns to the producer. Moreover, it is empowered to organize sugar planters' cooperatives and to assume control and supervision of the sugar mills and refineries which are unable to meet their financial obligations, or which have become inefficient in their operations.

Since the establishment of the Commission two and a half years ago, it is significant to note that it has taken a number of initiatives in fulfilling its mission. Among these are:

1. The establishment of the Republic Planters Bank to provide for the financing needs of the farmers for the production of sugar crop, at minimum interest rate which has since been fixed at 10 percent;
2. The establishment of the National Sugar Trading Corporation to handle the merchandizing of sugar in the domestic and export markets;
3. The acquisition and operation of the Guimaras Bulk Sugar Installation, the Visayan Stevedoring Transport Company and the Panay Railways, to secure economies of scale in the transportation of sugar and sugarcane and the bulk storage and handling of sugar for export;

4. The establishment of three new refineries, with a refined sugar capacity of 500 metric tons each, to meet increasing demands of the domestic market and enable the industry to full contracts for refined sugar for export markets; and

5. The management and operation of two 4,000-ton sugar factories in order to help develop sources for cane supply and enable them to operate efficiently at capacity.

All of these initiatives and endeavors have been undertaken by the Commission in addition to other functions connected with research, field extension services, administration, and others, for the very same purpose that engage the attention and energies of the sugar technologists in the performance of his assigned task in the sugar industry, and that is to maximize efficiency and reduce costs in the industry.

Another area in which the Philippine Sugar Commission is engaged is research to determine uses of sugar other than for food.

The point of all this is that we in the Philippines have to adopt a strategy that not only places its faith in high prices in the world market but, more importantly, seeks to improve our total institutional capacity for the efficient production of sugar. In sum, we have had to rationalize national production; we have strengthened the industry in areas where it needed utmost support, and we have sought to eliminate waste and inefficiency from production and milling to the export of the commodity.

One of the newest areas of activity now is the determination of the other uses of sugar, including alcogas. Thus, we have great faith that as the world trading conditions firmly stabilize and improve, our industry and our country will be in a position to benefit from it, not just for one planting season but for a good, long period to come.

I believe that much the same is taking place in other sugar-producing countries, and in the global industry as a whole. Everyone distrusts now the old capricious turns in world sugar demand and prices. Everyone wouldn't mind not experiencing anymore the boom market conditions of earlier years, as long as they can avoid the disaster years of bust prices. Everyone wants a climate of stability in which the highly-advanced technology of sugar production can fully progress to open new possibilities for the world sugar industry.

Reflecting on the past several years of the industry, we must surely conclude that it has not been an easy one for the world sugar community. But addressing ourselves to the future, it seems to me auspicious that we begin the new decade with salutary developments engendered at last by our stabilization efforts.

It is on this note that I will close, with the prayer that the decade will smile benignly on the determined efforts of the world sugar industry to improve its situation and its future, and that you in this society will continue to spearhead technological advance in this very vital industry.

I wish you all success in your conference. And to each and every one of you I say again, welcome!

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

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Address of President Marcos before the Tour Di Horizon for Singapore Ministers, February 28, 1980

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Tour Di Horizon for Singapore Ministers

[Delivered on February 28, 1980]

ASEAN in the Eighties and Beyond

FIRST OF ALL, Mr. Prime Minister and distinguished members of the Cabinet of Singapore and other officials, allow me once again to formally say, welcome to the Philippines. We certainly are pleased and happy to be given this opportunity to exchange impressions and assessments.

We start out with our security and economic assessments in relation to the present international climate as well as the expected developments in this decade up to the year 2000. This was the format which was suggested, and I think we will all adopt it.

May I start by saying that most of our positions and assessments in ASEAN have been already articulated. But there are certain conclusions and projections which can be drawn from the various assessments and assumptions that have been made by the individual leaders of ASEAN and by the positions taken by ASEAN in relation to various developments and crises as well as issues that have arisen.

We can probably say that the end of this last decade witnessed some dramatic and unexpected twists of fortune that can very well mold the shape not only of this decade, the '80s, but the decade after that up to the year 2000. And I refer, of course, to the quiet and creeping growth in strength of Communism, and the underrating by the Western powers of the effects of subversion and insurgency on small developing countries. Incorporated into this is the bias and prejudice of the Western nations against any open and announced opposition to insurgency and subversion. It is their feeling that every man has the right to rebel and revolt against his government, adopting the old Calvinist theory of the right to rebellion and giving it legal form by denominating it as a part of political opposition.

This is one of the serious misconceptions which makes difficult the efforts of small developing countries like Singapore and the Philippines and, for that matter, all the states of ASEAN to utilize central government authority with the effectiveness and forcefulness necessary to meet insurgency. And this gets further confused by their injecting into this already prejudicial misconception the idea of human rights, meaning the right of every individual to take up arms against his government, if necessary. Western legalities never say so, but this is the trend and inclination of their bias and prejudices.

Nevertheless, the small developing countries have carried on with their work even at the risk of antagonizing some of the Western powers, including the United States of America, and the liberals, especially the Eastern establishment liberals. The last several decades of the 1950s to the end of the 1970s saw small developing countries meeting insurgency on their own terms, regardless of the effects on the Western media as well as the Western liberals. Thus did they develop centralist forms of government. Whether they be called martial-law governments, emergency-rule governments, parliamentary governments, or controlled democracies, the fact remains that they were all centralist in the sense that they were an effort on the part of small developing countries to utilize governmental power in order to protect the body politic, the established governments and the republic.

While this was going on, however, the bias of the Western countries against the use of governmental power against insurgency or subversion or even the mere mention of subversion or insurgency as problems created an opportunity for Communism to make substantial gains not only through exported wars or infiltration but also through the development of the military capability of the Soviet Union. Quietly, the Soviet Union built up its military power,

and slowly continued to employ the strategy of Balkanization to establish security alliances among satellite states. We need only mention here the examples of South Africa, Yemen, Somalia, Ethiopia, and possibly now, Afghanistan.

The fact remains that the prevailing mood in the United States is biased and prejudiced against the attempts of small nations to deal with subversion or insurgency, possibly because of the traumatic experience the American people and the American political leadership had in Vietnam. Later on, this was further exacerbated by Watergate which had the effect of making Americans lose some confidence in themselves. While America and other Western countries remained immobilized, the Soviet Union apparently succeeded in the 1970s to develop its military capability to such an extent that in the view of American political and military leaders, the Soviet Union is now equal in both strategic and conventional strength to the United States.

I have read the report of Secretary Brown to the United States Congress, wherein he states that without reducing the large forces stationed in Eastern Europe, the Soviets have tripled the size of their forces in the Far East, and they are developing naval and other capabilities that will permit them to operate beyond the periphery of the USSR. We no longer preclude their being able to operate simultaneously in general parts of the world.

At the same time, the three principal personalities who have greatly influenced the evolution of American policy towards the Soviet Union, Keenan, Kissinger and Brzezinski, say the following. Brzezinski has said that the Soviet Union has finally arrived at a historic juncture, and I quote, "Having escaped the continental limits of its military power, it is only beginning the truly imperial phase of its development." The American leaders, as I said, have stated that the Soviet Union is now at par with the United States in terms of strategic weapons. The American defense intelligence agency has described the Soviet army as being "the most powerful land army in the world today."

It is therefore obvious, according to American experts, that the most critical objective of the Soviet Union is to alter the global balance of power in its favor. And here I quote the statements of some of the American leaders; "Russian moves toward the East and the South should then be considered as a part of a long-range strategy to upset the balance of power both in the Northeast Pacific, in the Persian Gulf and the Arab region. Since Soviet eastern expansion has so far been blocked off by both Japan and China, there is one area which they consider fair game—the arc of instability which extends from Kabul to Ankara and even down to Addis Ababa."

I can go on quoting all of these statements which indicate that indeed the Soviet Union has been quietly utilizing the period when the United States, its principal rival, and American allies had hypnotized themselves into believing that detente meant inaction and non-preparation to improve Russian military capability. It is against this background that we ask the question: What then is the role of ASEAN as well as the individual members of ASEAN?

In all candor, although we have always claimed for ASEAN some measure of importance, that importance apparently is most relevant only to our respective countries. We actually cannot change the strategic situation, the global military situation or the respective strengths of the two superpowers.

The small countries of the Third World as well as ASEAN, therefore, perhaps have only one role, and that is to encourage or to bring about a change in the policy of the American government, the other super power in order that it may neutralize the expansionist and predatory policies of the Soviet Union. And it is here where, as the Prime Minister has very well said last night, "Fortuitous events occurred to bring about this change in American Policy."

Perhaps we shall be remembered by history as having been saved by religious fanaticism and Russian narrow-mindedness. Religious fanaticism, following Iran's capture of the U.S. embassy and taking of host ages, is a dramatic manifestation of what the Iranians have called as plain and simple nationalism. And after that, according to our information, the Ustinov-masterminded entry of Russian troops into Afghanistan. So, two fortuitous events have occurred one after the other and these apparently have turned around the thinking of the entire American population, from the President to the members of Congress and to the ordinary citizens.

As I said, Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, and Asia in general, have suffered from European weakness and American vacillation, particularly during the beginning of the last decade. In the latter part of the decade came all

these fortuitous events, these fortunate occurrences which, from the viewpoint of social scientists, were bound to take place owing to the international atmosphere. But just the same, from my perspective and from the point of view of the Prime Minister, they were indeed most fortuitous because they changed completely the attitude and the mood of the American people.

If it be true, as some of the experts claim, that these rivalries and conflicts will tend to cancel power and balance power so that we will end up with messy guerrilla wars, although not any big war in the continent of Asia, and if it be true, as they conclude, that ultimately what we will have is an economic war, then ASEAN is on the right track in thinking in terms of economic development instead of military alliances or arrangements.

ASEAN should therefore strive to encourage the resolution and determination of the United States to contest—and I use the term that has been adopted by Brzezinski, who refuses to use the Keenan term “containment”—the Soviet Union.

In an effort to convince the United States that subversion is not just a figment of the imagination but that it constitutes a serious threat to us, and that the Communist expansionist policy is for real and therefore American presence in the Pacific is necessary, the Philippines entered into various military agreements with the United States.

I will now proceed to explain the various military agreements that we have with the United States.

If you will remember, the first military agreements between the United States and the Philippines was the Military Assistance Pact which was signed immediately after the war. It pertains to American aid in the training of our troops as well as in the acquisition of military equipment and supplies.

On August 30, 1951, while we were still fighting the Korean war, the Philippines entered into the Mutual Defense Pact with the United States. How does the Mutual Defense Pact with the United States read? It commits both the United States and the Philippines to act, and I quote now, “to meet the common dangers in accordance with our constitutional processes in the event of an armed attack in the Pacific area or the Republic of the Philippines.” This was reaffirmed on January 6, 1979 through an exchange of letters between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Foreign Minister Romulo. Furthermore, the United States reaffirmed its obligation to consult with the Philippines whenever the territorial integrity and political independence or security of either party are threatened by events in the Pacific. We were then re negotiating the Military Bases Agreement, and we wanted to know the parameters of the Mutual Agreement, and we wanted to know the parameters of the Mutual Defense Pact before we amended the Military Bases Agreement. Finally, the United States reaffirmed its commitment to act in cases, and I quote, “of an attack on the Philippine Armed Forces, public vessels, or aircraft in the Pacific even if it would not occur within the metropolitan territory of the Philippines.” The metropolitan territory of the Philippines is described in the Treaty of Paris. Again at the instance of the Philippines, we recently obtained from President Carter a letter which further confirms this obligation and expresses the belief that the new bilateral agreement will strengthen the security not only of the Philippines and the United States but also of the entire Western Pacific region. From this we can gather that the United States has specific obligations to the Philippines.

On January 7, 1979, the Philippines formally entered into the RP-US Military Facilities Agreement which replaced the US-Philippine Military Bases Agreement. These facilities agreement was the subject of study and negotiations for several years and was finalized a month before in my home in the North by Ambassador Murphy and the military officials. Under this agreement, the American bases were returned to the Philippines and considered as part of our territory, finally and ultimately.

Earlier, U.S. Attorney General Brown raised the issue as to whether the military bases were under the sovereignty of the Philippines or not.

Finally, the United States agreed to settle this once and for all, and the lands were restored to the Philippines.

At the same time, we agreed that the United States would have unhampered use and operation of their military facilities in the Philippine Naval Base in Subic Bay and in the Philippine Air Base at Clark. Thus, Clark Air Force

Base, which is the homebase of the 13th Air Force and other tactical units such as the Third Tactical Fighter Wing, the 374 Tactical Airlift Wing, the Third Combat Support Group, the 1961st Communication Group, the First Medical Service Wing, and the 22nd Security Squadron, was reduced from 53,700 hectares to 4,517 hectares, while the Subic Naval Base, which is the homebase of the 7th US Fleet, now covers an area of 6,300 hectares, down from 24,000 hectares.

However, the lands that were returned to the Philippines will be made available as training ground for both American and Philippine forces. In Clark Air Force Base, for instance, the Crow Valley target range, which covers a wide area was given back to the Philippines. But it is being used, anyway, for training purposes. I understand that the best training area in the entire Pacific is the Subic Naval Base which has facilities like the naval station, air station, depots, hospitals, public works center, marine barracks, and ship repair facilities. We have also reserved some areas for communications and other requirements.

Today, we do not know the number of personnel stationed in these bases. But in 1975, there were 15,000 Filipinos and 9,000 Americans, excluding dependents, working in the Clark Air Force Base, while in the Subic Naval Base, there were 26,000 Filipinos and 6,000 Americans, excluding dependents.

So we have these military agreements—the Military Assistance Pact, the Mutual Defense Agreement, and now the U.S.-Philippine Military Facilities Agreement. With these agreements, it is our hope that America will maintain its military presence in the area. We have, however, come to an understanding that every five years either party can move to either rescind or amend the Military Facilities Agreement.

The other matter that has cropped up for discussions is the effectivity of the Manila Pact. It has been asked why the United States keeps referring to the Manila Pact when there may be no need to do so, and any reference to the Manila Pact seems to offend the Chinese whom they are trying to win over or have already won to their side.

The truth of the matter is that the Philippines has been trying to stop any reference to the Manila Pact inasmuch as existing agreements can be made workable. There is a Mutual Defense Agreement between the Philippines and the United States, a Mutual Defense Agreement which binds the Philippines to act as soon as any of the armed vessels of the United States gets involved in any fighting even in the Asian mainland. What we are trying to clarify now is the extent of one involvement. Would it not be better to clarify this whole thing without just depending on the Manila Pact? Up to a point, as you yourselves have said, it is all right to speak of non-alignment. But when security is involved all other principles have to be subordinated to the security of the state—to Singapore security and to Philippine security. This pragmatic position we have already adopted.

From our viewpoint, therefore, it should be the purpose of ASEAN to encourage the United States and the Western powers to continue the policy of contestation, to meet the Soviet threat and to get as many of its allies involved in such a policy.

The question also has been raised as to whether the Philippines would favor arming the ASEAN nations. Our answer has always been this: Even if the entire ASEAN group were to be armed, it would not be sufficient to meet the threat of the Vietnamese Armed Forces. Besides, this could prove provocative and counterproductive. Thus, I understand, is also the position of Singapore.

Now comes the question as to how we see things develop within this decade and up to the year 2000. It is our belief that there will be uneasy peace. We do not foresee Vietnam attacking Thailand, but it will continue to threaten Thailand. By the very presence of its troops in Kampuchea and by its efforts to consolidate its position in Kampuchea, Vietnam will threaten Thailand. From this, accordingly, tension will prevail.

We believe that the Chinese will continue to support some kind of guerrilla force that will oppose the Vietnamese in Kampuchea. However, we also believe that effective control over Kampuchea has passed into the hands of the Vietnamese—and this means a messy type of guerrilla warfare.

For this reason, it will be necessary for the members of ASEAN to keep on encouraging and boosting the morale of Thailand. Perhaps ASEAN should impress upon the United States the need to increase American aid to Thailand, especially since our friend, Prime Minister Kriangsak, seems to be under pressure again. Yet, I think he is in control. I do not believe that there is any serious threat to his continuance in office, but just the same, this kind of harassment in the face of such grave danger to Thailand's security is unfortunate.

Some social scientists and the students of political science now say that the battles in the next two decades will not be fought in the military battlefields but on the economic front, and so developing countries should concern themselves more and more with economic development, which after all seems to be the answer to subversion in some cases. Perhaps these two fortuitous events we have already discussed have given the small developing countries the time and the opportunity to consolidate their position and thereby to more extensively exploit their natural resources*

The question maybe asked: Can we develop faster than Vietnam even if that country is being supported by another foreign power? My answer is yes; I am optimistic about it.

Another complication arises from the understanding entered into by Japan and China to develop China's natural resources. Our view on this is that they will try and use each other for their own purposes.

In this decade and perhaps in the next, China may not be a threat. But our younger leaders who will be running our countries in the year 2000, should be warned that China will constitute a possible threat to our security through contamination or subversion.

Japan cannot be completely ruled out as a threat because it could become desperate if adverse developments causes it to lose some of its markets or sources of raw materials. As some Japanese economic experts say, the raw materials coming from Southeast Asia can be converted by the Southeast Asian nations themselves into finished and processed products, so that in the decade of the '80s Southeast Asia will be competing with Japan. Perhaps ASEAN should now study how the raw materials can be reallocated and their markets determined. What I am saying is that Japan should not be pushed so hard against the wall to the extent that it will once again turn inward and then in self-pity or desperation start a war.

China, of course, is expected to flood the market with cheap goods. ASEAN, then, should now study what goods we can develop so we will not directly compete with China. Singapore is well-placed by virtue of its high technology, but the other ASEAN nations will be just at a disadvantage in a situation where we have to compete with China's mass production capabilities.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1985). *Presidential speeches* (Vol. 10). [Manila : Office of the President of the Philippines].

Extemporaneous speech of President Marcos delivered during the celebration of Labor Day, May 1, 1980

Pasalubong sa mga Manggagawa

I AM HAPPY to be here. *Habang ako ay nakikinig kay kapatid na Dinglasan at kay Kito, alam kong naririto na ako sa Pilipinas. Sapagka't alam naman ninyo na walang mga kaibigan na nagtatapatang maigi kundi ang Pangulo ng Republika ng Pilipinas at ang mga haligi ng Kilusang Manggagawa.*

Nabanggit ni Minister Blas Ople na ang lahat ng ginagawa ng ating Kilusang Bagong Lipunan at ng mapayapang himagsikan ay galing sa isang pangarap, iyon ay walang iba kundi tangkilikin ang ating mga maliliit, ang ating mga magbubukid at ang ating mga manggagawa. Kaya tinawag iyan na Kilusan ng Bagong Lipunan, ang bagong buhay na ipinangako sa ating mga maliliit na mga kababayan sa Pilipinas.

The entire program of the New Society is one of revolution, of radical reform. It is a program that seeks to reinstate the rights, the dignity and the well-being of the people who were most prejudiced in the past. *Nang nagsasalita si kapatid na Dinglasan ay pinanonood ko ang mga Rotarians, mga businessmen doon—malungkot na malungkot sila—iyon sina Mr. Conception, Mr. Ortigas at mga iba pa. Huwag kayong malungkot sapagka 7 ang ating lipunan ay—tama nga 't nakararami ang mga mahihirap, nakakarami ang mga kinukulang sa bahay, mga kapus-palad—nguni't nakita naman ninyo na sa lahat ng gawa, humarap tayo sa sunod-sunod na kagipitan, krisis. In 1974, you remember inflation arising out of the increase in the cost of oil. Sa taong iyon ang growth rate of our economy was 10 percent, at sinimulan natin ang pagtatanim ng maraming palay, the movement to change the economy from rice as importing economy to an exporting economy.*

There was reason in 1972 for the laboring class to question a society that could not guarantee them a decent life. There was reason for some of the radicals to rise and question why the government was weak, impotent and incapable of meeting the cries of the people. And this was the reason for government to take over this revolution rather than let it thrive wildly in the streets and in the countryside and give bitter fruit ultimately through violence and bloody confrontation. To head off disputes government stepped in and said. "No, you and I must sit down and find out how we can attain the same objective without killing each other." Which we did. And that is the meaning of the New Society. That is the meaning of all of these quiet constitutional revolutions. That is the meaning of all these efforts now.

Noong aking muling mapakinggan ang tinig ni Kito at ni Kapatid na Dinglasan, ni kapatid na Valerio at gayundin si Blas, sabi ni Blas ay kung minsan mabigat ang pagsasalita ng mga lider ng Kilusan ng Manggagawa, siya din, mabigat kung minsan. Sapagka't karapat-dapat na siya ay isang kinikilalang tumutulong at nananangkilik sa ating mga manggagawa. Nguni't hindi nga ba iyan ang pangarap ng isang lider? Isn't that the dream of a leader, that he shall try and restore to his people the dignity and self-respect in order that if necessary they can stand up in forthrightness, with courage, with resolution, with pride and speak out for the rights of the poor man, the working man? As long as there are men who shall be able to do this . . . habang mayroon tayong mga haligi at mga lider, mga pinuno na may lakas-loob, buong hob na humaharap maski kanino man at kanilang isinisigaw ang kahilingan at dinaing ng ating mga manggagawa, wala akong pangangamba na ang ating Bagong Lipunan ay magpaparingal sa kasaysayan ng ating bansa.

Because that is the very meaning of the New Society. The New Society doesn't merely mean comfort, it doesn't merely mean money for the common man. Comfort is nothing compared to the dignity of the individual, for the good name, the reputation of a nation, of a people.

Noong aming ibinigay ang mga lupa sa Tondo, nakita kong tumutulo ang luha ng ating mga kababayan noong tanggapin nila ang titulo sa lupa. Ang wika nila, hindi namin akalain na ibabalik o ibibigay sa amin ang lupa. Ang sabi ko sa kanila, Magpasalamat kayo hindi sa lupa sapagkat ang kinuhang lupang iyan, hindi kasinghalaga ng tunay na tinanggap ninyo. Ang tinanggap ninyo ay hindi lupa. Ang tinanggap ninyo ay karaniwan na ibinalik sa inyong kapuwa Pilipino. We do not return merely comfort, because animal comfort is nothing. You and I have fought in many a battle, whether in time of peace or in time of war. And we know the meaning of sacrifice. We

accept pain stoically just as we accept it as part of our manhood, and nationhood as well. But certainly when you are deprived of your dignity, of your good name, then it is the moment to think in terms beyond mere survival but of recovering not only for yourself but for the entire nation and the succeeding generations their good name and dignity of the nation, the Filipino nation.

Such is our role today, *Ito ang ating mabigat na pasanin, tayong lahat. Lahat ng mga kahilingan ng ating mga manggagawa ay aking pinakinggan at naririto, mahaba, makapal. Akala ba ninyo iyong manifesto lamang na binabasa ni Kapatid na Dinglasan ang hinihiling? Hindi po Naku, mas makapal ang hinihiling ni Minister Ople. Eh, oo lang ako nang oo maski hindi ko naman nauunawaan kung ano lyong sinasabi niya. Kaya't ako ay handa doon sa mga kahilingan ni Kapatid na Dinglasan pero hindi doon sa kahilingan ni Blas Ople.*

Masayang-masaya ako sapagka't ako nga ay galing sa ibang bansa at di nga bat pumunta ako sa . . . Honolulu, Hawaii. That's a new world, a completely separate one from the Mainland. Pero maski masyado silang mayaman doon, tila hindi pa rin masaya ang kabuhayan nila. Mayaman nga nguni't mahahalata mong hindi kontento sa buhay, hindi pala-tawa, at hindi lamang kakaunti ang magaganda, di gaya ng ating mga dalaga. Abay'y wala akong nakitang maganda roon eh. Kaya't umuwi na agad ako.

Hindi lamang sa alam kong sa primero ng Mayo ay darating na iyong ating talagang dating kasunduan. Noong paalis na ako, si Blas ay may ibinulong sa akin. Makakabalik kaya po kayo sa a primero ng Mayo? Ano ang akala ninyong sinagot ko? Di kayo makakaiwas sa amin. Maski hindi ninyo kami anyayahan, kami ng Unang Ginang ay paparoon sa inyong selebrasyon o sa ating pagpupulong sa a primero ng Mayo, yon ang wika ko. At kahit wala kayong hihilingin sa akin, mayroon akong ibibigay sa inyo.

Alam ninyo ang katotohanan niyan . . . noong ako'y humaharap doon sa mga matatalino, mga Amerikanong manunulat, naalala kong lahat ang ating mga kampanya sa harap ng ating mga manggagawa. Agad-agad pinasok ko sa loob ng aking ulo na matatalino nga ito nguni't lalong matatalino at mahahalaga ang ating mga tao sa Pilipinas. Kaya't dapat ang wika ko, Marcos, pagbutihin mo. Hindi nga ba't lalong mahalaga ang kaisipan at kapasiyahan ng Pilipino. Bakit? Eh kagaya ng mga ibang kalaban natin doon. Ibig nilang magdebate daw kami doon. Mag-dedebate kami sa harap ng mga Amerikano, eh ano ang kalalabasan namin doon? Pareho kaming uto-uto. Kaibigan nga natin ang mga Amerikano. Matalik nating kaibigan iyan, pero sila ba ang magbibigay kapasiyahan sa mangyayari dito sa Pilipinas? O kayong mga Pilipino? Ang mga Pilipino, lalo, na ang mga manggagawa, ang magbibigay ng kapasiyahan. Ano ang labas natin diyan? Bakit ba naman ang gusto nila hanggang ngayon ay tagasunod lamang ang Pilipinas kanila? Mayaman nga sila pero kulang din naman kung minsan ang kanilang isip. Aba'y maraming beses kong nahuhuli sa usapan. Hindi ko na lang hiniya sapagka't baka naman ako patalsikin doon ng mabilisan. Kaya sinabi ko doon sa mga kapuwa nating Pilipino, huwag tayong maghintay na dito pa tayo magdedebate, pakinggan ninyo akong mabuti. Itong aking sasabihin ay katotohanang lahat. Ang mangyayari sa Pilipinas ay nasa kamay ng mga Pilipino. Ano man ang ibibigay na tulong ng Amerika, ano man ang ibibigay na tulong ng anumang bansa sa ating tunay na kapakanan. Ang katubusan ay manggagaling sa ating talino, sa ating lakas-loob at sa ating gawa. Ang pag-unlad ng Pilipinas ay nasa kamay ninyong lahat at hindi sa kamay ng dayuhan. Patawarin sana ako ng sinomang magagaling, matalinong dayuhan. Pero habang ang ating Republika ay Republika pa rin na malaya, ang Pilipino ang dapat tanungin kung ano ang kailangang gawin sa loob ng Pilipinas.

The Republic of the Philippines is an independent nation. And as long as it remains so, the people of the Philippines, especially the working folk, must decide whatever is to happen to the Philippines and not any alien or stranger.

Kaya't mga kaibigan, naririto ako ngayon. Oo nga at nagmamadali na naman kami sapagka't paalis si Princess Margaret ng mga alas dos. Tatapusin ko na ito at iisa-isahin ang aking hinanda galing sa abroad na pasalubong. Hindi lang pasalubong kundi talagang galing ditong dinala pa roon.

Ang nangyari, noong ibinigay sa aking lahat ito ay naging baong pasalubong. At bakit hindi ba, dahil noon pa mang paalis ako, ang sabi ko: Ano ba ang mga problema natin? Ano iyong naririnig kong mga naghihiwahiwalay kesyo, Kung ano man iyon ay ilista noting lahat. Ibinigay nga sa aking lahat, kaya wala na akong ginawa roon sa

Hawaii kung hindi mag-aaral ng mga problema ng mga manggagawa imbes na manood sana sa mga nagsi-swimming doon. . .

Ngayon, unang-una, may kasunduan at may usapan tayo tungkol sa right to strike. Ang kasunduan natin. bago natin pag-usapan iyan, ay tapusin natin iyong panukalang-batas na galing sa Batasang Pambansa, Parliamentary Bill No. 386. Sa harap ninyo ay aking lalagdaan ang Batas Pambansa Blg. 386.

Ganoon din, aking lalagdaan ang Letters of Instructions to provide immediate relief to the workers in the sugar industry, increasing their wages and allowance in accordance with the graduation set thereat. Ibibigay ko ang nasabing kopya kay Ministro Blas Ople.

Sa harap ninyo ay aking lalagdaan ang Parliamentary Bill No. 386. Isa sa mga kahilingang binasa ng Kapatid na Dinglasan ay hinggil sa death benefits under the Employees Compensation Commission. I therefore sign a Presidential Decree which increases the death benefits in accordance with these provisions: "And Provided that the monthly income benefits shall be guaranteed for five years, provided that if he has no primary beneficiaries, the System shall pay to secondary beneficiaries a lump sum equivalent to sixty (60) times the monthly income benefit; Provided, finally, that the minimum income benefit shall not be less than P12,000.

Sapagka't hinihiling ninyo na palakasin ang Ministry of Labor, I hereby sign an Executive Order, under Presidential Decree No. 1416 which restructures the entire labor ministry which shall henceforth be known as the "Ministry of Labor and Employment." I sign this in your presence and hand it over to the Minister of Labor.

Sometime ago, we created the Overseas Employment Development Board, Bureau of Employment Services, National Seaman's Board, etc., and collected contributions to the Welfare and Training Fund for Overseas Workers which are presently deposited with the National Treasury as a trust liability under Letter of Instructions No. 537. But subsequent thereto, I issued a general directive which transferred all special funds but to the general fund of the government, including this welfare fund. I think we do injustice to the laboring people because this money was contributed by them. I therefore return it to a Special Welfare Fund which shall be utilized for this purpose. I sign this in your presence.

Finally, *ang tungkol naman sa illegal recruitment. Nahihirapan ang ating manggagawa na pinangakuan ng mga job recruiters ng trabaho sa ibang bansa. Subalit ang katotohanan niyan, sila ay niloko lamang ng mga ito.* That is why we have a new Presidential Decree amending Article 38 of the Labor Code by making illegal recruitment a crime of economic sabotage. In your presence, I sign this decree.

I hereby order the Employees Compensation Commission to conduct studies towards increasing pension benefits under both the SSS and the GSIS.

We will now create a bureau restructuring and giving powers to the Bureau of Employment Service, and the Overseas Employment Development Board is hereby created to undertake in cooperation with relevant entities and agencies a systematic program for overseas employment of Filipino workers in excess of domestic needs and to protect their right to fair and equitable employment practices. I sign this in your presence.

Studies are being conducted for accelerating the settlement of all issues that are pending before the regional arbitration as well as the National Labor Relations Commission. It is my belief that if we can accelerate all of these and eliminate the delays which often caused sufferings among our working people, we shall meet this problem not only halfway but probably all the way. I have been notified that a great number of cases are pending and need to be acted upon quickly. And, therefore, this matter has been brought to the attention of the Ministry of Labor, Ito ang unang dapat harapin ng Minister of Labor.

Inuulit ko, mga kasama, sa lahat ng gawaing ating isinasakatuparan sa ilalim ng Bagong Lipunan, huwag noting kalilimutan na ang unang dapat nating hangin sa kahirapan ay ang ating mga kapatid na magpahanggag ngayon ay wala pang hanapbuhay o pinagkakakitaan. Tayo sa ngayon ay humaharap sa suliraning kinabibilangan ng mga

taong walang hanapbuhay. But up to now, 4.5 percent of our people are unemployed and about 9 percent are underemployed. Noong taong 1963, ilan ang walang hanapbuhay About 8 percent were unemployed.

Paulit-ulit noting ipinangako mula pa noong 1965 na ang unang suli-ranin na ating haharapin ay ang unemployment and underemployment. Mula noong 1965 hanggang 1974, ano ang inflation rate? We started out with a good inflation rate in 1972—about 7 percent. In 1974 and 1975 it went up to 40 percent due to the increase in the price of oil. But through sheer management, productivity, savings, frugality in our habits—*tayo ay nagtipid at nagtiis—ay napababa natin ang inflation rate to about 8 percent, 7 percent. Pumapalo, ika nga, sa 7 at 8 porsiyento. Subalit ito ay tumaas na naman ngayon.*

Hindi ako naniniwala sa napapabalitang ang inflation rate daw natin sa buong bansa ay 24 percent o di kaya ay 25 percent. Sapagka't puma-roon atpumasyalako sa iba't-ibang probinsiya ng ating bansa, maging sa aking sariling probinsiya. Noong mamili nga ang Unang Ginang sa pamilihan ay itinanong ko sa kanya ang mga presyo ng mga panguna-hing bilingin. At nalaman ko, that the prices of prime commodities in the provinces were one-third of the price in Manila. Now, why is this so? Ang ibig sabihin niyan the distribution system, which is the old society, is still biased, still in favor of the middleman. He is the one who is making all the money and, perhaps, also with the help of some dishonest and crooked public officials.

It is my intention to see to it that this is eliminated immediately. And I shall work on it.

Masakit ang nangyayaring ito sa atin ngayon. Sapagka't alam ninyo, sigaw tayo nang sigaw na "Itaas natin ang suweldo ng mga manggagawa." Itinataas nga natin ang mga sahod, subalit ito naman ay pinapawi ng pagtaas ng inflation rate. Alam ba ninyo na kung magpapa-tuloy sa pagtaas ang inflation rate na iyan, ano mang taas ng sahod ang ibigay natin sa mga manggagawa ay hindi pa rin sapat upang matugunan ang kanilang pangangailangan sa buhay?

Kaya ito ang unang suliraning dapat harapin fundi lamang ng Minister of Economic Planning kundi ng Minister of Labor. Kaya si Minister Ople ay mapagbubuntunan din ng sisi. Kapag hindi natin napababa ang inflation rate na iyan. mapipinsala ang ating mga manggagawa at mga kulang-palad na kababayan sa buong Pilipinas.

Ito ay alam na nating lahat. Hindi na dapat pang ipagkaila. Hindi na kailangang pagdebatihan at pagtalunan. The first problem that a country must immediately face is the question of inflation because it affects the greater majority of the people.

Sa unemployment naman, natural kailangang tulungan din natin ang ating mga kababayan na walang hanapbuhay na magkaroon ng pagkakakitaan. Kaya kailangang pagbigyan din natin ang mga investors na makapagtayo ng maunlad na negosyo. Subalit huwag naman siting mag-aabuso. sapagka't ako ang tatayong abugado ng mga manggagan at magpaparusa sa mga bagong dating na iyan kapag hindi nila ibimgay ang bagay na dapat ibigay sa ating mga manggagawa.

But we must encourage investment in the Philippines. We must see to it that productivity is increased. Kaya hinihiling ni Ministro Ople na magkaroon ng productivity council. Nguni't sa aking palagay, ang nasabing productivity council ay kailangang nasa ilalim ng pangangasiwang Presidente upang talagang may sapat na kapangyurihang makatulong sa ating mga manggagawa at namumuhunan.

This is the sober and, should we say, deliberate judgement after a long, long study of all the nations and the countries of the world today.

Pagkatapos kong mag-aralang lahat ang mga suliranin na kinakaharap ng iba't-ibang bansa, ang aking panawagan sa iinyong lahat at sa ating mga mamamayan, kinakailangang ipagpatuloy natin ang ating dating ginagawa at inaadhika. Pababain natin ang inflation rate, pababain natin ang mga presyo, huwag nating pahintulutan ang mga middlemen o di kaya ang mga producers na pinsalain ang karamihan sa ating mga mamamayan. Ganoon din, kailangang pagbigyan natin ang mga investors o namumuhunan. Huwag nating takutin na tumigil ang management na mamuhunan dito sa Pilipinas. Pagbiyan natin sila kasabay naman ng pangangalaga

natin sa karapatan n gating mga manggagawa. For it is the combination of capital, of investment and labor, and with the intervention of the state and the government that we can push ahead. I am here to promise you . . . ipinapangako ko sa inyo na habang ako ang Presidente ay hindi maglalabis an gating mga mamumuhunan o kapitalista ditto sa Pilipinas. At gayundin, hindi natin sila pipinsalain. Hindi naman natin sila sasaktan. We allow them a reasonable profit, repeat, reasonable. Hindi labis. Tinitingnan ko iyong mgaincome tax payment na lumalabas sa peryodiko. Marami akong kilalang napakayaman pero hindi nagbabayad ng income tax. Sinabi ko doon sa mga BIR, aba, bantayan ninyo ang mga lintik na iyan. Ang dami-dami ng kita sa kanilang mga pagawaan pagkatapos hindi nagbabayad ng icome tax.

Kaya, hayaan ninyo, mga kasama, alam ko ang mga hinanakit ng kapus-palad at natutuwa ako na tuwing a primero ng Mayo ay mayroon nang lakas-loob, buo na ang loob ng ating mga manggagawa na isigaw ang kanilang hinanakit at kahilingan. At habang pangulo naman ako, umasa kayo na iyang sigaw na iyan ay mapapakinggan at bibigyan kayo ng lahat ng tangkilik na galing sa opisina ng Pangulo ng Republika.

Ako ay nagpapasalamat muli sa inyong lahat, lalo na sa inyong mga pagbati sa aking 26th anniversary. Hindi ko akalain na 26 na pala. Now, let us all end this with one pledge of unity. Unity, isang bansa, isang diwa. Unity for the laboring class. Unity for the Filipino nation. Isang bansa, isang diwa. Mabuhay ang Pilipinas!

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Extemporaneous address of President Marcos during the nationwide joint observances of the Fall of Bataan and Corregidor and the Battle of Bessang Pass, May 6, 1980

Paying the Price of Peace

THESE ARE THE ruins that knew such heroes like Rizal and many of the revolutionaries. It is paradoxical that 46 years after that great man went to his martyrdom, the same site was to become the testing ground of the character and the courage of his grandchildren all over again. I look around me and I see some of those who were fellow inmates in this same sanctuary. I see many of the regulars who fought in the United States Armed Forces, in the Far East, in Bataan, in Corregidor, in the Visayas, in Mindanao. And I see many of the leaders of the underground.

I am certain that like me, they cannot collect their thoughts today. Perhaps I can start out with the query of one man who, upon meeting me this morning, asked: "Mr. President, we note that you wear your medals whenever you come before the dead." And my answer was: "Yes, because those medals do not belong to me; they belong to the dead."

The truth of the matter, if frivolity may be allowed on this solemn occasion, is that some of those medals were awarded to me because there was nobody else to give them to. And it is a part of the rules and customs of our service in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, especially those who belong to the Federation of Filipino Veterans, never to claim these medals for our own. That at every instance when we come to honor the dead, our comrades of the last war and of the wars before that, we shall bring these medals and reverently offer them to those who are dead, who are gone, who are unknown, anonymous, unsung heroes.

Today, we do the same thing. I can do no better honor to these men who, by the power of their achievements, have raised themselves beyond the reach of common men like me. By their own mighty wings, they have soared so high that no matter what I say this shall not matter to them. They look down on us perhaps with a little understanding wherever they are. And as we look around these walls, perhaps if we listen hard enough, we will hear Rajah Sulaiman, one of our forebears, the ruler of the City of Manila. For this site was *Kota Maynilad*, the fortress of the city of the water hyacinth. *Kota Maynilad*—of the wooden palisades.

As I said, if you listen hard enough, you can hear Rajah Sulaiman tramp those palisades, walking around when defeat was certain, demanding single combat from the Spanish *conquistadores* before he laid down his arms and surrendered. And Spanish conquistador Legaspi answered softly as all conquerors do: "We do not come as enemies, we come as friends. There is no reason for single combat. There is no reason for anything but cooperation and friendship." Thus was to be doomed Filipino courage and Filipino chivalry. And so since surrender was imminent Rajah Sulaiman, so the history books say, ordered that all his children be executed and killed and his entire harem liquidated. For he said: "No one of my blood shall be a slave to the alien conqueror."

History does not go any further than this. But so, too, do we fear the scratch of the pen of Rizal in 1898 before he died, when he poured out the agony of his soul in his *Last Farewell* to his people. In one of these cells, he laid the spiritual basis for the revolution against any kind of colonialism. In these ruins, he foretold what the leaders of the Third World are now saying—Rizal of 1898.

And so the ceremonies go all the way back: Lapu-lapu, 1521, where Magellan met his peer on the beach of Mactan; Diego Silang, Gabriela Silang, the fabulous Princess Urduja, how legendary she may be; the British occupancy of 1761. This was their headquarters when they took over from the Spanish. By then, the wooden palisades of Rajah Sulaiman had been converted into stone, stones taken from Guadalupe and from Rizal. By then, you heard the cries of challenge from such leaders like Sultan Kudarat, Sultan of Maguindanao, and the Sultan of Sulu and the cities in the North. By then, there had begun a nation re awakened.

This is the meaning of all these wars and all that mortal combat. It is strange indeed that today, as all those who come to this most holy shrine—for Fort Santiago is the holiest of the holy—see no other symbol stand as Fort Santiago does. Fort Santiago or *Kota Maynilad*.

I am certain that after the liberation they must have counted no less than one thousand of the dead within the prison walls. It is not for them alone that we celebrate *Araw ng Kagitingan*. It is for all those many men and women who all suffered in order to attain this present emancipation and freedom we now enjoy. As we pass through the pages and chapters of history, we learn this one single lesson: that only those who are not afraid to die are fit to live.

It is a paradox, therefore, that today we are the participants in the last great war, Japan, the United States and the Philippines join hands in common bereavement for our dead and in common rejection of war. As we say, war has never solved any problem of humanity. And yet it is also axiomatic that peace belongs to those who prepare for war, and that only the strong can dictate peace, and that weak must suffer conquest and, perhaps, enslavement.

The Philippines, then, has adopted the policy of joining all the forces that seek to avert any war but at the same time makes it clear that it holds its territory as sacrosanct and sovereign, and places a price upon any transgressor upon that territory. And the price is marked out very well by all these prison walls and by all the men who are buried unknown in every corner of this country in the battle for freedom and for peace.

This is the price which we mark out on this day. And every Filipino bears this legacy, bears this burden. Every man remembers we all seek peace, we want to avert war, but we know that the price of this may be death. And we are willing to pay.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos before the Annual Convention of the Rural Bankers Association of the Philippines,
May 31, 1980

A Force for Change in the Countryside

I COME AGAIN today for my annual appointment with you.

This is one of those engagements which I truly look forward to keeping, and this is in part due to the sense of fellowship I feel with you; and because, too, in meeting with you I always seem to catch the pulse of life throbbing in our rural areas today.

We have been together now for a number of years in the supreme effort to spur development and enterprise in our rural areas. Together, we have faced many trials. We have faced up to problems intimidating and grave. We have been engaged in work covering almost a life-span in the countryside. And together, I am proud to say, we have known the satisfaction of watching our efforts bear fruit in the new productivity and self-possession of our rural communities of many thousands and even millions among our people who can now say that life has improved for them—and the future may even be better.

How well we know that the heart of this successful transformation of our rural areas owes first and last to the fortitude and strength of our people. Nonetheless, there is reason for our rural bankers, for our extension workers in government, even for the policy makers, to feel a measure of pride that out of our mutual striving, we have seen the very least among our people rise in circumstances and conditions to a better life.

And so at this very moment, my first words to you will be to commend anew the purposeful work which the rural banking system performs in our national development program.

My second message is to call upon you once more to sustain the job already started, and to make common cause with us in government, in lending further flesh and life to all our ventures in the name of rural

In the past, I had occasion to take advantage of this forum to enlist your support and cooperation in carrying out policies of the government for rural development, knowing the unique position which the rural banking industry occupies in our financial system since it is composed of credit outlets established throughout the country with an outreach into remote and hardly accessible rural areas. This system, which by the way I helped to establish as one of the co-authors of its charter some time in 1952, has, over the years, grown into a network of over 1,000 regional banks providing credit facilities to increase and facilitate the productive capacities of the people in the rural areas.

Thus, it is not without pride and appreciation that I view the vital support and assistance that the rural banks have time and again given the government's development programs in the countryside, which in the aggregate represents a sizeable portion of the national economic development effort.

We can still vividly recall the gravity of the crisis which confronted us as an aftermath of the disastrous floods and droughts that ravaged the country's ricefields in 1972. These unfortunate developments were compounded by the fact that, during that time, there was a worldwide shortage of rice which was not available from our usual sources of supply abroad, even in our readiness to disburse the foreign exchange needed to pay for our requirements. Consequently, in 1973, I launched "Masagana 99" as a crash production program for national survival which, with your cooperation and abiding support, transformed the Philippines from a rice-deficit-country to a substantial exporter, within the brief span of about five years.

Also, by effectively tying up the grant of credit with the required utilization of a package of technology for rice production, we were able to accomplish through "Masagana 99" what government extension services, as far back as the early days of the American Occupation, had tried and failed to effectively inculcate into the minds of the farmers—the adoption of modern farming methods as a means of improving and increasing production and

augmenting farm incomes. It is also pertinent to underscore at this juncture how rural banks, more than any other class of financial institutions in the Philippines, government or private, have brought banking services and their related benefits to the doorsteps of the residents in our rural areas.

When we first felt the shock of a staggering increase in the price of oil in 1973, I decided that the appropriate economic strategy should be one of dynamic flexibility. The same is needed now. In the face of adverse happenings over which we have no control, our development program must proceed with the necessary adjustments.

Today, the economic managers in government are evaluating the probable impact of the increases in oil prices recently approved by the oil-exporting countries. The lasting antidote to inflation is of course increased production, particularly agricultural production which will ensure the availability to the mass of our consumers of essential food items at reasonable prices. At this point, I wish to invite your attention and request your support for the ongoing Kadiwa projects which make available, especially at the barangay level, essential food items directly to the consumers without having to go through several middlemen and thus forestall any unnecessary price increases.

The rural banking system has been very helpful in this regard with its continuing involvement in financing agricultural production, through its lending activities and such innovative programs as *bakahan* and *kambingan* barangay programs.

The Biyayang Lupa program which we launched last year is now fully operational. It is designed to provide cheap sources of protein to meet the needs of our population and at the same time increase the productivity of our fishermen by providing them with the necessary back up for the exploitation of our rich fish and aquatic resources. As of April 30, 1980, a total of P10.05 million has been made available to rural banks to finance the program.

Cottage industries are being recharged and propped up as a means of beefing up our foreign exchange earnings. The rich potential of this industry due to the availability of indigenous raw materials and labor will be further exploited and tapped with the adoption of a credit program carried out through the lending facilities of the rural banks, private development banks, stock savings and loan associations under the supervision of the Central Bank. This program undertakes the financing of working capital of small cottage industries duly registered with NACIDA utilizing the Cottage Industry Fund (CIF) from NACIDA.

How extraordinarily right then is the choice of theme for your convention—"Responding to the Challenges of Growth." This is most appropriate and quite relevant to the present efforts of government to cope with the economic problems that confront this country at this time and which require new approaches and initiatives in the field of finance.

As has already been made known to you, during the last session of the Batasan, I sponsored and secured approval of amendments to seven banking laws in order to enable our banking and financial system to be more responsive to the needs of national development. The broad objectives of the financial reforms embodied in the amendments are to increase access to, and availability of, long-term financing, building up competition within the banking and financial system, and provide greater flexibility in the services that may be offered by the banking institutions.

"The Rural Banks Act," R.A. No. 720, is one of the seven laws recently amended so as to enable, among other things, qualified rural banks to perform services previously authorized only for savings banks or for commercial banks. I understand Governor Licaros, in his address before you last May 28th, has sufficiently outlined the nature of the amendments and of the fresh opportunities open to rural banks. He has also assured me that the Central Bank will schedule training courses for rural bankers in order that they may competently undertake expanded banking operations.

Ang mga bagong susog sa batas pambangko rural ay pinasiyahan upang magdulot ng ibayong kapikinabangan at malawak na karapatan sa mga bangko rural. Isa na rito ay ang panibagong kaluwagan sa pagpapautang. Dati ay ang maliliit lamang ang nakauutang sa bangko rural. Ngayon, pati ang malaki-laki ay magkakamit na rin ng biyaya sa mga bangko rural. Batay sa mga tala ng ating pamahalaan, marami na sa dati nating maliit na magsasaka at maliit na tindahan ang nagsilaki ang puhunan. Kaya ngayon ay may pahintulot na sa bangko rural na magpatuloy

na tulungan ang lumaking magsasaka at ang lumagong tindahan na nagpunyagi sa mga liblib na pook ng ating bansa.

Subalit ito ang aking pakiusap at ito ang ating tandaan—huwag sana nating kalimutan ang ating maliliit na magsasaka, maliliit na mangingisda, maliliit na naghahanapbuhay at maliliit na kabayan. Sapagka't sila ay haligi ng isang matatag, matibay, at matahimik na pamayanan. Huwag natin silang talikdan, huwag lalamangan, huwag mamatahin, huwag pababayaan sapagka't tulad nating lahat na nanggaling sa pagkasanggol, ang mga malaki at maunlad ay nagsimula at sumibol sa maliit, sa masikap, sa maagap at sa matiyaga.

Kaya bigyan natin ng pangunahing pansin ang ating maliit na kapatid na anak ng bukid, bigyan natin sila ng sapat na pagkakataon upang umunlad at lumago ang kabuhatan. Sa ganitong paraan ay lalong sisigla, lalong lalakas at lalong sisidhi ang kanilang pakikipagbalikat at pagtulong sa mabilis na pagiral ng kabuhatan at kasaganaan sa ating bansa.

Sa ganitong pagbibigayan at pagtutulongan lamang natin makakamtan ang dalisay at dakilang layunin ng ating Bagong Lipunan.

While I have so far dwelt on the positive side of rural bank operations, I feel it necessary at this point to discuss frankly with you certain developments in the rural bank sector which, if not remedied and checked promptly, could erode public trust and confidence in the system. I refer to the alarming incidence of massive bank frauds and irregularities perpetrated in some rural banks by their officers and stock holders, resulting in the collapse of those banks.

It must be plain to everyone that banking involves the highest public trust and that the Central Bank and the government will not permit frauds, manipulations and other anomalies to the prejudice of the public, the depositors and creditors. I am not referring to minor infractions of lower-level rural bank personnel which the bank itself is expected to remedy and correct, but to massive frauds systematically perpetrated by syndicates or groups including the management of the banks.

Recent inquiries indicate that there has been an upsurge in the commission of these syndicated frauds. In the case of the venalities perpetrated on a group of banks in Southern Luzon, the responsible parties are now under detention. My concern with the matter was so great that last April 6th, I issued Presidential Decree No. 1689 making estafa and other forms of swindling punishable by life imprisonment or death if the swindling (estafa) is committed by a syndicate consisting of five or more persons formed with the intention of carrying out the illegal scheme and the fraud results in the misappropriation of monies contributed by stockholders or members of rural banks, cooperatives, Samahang Nayons or Farmers' Associations, or of funds solicited by corporations or associations from the general public.

It would be immensely helpful if you, as concerned rural bankers, will immediately inform the proper authorities of any possibility that fraud is being perpetrated on any banking institution.

The life of our rural banking system rests on its integrity and trust. Clouded by scandal, it cannot serve its invigorating role in our national life, it cannot sustain for long the high place it has earned in our movement to progress.

So, again, let us now join hands to cleanse the ranks and remove from the entire system the corrupt elements that imperil what could be a vigorous force for change in our rural areas.

After having discussed the matter of frauds and venalities in banking, I now wish to clear the air and say that I firmly believe in the continuing viability and potential of the rural banking system as the effective arm of our economy in countryside development, I was told that since the opening of your convention you have been deeply engrossed in the identification and discussion of issues and of problems and their solutions, as well as the new opportunities presented in the field of expanded rural banking operations. This augurs well for the quality of life in the countryside.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the Closing Session of the Batasang Pambansa, June 11, 1980

The Rationale Behind Legislation

WITH THE PRIVILEGE accorded by the law and the Constitution to your humble servant, I once again report to you at this closing of our Second Regular Session.

First of all, I wish to commend each and every member for outstanding achievement in the performance of legislative work. I wish to convey to you my personal good wishes and congratulations, speaking not for myself alone but for the entire Filipino people.

The lives of institutions, like the lives of individuals, are marked in years not merely for the sake of ceremony and ritual. Time for us is a yardstick of growth and progress.

If a year ago, this Parliament was an infant, to be doted on with care and solicitude, today, two years after, we are all anxious to see signs of growth and stability within the Batasang Pambansa.

We see these signs in the work we have just accomplished. We see it, too, in the growing confidence and vision with which the Batasan has considered and discussed issues of vital importance to the Nation.

When I addressed the opening of our Second Regular Session on July 23, 1979, I brought before you the issues and the priorities which in the view of government the Batasan must address itself to with the utmost consideration and dispatch. Specifically, we urged for considerations and discussion of legislation relating to energy conservation, food production, economic reform, electoral reform, and social development.

Now as we close our Second Regular Session, we find the record of its work vividly demonstrative of the capacity of this body to act with probity and dispatch on its legislative agenda. To our call for action and support, the Batasan has returned the benefit of its counsel and support.

A review of the record tells us what this body has achieved during this second session. Four key areas of legislation tell us of the range and import of the legislative enactment during the year.

First, we have succeeded in pushing through, finally, energy legislation consonant to these times of crisis. The Batasan has enacted two bills into law: The Omnibus Energy Bill (PB No. 691) and the Energy Tax on Electric Consumption (CB No. 22), both of which are highly vital to the success of our national energy program.

Second, the Batasan has enacted various legislative measures critical to the economic development program of government. All in all, a total of 12 bills have been passed, and their titles convey the range of their impact on economic endeavors in our country. May I list down these measures for our people to know:

1. Act to promote investment in less developed areas
2. Universal Banking Law (General Banking Act)
3. Savings and Loan Association Act
4. Private Development Bank's Act
5. An act amending amendments of the charter of the Development Bank of the Philippines.
6. Rural Banks Act
7. Investment Houses Act
8. Amendment to the Central Bank Act or its Charter
9. A New Corporation Code
10. Tax Laws on Capital Gains
11. Consolidation of Travel Taxes
12. Amendments to Tax Codes

13. An Act providing funds for infrastructure or Public Works projects
14. An Act regulating some transactions on certain marine species (PB No. 200)

It will be noted that many of these bills have to do with banking reform, and others with the climate for enterprise and investments. They express clearly the stress we give today to economic effort and continued development.

Third, we paved the way for the holding of the second national elections under the crisis government with the passage of two electoral laws, namely:

1. An Act prescribing the elective positions in the local governments and the rules governing the election thereto; and
2. An Act providing for accreditation of political parties. Fourth, the Batasan gave its attention to the welfare of workers, by enacting into law P.B. No. 386: An Act strengthening the workers rights to self-organization and free collective bargaining.

In addition, various legislations of general application were passed during the second regular session. Among these, the following are significant:

1. The 1980 Appropriations Act for the Philippine Government which actually outlines the economic, social and political development plan of our country.
2. An Act providing for census taking in 1980
3. Amendments to the Land Transportation Code
4. An Act creating the Commission on Overseas Filipinos.

Along with these legislative enactments, we are aware that the Batasan took action this year to accelerate the consideration of important legislative measures. Overall, it seems apparent that there has been real effort to improve systems, facilitate proceedings, and speed up consolidation of bills and hearing of legislative proposals. I would therefore like to commend the various standing committees and also the steering committee of the Batasang Pambansa.

But with all this, it still must be recognized that certain key measures which we expected to be passed during the second session failed to hurdle the Batasan because we believe that there was need to give priority to those that were approved. The Education Act of 1980 is still pending on second reading, and the Local Government Code which is now two years in the making will pass on to our Third Regular Session.

But there can be no doubt that during the session year, we have indeed established an effective working mechanism for the Cabinet and the Batasan to act together. And this gives us reason to hope that in the future, the working relationships will even be better.

It would appear, however, that there are those who view with apparent regret and dismay the fact that the legislative program of government should enjoy the collaboration, rather than the dissent, of the Batasan. They seem to miss the long debates and the statements that had dogged the old Congress. The very system that appears to be working now has become the target of proposals for amendments to the Constitution which was ratified by our people a few years ago.

We cannot but view with doubt and deep concern the spirit of some of these proposals, as well as the tendency of some observers to think of constitutional amendments everytime there is the slightest difficulty perceived in our governmental system. What could be amended or changed by law, we try to immediately correct through constitutional amendments.

We should not fall into the error of giving the impression that we entertain in our minds politically-oriented and casual changes in our Constitution, for this renders meaningless the very phrase "Fundamental Law of the Land."

Still, more should we be judicious in considering proposals to change our form of government, which at this stage is only at its infancy.

In fact, if truth be told, we are in a transition period—a period of transition towards the final form of government, prescribed by the Constitution which, if we recall, was the product of strenuous efforts and prodigious work of the Constitutional Convention lasting from 1970 to 1973.

Of course, the Constitution is a living thing, and its strength lies in its stability as much as in its flexibility. But perhaps the changes that we seek need not take the form of amendments, for our interpretation of the spirit of the Constitution can be changed

We may improve upon the system, for that is a privilege given to each and every member of the Batasan by the Constitution itself. But changing the form of government all over again will lay the Batasang Pambansa open to charges of capriciousness and possible lack of wisdom.

What is regrettable, is that all this talk of constitutional reform may be inspired by political motives. Heaven help us if this is true. By now, all of us should be motivated by a real concern for what is demanded by the country at this time. But on the contrary, it seems that less attention is now being given to some of the more critical economic issues. Developmental legislation is often set aside to give way to discussions about the form of government and other matters that serve narrow political ends.

Let me not be misinterpreted. I encourage the growth of an opposition party, but I also appeal to those who now seek to establish that opposition party to consider over and above all, especially in the conduct of business of the Batasang Pambansa, the welfare of the people and our nation.

I pledge to all of you, including those in the opposition, that I shall treat the efforts of the opposition to establish a strong opposition party with sympathy and understanding. But certainly, when the opposition utilizes the prerogatives and the powers of the Batasang Pambansa in order to cause stalemate and deadlock in government, I shall be then the first to stand up and question the motives of such efforts.

In this manner, there has been some talk about the power of the President to legislate. Such talk is a little bit too late now, a tardy resumption of the debates that were started in 1976. Do you remember how in 1976, when we still had the Batasang Bayan, we decided that we should have the Batasang Pambansa since the Batasang Bayan, being merely a consultative legislative council, did not meet the requirements of truly democratic government? We approved the establishment of the Batasang Pambansa, but with it, we established certain safeguards so that there would be no dislocation in the operations of government, and that whatever progress has been attained under the New Society may not be lost in the event that our experiment with the Batasang Pambansa should prove to be a disappointment.

The body of amendments which paved the way for the creation of the Batasang Pambansa constituted one single system for a gradual, orderly and judicious transition from the old Congressional system into a parliamentary system of government. So unless we are ready to change the basic purpose of the Constitution, I would strongly advice that we do not alter now that integrated system of transition.

If I read correctly the importance of the proposals being made now, it is being contended that this power lodged in the Presidency under the sixth amendment robs Parliament of authenticity and importance as a body. And it is further said that because of this the Batasang Pambansa is left with little work to do. With respect to the work, I think that there are more complaints about overwork than lack of work in the Batasan. As I have repeatedly stressed, the Batasang Pambansa is in any view a success, an outstanding and resounding success.

Nevertheless, let me say something again about this power of the Presidency. The underlying rationale behind the President's authority to legislate which was approved in a referendum in October 1976 was the need for prompt legislative action in the event of crisis or inaction by the interim legislative assembly. The national electorate felt

that in the period of transition to full parliamentary government the possibility of governmental paralysis must resolutely be avoided.

Remember that we are still in the middle of crisis. Remember that the world is faced with many dilemmas which nations are hard put to solve. Remember that the possibility always exists that the Batasang Pambansa would be physically unable to meet in order to legislate on matters of extreme urgency. The time for the abdication of this authority therefore has not yet arrived.

But I assure you that I will be the first to seek the complete elimination of such a Constitutional provision when that time comes.

Indeed, there are those who think that the stresses we feel today as a nation constitute a crisis situation. They are correct. And the situation is only mitigated by the purposive action of government.

Let me be frank with you. We conduct a survey of public opinion about once every six months. The latest survey indicates that the popular sentiment favors the greater exercise of the President's power to legislate because of the resurgence of the old vices of the Old Society. In fact, there is a recommendation now that I reimpose curfew. But you and I know that the reimposition of curfew would be a step backward.

I have listened, watched and observed. And as far as I can see, we are on the right path in trusting the wisdom and the capability of the members of the Batasang Pambansa.

And this I pledge to you: Unless absolutely necessary, I will not use my power of legislation, but instead leave legislation to the Batasang Pambansa.

However we may view the present temper of the nation and our national life, we cannot fail to perceive the uncertainty and apprehension in the world. Nor can we doubt that crisis abroad will inevitably wash upon our shores. There are many who predict openly that war is in the offing. Many nations are preparing for hostilities.

But I have made it a matter of policy to direct as much as possible matters of legislation to the Batasan, and to invoke the presidential power to legislate only on matters of urgency and then only after convoking a caucus and asking the advice of the members of the majority party in the Batasang Pambansa.

I shall continue this procedure. I shall not utilize the powers of legislation unless the caucus of the majority party directs me to do so.

This was the reason behind the recent Presidential decree on the coconut levy. When I took action then, the situation of the coconut industry was rapidly deteriorating. And in caucus I was asked by the members of the majority party what I was doing in order to help the coconut industry. There were many recommendations. There were many suggestions. And the burden of all the requests was that we must act immediately rather than wait for legislation by the Batasan. I took therefore the advice of a duly convoked caucus.

If the opposition had questioned this, our answer would have been that this was a decision arrived at in caucus to which the opposition party may not be privy.

There are also questions raised about the appointment of a Deputy Prime Minister. Again, may I state: There are matters in which the opposition party and the minority party can participate and that is general legislation. However, we should recognize each other's respective jurisdiction. The matter of the choice of a Prime Minister and a Deputy Minister belongs exclusively to the majority party of the Batasang Pambansa, and no member of the opposition can ever question, advise or suggest any action to be taken by the majority party, except perhaps in a friendly manner outside the Batasang Pambansa. But within the Batasang Pambansa, let it be clearly stated, the opposition has certain prerogatives and so has the majority party. In many instances, when a decision cannot be arrived at by the

majority party, the majority party is compelled to call a caucus where every member may voice his opinions. In such a case, the opposition may not participate.

But let us not be distracted by all this talk. The truth of the matter is that those in the opposition and the majority party have performed our tasks with outstanding dedication. On this evening, therefore, I also wish to express my congratulations to the members of the opposition party.

I have also noted the grace with which the members of the majority party have treated the members of the opposition. I encourage such understanding. I encourage the effort to strengthen the opposition. I encourage the practice of giving the opposition every opportunity to express whatever opinions it may have on any matter pending before the Batasan and before the nation.

I commend our presiding officer, the Speaker, for following the basic policies of the government and the majority party which runs the government. And I commend, too, the members of the majority party for their gentlemanly and honorable conduct towards the opposition even if at times irritants do hamper the operations of the Batasang Pambansa.

I have been in many congresses. I was a member of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives for 15 years, and I have seen the operations of legislative bodies and legislative committees. For a body that has been in operation for two years, certainly the Batasang Pambansa today is far better than the old congresses that I know. For one thing, I know that the members of the Batasang Pambansa are a very undemanding group who willingly accept their low emoluments provided by law, notwithstanding the fact that there have been salary increases everywhere else except in the Batasang Pambansa.

However, may I say that the Batasang Pambansa inspires hope in the heart of every Filipino. Probably when our people look to political leadership, they still think of the President as a symbol of that leadership. But from my travels into the barangays and the provinces, I notice that there is now greater attention being paid to what the Batasang Pambansa is doing. I would therefore strongly recommend that during our more or less one month of recess the members of the Batasan go back to their regions and their constituencies to listen to what they have to recommend.

I was surprised on my visits to the provinces, because my impression has always been that nobody was following the activities of the Batasang Pambansa, except for the members of contending factions within the majority party and the opposition, and that such activities were of little interest to our people. This was completely wrong. Everyone I talked to asked me what I thought was the future of the Batasang Pambansa. And when I inquired why they were asking, they said: "It is our belief that whatever may happen to the political leadership our country will continue to prosper provided the Batasang Pambansa which is composed of patriotic and dedicated men, can be trusted and depended upon."

This is true. You have now become the legatees of the New Society. The New Society is no longer the New Society of Marcos. It is no longer the New Society of the members of the Cabinet, or the New Society of a few people. This is your society, your new Philippines which you are slowly molding and forming into a model of which we can be proud. And when we make an accounting before our people and our patriots, we can stand proud and say, we are the legislators who prepared the final move towards prosperity under the New Society.

Therefore, let me commend you once again and say that I shall always consult the members of the Batasang Pambansa on all the grave decisions we must make for the welfare of our country.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Speech of President Marcos at the 82nd anniversary celebration of Philippine independence, June 12, 1980

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 82nd anniversary celebration of Philippine independence

[Delivered at the Quirino Grandstand, Rizal Park, June 12, 1980]

MGA KASAMA, napakinggan ko kanina ang isang awiting ipinatutungkol sa inyong abang lingkod bilang isang lider o namumuno sa ating bansa. Ang katotohanan nito, walang iniisip at inaalagata ang isang lider kundi ang katuparan ng lahat ng kaniyang mga pangarap at pangako sa mga mamamayan upang sa darating na panahon ay hindi na kailanganin pa ang kaniyang serbisyo bilang lider ng bansa. Kahimanawari ay dumating ang panahon na ang lahat ng diwa at batayan ng ating kalayaan ay umabot sa lahat ng Pilipino at ganap na malimutan ang pangangailangan kay Marcos bilang lider ng bansang Pilipinas.

Sariwain natin sa araw na ito ang tatlong kabanata sa kasaysayan ng ating kasarinlan.

Mahigit sa walumpung taon na ang nakararaan mula nang itatag natin ang pangunahing republika sa Asya sa pamamagitan ng dakilang himagsikan.

You remember that it is our claim—it is the recognized claim in Asia that the first republic in Asia was established here in the Philippines.

Tatlumpu't apat na taon na rin ang nakararaan mula nang mabawi natin ang ating kalayaan sa Amerika. Noong taong 1946, sa lugar ding ito, sa harap ng maraming taong tulad nitong nagkakatatipon-tipon ngayon, ibinaba ang bandila ng Amerika at mag-isang itinaas ang ating wagayway o bandila.

At walong taon din naman ang matuling nagdaan mula nang ating itatag ang Bagong Lipunan upang lubusang ganapin ang ating kalayaan.

Ito ang tatlong kabanata na nagbibigkis sa ating lahat bilang isang bansa. Nasusulat sa mga ito ang ating pagka-Pilipino. Naririto ang ating tunay na lakas. Naririto ang ating pag-asa sa harap ng mga sigalot na hinaharap ng ating mundo.

Let today be a celebration of these three great events which constitute the variations on the grand theme of national independence for our country.

It was 80 years ago when we established, by revolutionary proclamation by General Emilio Aguinaldo, the first republic in Asia.

Thirty-four years ago we regained our Independence from the United States.

And only eight years ago we advanced our emancipation with the founding of the New Society.

These three events dramatize a single purpose: the liberation of the Filipino. They are the paradigms of our national unity. In them, the names Kudarat, Soliman, Lapu-Lapu, Dagohoy, Silang, Rizal, Luna, Bonifacio, and the hallowed grounds of Mactan, Tirad Pass, Bessang Pass, Bataan, Corregidor, Visayas, Mindanao evoke not narrow tribal memories and regional sentiments, not cultural divergencies, but the one powerful reality of Filipino unity and nationhood. Indeed, Jose Rizal was not the first of our heroes to call for national unity. If you will remember, as far

back as the first landings of the Spanish conquistadores, Lapu-Lapu raised the cry, and later on so did Sultan Kudarat of Mindanao, Dagohoy and many others.

It is clear that the common struggle for freedom is our most precious heritage. It hands down to us the fundamental lesson of our national history. And that lesson is, to the extent that we are united, we are resolute; to the extent that we are resolute, we are strong; to the extent that we are strong, we are unconquerable. But the lesson itself has another face: the face of failure which we see in many pages of our history.

We know that our revolution was aborted, aborted perhaps by the Americans and their arrival; but it was destroyed initially by the factionalism within the ranks of the revolutionary. The commanding general of the revolutionary forces, General Antonio Luna was killed not by the enemy; he was killed by Filipinos, treacherously at that. Factionalism had wrecked the revolution. And when Luna died, Mabini, the intellectual, the paralyzed brains of the revolution said: "The revolution is dead."

We would have lost the fight for independence if either the federalist or dominion status argument had won over our people. It is well to remember this now, for the federalist argument promised security and comfort in exchange for national independence. Here is a shameful page in our history, for some of the leaders in the fight for national independence actually intimated to American friends that they thought that our countrymen, the Filipinos, were unfit for sovereign rule.

It is futile to decry this now. There is always a Benedict Arnold in any anti-colonial struggle, for a Benedict Arnold is a colonial phenomenon. He is a man who has learned—in Rizal's words—to love his chains. Not for him the hardships of freedom but the security of the slave. And yet he parades himself as a patriot, even if a "practical" one.

The Benedict Arnolds of our race are not necessarily evil men. Some of them may even have a deep compassion for our people. That is why they have no sense of either guilt or shame. But they cannot see the contradiction between calling on the might of a foreign power and working for the welfare of the people. They equate the good of the people with the goodness of a foreign master, that colonial servitude is justified by the benefits, real or imagined, of colonialism.

The Benedict Arnolds of our country are well known to you by name. In time, history will make a permanent record of their infamy.

There is one basic fact about the Benedict Arnold's fate: he destroys not only himself but his country as well, should he succeed. Fortunately for us, he seldom, if ever, succeeds—but he can hold for some time and retard the advancement of a people.

In spite of the Benedict Arnolds of our country, great trials have unified our people. We have always been heroic in vicissitude. We are children of tribulations. Our qualities shine in our darkest hours.

The world had seen proof of this many times, for one, in the last great war. We had proof of this but eight years ago—when besieged on all sides, by dissidence, secession, and criminality, conditions aggravated by a shameless oligarchy, we decided to dismantle the old society to give way to the new. We knew that although all societies had their rebels and criminals, their share of corruption and insolent power, ours had gone over the limit and threatened the very life of our nation. Thus, when I signed the martial law proclamation, I did so with the hands of many, not only with mine.

We have seen proof in the past and we shall see proof again—now. For once more, my countrymen, we are facing a time of great trial.

And it is indeed proper that this parade today has shown to us the strong political structure on which the government of the Republic of the Philippines rests. It rests not on the leadership of Marcos, it rests not on the leadership of the

Cabinet members or the members of the Batasang Pambansa, but on the foundational political unity of our people, and that is the barangay—the old unit of unity.

That is the foundation on which are based our efforts to raise our country into modernization. It is not based on income from oil, income from any other unusual source. It is not based on any unusual developments that give animal and material comfort to our people. It is based on the love of our people for our country and for our nation.

As I said at the beginning, on my part, while you sing to me of my participation in this great drama in which we play our respective roles, it is my intention to see to it that I shall convey to the next generation of leaders this legacy of dedication, patriotism and idealism. So that in time Marcos will not be needed anymore by the country.

It has been said that we cannot be heroes 24 hours a day and every day of the year. Thus, it was that in the early days of the crisis government, the people, perceiving its necessity and recognizing its wisdom, summoned reserves of goodwill, resolution, and discipline not seen for many decades. The bureaucracies were efficient, fair and honest; the private sector hummed with enterprise; the country weathered crisis after crisis.

We cannot, however, today deny that there has been deterioration in discipline, flagging resolution, the so-called “restoration mentality” which followed, as if after the crisis government, we shall have the license which came to England after the interregnum of Cromwell.

This is not the time for such illusions or for such dreams. Our times offer no easy solutions nor comforts; they do not promise excesses, they will not allow indulgence. Only the disciplined and resolute among nations will survive the present state of a world in panic. Yes, for the world is in panic.

The panic is palpable. It is seen not only in the developing states; it is seen even in the strongest superpowers. One can touch and smell the fear that pervades the globe. The energy crisis, the economic dislocations, the confrontations among powerful nations, the clash of cultures, are not isolated disturbances. They form a whole, the whole of a world crisis. They are caused not merely by the greed or selfishness of nations but by a powerful dread— by fear. One nation fears for its stature, another for its strength. When leaders of powerful nations meet, it is mainly to gauge each other’s “steel”. The supreme calculation is summed up by the words: “Can we get away with it?”

In this atmosphere, small and poor nations like the Philippines have to survive economically, build strong political institutions, lay the groundwork for national security, and relate in friendship with all nations. It is a task that calls for supreme and Washingtonian qualities, the qualities of a founding father. Still, the plight of small nations has no historical precedent. There is no school for the modern enterprise, for the leader and for the people of a developing country.

We Filipinos cannot look back to our heroic ancestors for specific guidance. All that we can learn is that they were united in a common struggle. Their technology cannot guide us, but their resolution, their courage, their patience and, more than anything else, their willingness to sacrifice everything, including honor itself for the country, for the people, will show us the way.

Ours is a time of hardships, but no one outside of ourselves can help us. Those who say that the goodwill of a superpower will alleviate our suffering forget that every superpower has vicissitudes of her own. The interest of the powerful always takes precedence over the interest of the weak. As Bonifacio asked once before, “Who will be for the Philippines if not the Filipinos?”

We must then rely on ourselves. There is no choice, there is no alternative.

There can be no real independence without self-reliance. No one can think for us, just as no one can live our own lives for us.

There are issues in the world, however, to which we must lend our voice—along with other kindred nations.

Paramount among these are the survival of mankind, the restructuring of the international economic order, the limitation of nuclear arms, and the end of terrorism.

We stand by the United Nations principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of nations, a principle that is continually tested again and again.

Our detractors, on the other hand, do not seem to regard this principle as of any importance, for good reason, I presume: It does not encourage or help their ambitions.

At the same time, we are free to foster friendly relations with all nations, whatever their ideologies or systems of government, so long as they do not pose a threat to our national security. These will, in turn, depend on our national confidence, on our ability to discern what is perilous to us and what is advantageous to us.

Too long have we considered ourselves incapable of making subtle distinctions, too long have we been afraid of shadows, because out of colonial habit we preferred to use foreign eyes and foreign minds to interpret the world to ourselves.

For instance, when a visitor comes from abroad and he sees our bamboo houses, he says, "These are the poor slum houses of poor Filipinos." He does not know it, because he is used to plastic and cement and steel, but the bamboo house is the best house that can be built for Filipinos.

We must now learn to interpret the world to ourselves through our own eyes.

That habit was broken with the advent of the New Society—the habit of using foreign eyes to appraise and assess everything, including our own lives.

To the danger of blind involvement in our foreign relations, we must now add the perils of factionalism in our domestic affairs,

As I have said, great trials unite us. But as soon as things quiet down, we tend to revert to atavistic tribalism and regionalism. We have yet to translate our heroism in times of great stress to the quiet struggle of day-to-day existence. We must learn to make quiet heroism a habit of thought and action. We must continue to dedicate ourselves without claiming any special attention from anyone nor demanding any reward for such service to our country. For that is the meaning of heroism and patriotism.

There are no easy tasks ahead of us, no easy comforts for those selected by history *to* carve a new national destiny and create a new society, a new world for all.

We find that for every opportunity, there lies a risk, just as for every freedom, there is a corresponding responsibility. We have learned that solutions to problems give rise to other problems.

A past generation could take comfort in the sure issue of effort; it lived in a world which progressed steadily— with minor disturbances but no surprising turns of events. But this generation has always lived with uncertainty, with danger and with surprises, if not at home, certainly abroad. Vietnam, Iran, Afghanistan are not but a few symbols of the unprecedented. We can, after the fact, trace their beginnings in history, but only after the fact.

The new science of the future, called by turns futurology or futuristics, reads of trends and patterns, but in the end, its prognostications depend on what man is willing to do, on how man perceives his options, and on how man makes his choices.

We may say therefore, that our prospects for the eighties are dim, dark, forbidding, or, with some optimism, that they are brighter than they seem. There are facts to argue for one side or the other. On the pessimistic side, there is the energy pinch, which means higher prices, more unemployment, slackened industrial development and possibly a

deep recession worldwide. On the optimistic side, there are the anticipatory programs, our geothermal thrust, the expansion of our trade relations with Eastern Europe and other countries, the commitment of resources to social development. But the realistic attitude is to balance optimism with pessimism—on the side of optimism.

We cannot go on—no man can act—if he does not believe in the future. Let us recall the truth of Pandora's box: That in the release of evil in all its forms, man has been given just one weapon, and that weapon is hope. *Pag-asa*. It must have been considered sufficient for man to keep up his hopes in order to survive and prevail.

I do not mean the false hope of the whimsical that things by themselves will end up well. I do not mean the false hope of the timid who leaves the work of society to others. I do not mean the false hope of the somnambulist.

I hope that what I speak of sparked the Philippine Revolution despite the insistence of the timid that the ideal conditions for revolution should be present before the Filipino could rise to claim his destiny.

We hear the same voices now, the same timid and weak voices during the great revolution that opposed that revolution because the people were not prepared for it. We hear those voices from some quarters now, saying, "We are not prepared for radical reforms in the villages." And the answer to that is the brigades, the barangays, those who have marched here, voluntarily showing their loyalty to the Republic and the Independence of our country.

I speak too of the fact that there will never be ideal conditions for any noble and unusual effort. No ideal condition can be present before the Filipino can rise to claim his destiny.

I speak of the hope which regained our Independence over the insincerity of some of our advocates.

I speak of the hope which sparks the New Society, the hope that makes man the measure of his destiny.

If our problems seem too big for us, let us ask whether we just prefer to believe that we are too small for them. And if our society were ideal—and what society is?—would we have need for leaders, thinkers, illusions, programs, heroes? No. But let us not be guided by illusions. The great societies of historical record were themselves rocked with crisis and confronted with danger, what made them great was the human factor—the qualities of the mind and the heart of the men and women who lived and worked according to the contours of their age, and against all adverse circumstances attained their noble destiny.

Let us not commit once more the old society's mistake of making the evil that men do the standard of our society. There is no wisdom in making your corrupt neighbor your model. Insolent authority is not your work. It is suicidal lunacy then to justify your indifference or emulation with that neighbor's behavior.

We in the leadership have established the Tanodbayan. And, in case, you have forgotten, the ten-centavo telegram to the Office of the President for any complaint remains in force. There are the barangays which involve everyone's participation in the affairs of the community. There is, above all, the interim Batasang Pambansa. These are still imperfect machineries, to be sure, but they will not work perfectly by themselves without human guidance and participation and support, without the exercise of our people's political will.

We look up to the leadership, and that is understandable, especially in times of crisis in a complex world. A great mind once said: Victory in time of crisis is perhaps 90 percent leadership, but more than this, recognition of the wisdom of that leadership. But let us look to ourselves. Let us not just look to the leadership. Let us not just look to Marcos or the Cabinet members or the military or the governors and the mayors.

We look to ourselves. Each and every one of us—look deep within us and find where the hero is in the Filipino.

Let us look to ourselves, let us look around us and let us look at the ground on which we walk.

A leader can only be as great as his people. Let no man fool you. A people's great qualities are magnified in him—and also their weaknesses. No matter how strong a leader, if the people are weak, the leader ultimately must become weak.

But I would not have remained President if I did not believe in our people's capacity for great deeds. The crisis of eight years ago—the impending fragmentation of our country—would have consigned me to oblivion were there not in the Filipino people a heroic resolution to rise above difficult circumstances.

Indeed, we would not be gathered here today if we were content to find fault in our stars. The fault lies not in their stars but in themselves that they are underlings.

I realize that the anxieties that pervade the world have their disturbing effects on us. But let us not engage ourselves in the vain pursuit of comforting words.

All of us are privy to the truth of human experience.

We have survived before, we shall survive again.

Let us be honest with ourselves and once more give a chance to the invincible and the heroic within us.

We are Filipinos!

HUWAG MABAHALA PILIPINO YATA TAYO!

Marami pong salamat.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E. (1980). Speech delivered by President Ferdinand E. Marcos at the 82nd anniversary celebration of Philippine independence; Quirino Grandstand, Rizal Park, 12 June 1980. *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 76(26), 4420-4427.

Extemporaneous speech of President Marcos at the 22th Anniversary Celebration of the NSDB, July 18, 1980

Funding the Intellectual Aristocracy

THE OCCASION, THE ceremonies all remind me of one thing. In a democracy there is only one type of aristocracy that is not only tolerated but encouraged. It is intellectual aristocracy, mental aristocracy. It is a royalty of those who think and think well. It is the lineage of wisdom and mental competence handed down as a legacy from one thinker to the other, from one teacher to another. It is said that if man has survived the bigger calamities of this world that have buried stronger animals, it is because of his intellect. If that be true, then in the development of human resources, we develop the opportunities which we equate with dignity. For we say that every man is dignified unto himself, is equal to any man. But when we do say this, we say he has the same equal opportunity as any other man to develop this God-given talent, and the lazy and indolent mind must, therefore, step aside for the creative, the aggressive, the mind that searches and is curious. This is the mind that finds food in endeavor, in enterprise, and that looks askance even at material rewards, perhaps realizing that all these are transitory but that the results of mental effort are permanent to the world and permanent to the human race.

The ceremonies today are in celebration, first, of the effort of our country and our nation, of the deliberate development of a younger generation that seeks to utilize the intellect as a leverage for the attainment of our national objectives. But more than the national objectives are the objectives of the human brotherhood.

As we look around us, we are happy indeed to note that there are any number of young men and women, middle-aged men and older people, who have devoted and will devote themselves to not only applied research or science but also to basic sciences.

Today, I was delayed because of the delegation from the Venice Summit Meeting, which is the meeting of the seven highest industrialized nations of the world. And I received a report from the deputy foreign minister of Japan, since Japan was a participant who spoke of the efforts at meeting the energy crisis. I could not but note the parallelism between his report and the activities of the seven heads of state and heads of government of the seven highest industrialized or richest nations in the world. I am referring to the parallelism between their thinking, their efforts and the efforts of a small group like yours. Because in both instances, when they spoke of energy, they spoke of renewable indigenous energy through the utilization of technology and research. They have set aside or they are planning to set aside 50 billion dollars—coming from the OPEC countries, 50 billion dollars coming from the non-OPEC industrialized countries for the development of alternate or non-conventional sources of energy. And they plan to lend some of this money to the small and developing countries to be utilized in such researches.

I am pleased to say that we are in the right direction. For if there is any aspect of our researches and technology wherein we have had a modicum of success, it has been in energy, in food production and, perhaps, in conservation. As regards food production, I mean in both grains and fisheries, we can proudly cite the Masagana '99 and then the PCAR studies, the Bureau of Plant Industry.

My personal interest in research and technology is backed up with something more substantial than good intentions. Most of the funds even of the Marcos Foundation go into research and energy. We never talk about a work-in-progress until somebody in the media discovers it and publicizes it.

For instance, we import about 60 million plus 40—100 million pesos worth of animal feeds every year. Here, the supply is often unstable, with the prices being “irritable,” as some economists would put it. It is an up-and-down affair. And yet, we have so many sources of raw materials that could be produced into animal feed. And one of the scientists, Dr. Ariosa, I understand, has not been cited for his accomplishment. May I therefore personally commend him and consider him one of our most outstanding scientists. In his two or three years experimentation on the sources of animal feed in the Philippines, protein animal feeds he has succeeded in converting rice husk into protein animal feeds for the use of enzymes. In so doing, he not only opens this field which is the new frontier, of course, but also encourages further utilization of enzymes for other purposes. The uses are innumerable. Can you imagine that rice husk is now a problem in all rice mills throughout the country? The sources of enzymes are also local, and

Dr. Ariosa can produce them. The truth of the matter is, it is the only product that has become commercial through the utilization of research and technology.

I am surprised that the National Science and Development Board has not taken note of this. But do you know what this means to us? This is going to save us a lot of oil. It meets the energy problem. It meets the problem of energy because the disposal of rice husk involves burning and the like. Not only that. I gather now that there are several scientists who are applying all these new discoveries.

I congratulate the new university. As you remember, we converted Los Baños into a university. Why? Precisely because it had to become the center of agricultural research. PCAR was based on it. Then we created the Plant Breeding Institute. Now we have the Microbiological Institute. And the two heads of the two groups engaged in DNA research, cestus and genetics, whatever it is, came here headed by Dr. Peter Farod. And he cautioned me: Don't spend too much on machinery in the conversion of some of your raw materials like sugar, corn, camote, cassava into alcohol. Because within the year, we may produce a bulk which will convert all of these into alcohol without any machinery.

Political scientists and historians are correct when they say that man has learned to utilize his mind more in the last half century than throughout the entire history of humanity. In the last half century, the human mind has utilized its capability and yet barely scratched the surface of its potential. And we in the Philippines bid well to follow this road, this trail that has been opened up in the utilization of our mind.

Whenever we speak of problems, we speak of employment, we speak of labor opportunities. Actually, according to Toynbee, the great historian, the culture and civilization of countries and peoples are dictated not by the mob, not by the great number of people, but by the few whom you can properly call an elite. The few who initiate change, change with the mind, change in institutions, change in procedure, change in technology, change in the use of all existing archaic machinery, change in application of knowledge and the modification of already accepted knowledge, the dogmatic. These, as Toynbee put it, constitute the elite. They are the two creators of civilization and culture. It is not the mob, it is the mass and the mass follows whatever this leadership to the intellect says.

I come here today to assure you that I understand the crucial and critical, not just important role of science, technology and of basic as well as applied research. In the restructuring of our country, we see the more palpable development, such as the roads, the big dams, like Magat Dam, the biggest in Southeast Asia. Yes; we see all of these. And perhaps to the uninitiated, the more dramatic therefore, the more effective and bringing about animal comfort. In the long run, however, the most dramatic and the most effective changes will issue from the human mind and they will come with subtlety. They will come with but a few men understanding the meaning of some of these changes. Slowly these will spread to contaminate those who are sensitive to intellectual fermentation. Spreading thus, it will affect the entire race until attitudes change.

Immediately after the American and the Spanish regimes, everybody wanted to wear the white collar, sit down and be a clerk, a lawyer, a priest. There was no tradition of science except for those few priests in Padre Faura who were looking at the stars.

The world today looks to science for its salvation. The world has seen science destroy and corrupt its old values. The same thing is true with the Philippines. We have seen modernization, American culture, Spanish culture, European culture, all foreign culture that eventually wrecked our values.

We are now engaged in tracing the roots of our antiquity and our origins. And thus seeking them out, reestablishing once and for all those roots that we may stand with dignity and know who we are. By knowing who we are, we come to realize that the same cultures and destabilization that have destroyed us can be utilized to save us.

This, then, is the meaning of science. And this is why under my Presidency over a period of five-seven years, the expenditures in science and technology have increased from P40 million to P440 million in a matter of a few years. Reason why we recognize the young and the old. Also the reason why I protested when the master of ceremonies said we would give the medals in bulk.

Medals are not given in bulk, for they must only be given for personal achievement. They are awarded as a symbol of the recognition not only by one person, not a recognition by Marcos who is a non-entity, but by the people whom he represents as President of the Republic of the Philippines. It also establishes a policy. Just what encourages a man to persevere in the darkness of night and sacrifice almost everything, including a happy domestic life? I have no doubt whatsoever that scientists must be found continually lacking in, shall we say, consideration towards their spouses owing to their activities. But that is part of the role of the artist, the writer, the historian, the scientist—and the researcher. For all of this, you get a piece of ribbon and a piece of metal. Just as they get in the military, until it becomes both a habit and a tradition. It sometimes happens that a soldier becomes a professional killer even as he gets wounded again and bemedaled again.

The same thing is true with the scientists. Before you realize it, you get used to doing things merely for attaining basic research, with no relevance to industry or to the outside world, no relevance to your people. But it is an addition to the wealth of knowledge that has been accumulated by the scientific community.

If the Administrator of the National Science Development Board is a good commanding officer he pulls the researcher back from becoming too engrossed in basic research and occasionally asks him to participate in applied research and science. The practical, the utilization of the ivory tower results in the mud of the rice fields. And so you see many things like IRRI Plant Breeding Institute, Microbiology Institute and SEAFDEC all over the Philippines.

But I repeat, I am one of the few perhaps who have seen countries change and decisions made either correctly or wrongly. There has been proper utilization of the knowledge of the scientific community available for the political leader. You and I are worlds apart. You live in what you would call your fantasy. While we political leaders live in our own, and it is not surprising that sometimes, these two do not touch each other. Yet, it is only fitting for the political leader to make use of this new wisdom which is alien to him, utterly removed from his back ground. You ask anybody at the Batasang Pambansa if he understands what you are doing. And you must forgive them because that is their training which we are trying to change—the disparity between academe and the man of politics. The man who has to go out and get the votes and sing for his dinner, as it were, while you keep within the confines of your laboratory in a world of the mind working out formulas and solutions to various problems for the ultimate benefit of the populace.

While I am at it, and in recognition of all these efforts, I think we should extend the Balik-Scientist Program. So I sign in your presence the Letter of Instructions extending the implementation of the Balik-Scientist Program for another five years.

When I created the National Academy of Science and Technology by an Executive Order, I did not anticipate that only a few were qualified for membership. The fact that up to now your roster has only 27 members in the academy is evidence of this.

Today, perhaps it would be best if I present membership to two more members of your community as National Scientists recognized as such by the National Academy of Science and Technology. The listing was for five with the recommendation that I choose one or two.

I therefore appoint or rather, shall we say, announce the following two additional National Scientists, namely: (1) Dr. Fe del Mundo, M.D., and (2) Dr. Eduardo A. Quizon, Ph.D.

The Minister wants me to sign an Executive Order reorganizing the National Science Development Board, thereby amending the Science Act of 1958 and other laws and decrees. I have this proposition. Why don't we let the Batasang Pambansa do this instead of the President, to lend it a bit more credence and dignity? It is not enough that the President be interested in science and technology. It is important that those who are helping him run the government understand the reason for his interest in this field. To repeat, not many people seem to comprehend your world, even if I do. That's one of my frustrations: I wanted to be a researcher and a scientist. But my father had other ideas. One day, he led me to his big library and said: "Whom do you guess is going to inherit all of this?" I looked at him and answered: "I really don't know. They have no relation to science whatsoever." He won out, though. I became a lawyer and I became President. I don't regret becoming either.

What I intend to do is to get everyone now interested in research. And I mean everybody, not just the members of the Batasang Pambansa or the members of the Cabinet. Every Filipino should understand what you are doing. What the man of science and technology is doing. What relevance he has to his daily life, to his food, to his environment, to his shelter, to his clothing and to his physical comforts, especially those in medical science.

Let us involve them in everything that we are doing. We should also see to it that even if I am not here, there will be others who can take my place and say, this is one of the most crucial activities of our country and of our government and it must be sustained.

And so, let me congratulate both the awardees, the two National Scientists and the young scholars, the awardees who belong to the younger generation. Whatever we, the older people, are doing is really for you. Many of the things we are starting now we will never see the end of, because we will be dead and buried by the time they bear any fruit whatsoever. But you will be there.

I have just directed the Ministry of Education and Culture as well as the Ministry of Science to the effect that there must be now a definite policy. Meaning, when we support a scholar in science, he must be so qualified that the government will back him up all the way to the utmost of his potential. On such arrangement, he has the opportunity to go higher level, to get a doctorate degree if possible, if necessary. This is not the policy now. Here in Science High School, how many of you will be able to finish a college degree? No one can tell because the government has no policy as to what to do with you.

From now on, however, if you qualify the moment you graduate from the Philippine Science High School, the government should guarantee to pay your way through to a doctorate degree. This amounts to more work for you, since you have to qualify periodically and maintain your scholarship. Incidentally, I was one of the few who didn't have to pay tuition at the U.P. through my long stay there. The happy consequence of this was that the money intended for my school fees went into my personal expenses instead. Which didn't mean I could spend this on girlfriends. Being one of those compulsive readers. I spent these savings on books.

I presume this is true with most of you. Should this program, this policy that I initiate today succeed in producing some uncommon intelligences that can work out new formulas and discoveries, then it will be well worth it. For there is really no quantifying or rendering value to the achievements of this kind in terms of pesos or dollars. These achievements are incalculable and it should therefore be a policy of the state, to see to it that such funds that are at our disposal, like taxes coming from the people, are in turn rechanneled to the people, to develop new leaders and promising minds among them that shall be utilized in the days to come.

This, then, is our purpose in celebrating a day or a week like this— Science Week.

Once again, we congratulate all of you and hope you will keep it up. Rest assured that while I am President, science, research and technology will be supported to the full by the government of the Republic of the Philippines.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the 50th World Travel Congress, October 19, 1980

Our Common Interests in the Pacific

IN BEHALF OF our people and government, I wish to convey our appreciation in being chosen to host this milestone in the history of your organization, the 50th World Travel Congress.

American relationship with the Western Pacific began with Commodore Perry's opening of Japan just before the American Civil War, and Admiral Dewey's sinking of the Spanish fleet under Admiral Montojo in Manila Bay in 1898. Since then, American presidents and statesmen have been wont to repeat and proclaim," America is a Pacific nation, as much as it is an Atlantic nation. Our interests in Asia are as important to us as our interests in Europe."

Our history books record that in 1898 before the Battle of Manila Bay, Admiral Dewey entered into an agreement with General Aguinaldo for the latter to resume the revolution against Spain. Since then America has acquired a staunch ally which has stood by her under the most adverse circumstances.

As Admiral Dewey went on to sink the Spanish fleet, Aguinaldo proceeded to conquer all the land territories of the Philippines except Manila, which was to be taken by the American troops.

Just as our people were joined together by the same ideals of freedom and democracy, so today I come to reassure you that the New Society which we seek to establish in the Philippines is dedicated to the same ideals of freedom and democracy.

Although in 1898 to 1902 the Filipinos fought against American troops, believing that America had reneged on the promise to grant independence to the New Republic under Aguinaldo, more than four decades later Filipino troops were to fight under the American flag in Bataan, Corregidor and the underground.

It is in America where lies one of the fountainheads of our country's liberties. From America emanated the general impulse that made possible the birth of freedom in the Philippines, so that, in a very real sense, the Philippines is a sister Republic of America.

The grant of political emancipation to the Philippines on July 4, 1946 in accordance with the Tydings-McDuffie Law, initiated the dismantling of colonialism all through Asia, a historic process that was to extend to Africa and throughout the world. It was here in the Philippines, therefore, that America achieved the historic honor of pioneering the vast extension of the frontiers of freedom through the emergence of so many sovereign states.

It was precisely this prevailing spirit of freedom and ideals of democracy which prompted the Filipino revolutionary leaders of 1898 to join hands with Admiral Dewey and other Americans even before a single American soldier had landed on Philippine soil.

It matters not now that we disagreed on the procedures and timing for Philippine independence, for your enlightened colonial policy redeemed all of these and the Filipino soldier committed himself in battles under your flag.

And today America and the Philippines are bound together by three military agreements: The Mutual Defense Pact, the Military Assistance Treaty, and the military facilities or the Philippine Bases Agreement renegotiated only last January 7, 1978. It is through these military facilities or bases that American power is projected into the South China Sea to Malacca Strait, the Indian Ocean, and as far as the Hormuz Strait in the Middle East.

And although both Filipinos and Americans agree that the special relations between the two nations have terminated with the cessation of the Special Trade Relations on July 4, 1974, there are certain ties that bind us in an unusual relationship between a superpower and a small nation of 48 million people like the Philippines. Although there was a tendency of America to lay greater emphasis on Europe rather than on Asia, we believe that today America and the

whole world realize that security cannot be divided, that weakness by a superpower in Asia may spell weakness in Europe, that world power means global strategy and strength.

On the part of Asians we are aware that until the United Nations can develop into an organization that can guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of small nations like the Philippines, we will have to follow the policy of balancing power against power. This requires the presence of America in Asia. The grant of military bases or military facilities to America, therefore, is part of our modest contribution to the maintenance of stability and peace in this part of the world.

You come to the Philippines perhaps for the first time, and you are warned that the Philippines is under martial law, raising fear and apprehension that you come to visit a country where bloodshed is rife, where kidnapping, arson, murder, pillage and destruction are commonplace. This was true in 1970 up to 1972 but it was precisely because of this anarchy that martial law was proclaimed by me on September 21, 1972.

You came by the Manila International Airport, a temporary building that took the place of the permanent one that had been burned by the conspirators, for that was the rule of the day: anarchy. The leftist and rightist conspirators marched in the streets proclaiming that they were taking over the government, burning and pillaging, destroying whatever could be destroyed, immobilizing industries, attempting to kidnap ambassadors including the American ambassador, ambushing people like the Minister of National Defense, and attacking the residence and office of the President of the Philippines, Malacañang Palace, and attempting to assassinate the President seven times.

But that is a nightmare which we hope has passed and gone. Under the Constitution of the Philippines in 1935, it is specifically provided that the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and he may call on the Armed Forces to suppress any lawless violence, invasion, insurrection or rebellion; and in case of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, he may suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*. or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law. (SEC. 10 (2), ART. VII.)

The proclamation of martial law, therefore, was not an illegitimate act but was provided for by the Constitution.

There was a rebellion. There was an armed force seeking to destroy the Republic.

Democracy is not such an impotent institution that it cannot protect itself. Rather than merely maintaining the status quo, we sought to eliminate the causes of rebellion by bringing about social justice, equal opportunity and returning to the individual his identity and dignity as a human being. In short, the same ideals that prompted our forbears, Filipinos and Americans, to come together in 1898 to join hands against Spain and brought about the dismantling of colonialism throughout the world after the Second World War, the same ideal of democracy and freedom prompted the proclamation of martial law and the establishment of the New Society.

Today, we have proclaimed land reform and divided the big areas of land of big absentee landlords among the tenants. At the same time we provided the tenants with new technology, new strains of rice and corn, irrigation systems and farm-to-market roads, rural electrification, credit from rural banks, as well as markets for their produce. Land reform which, in the experience of other countries, caused productivity to drop during the first few years has increased our harvests not only twice but thrice. Whereas before we imported 500 million dollars worth of rice every year, we are now exporting rice.

We increased the minimum wage for labor and increased workers' participation in the profits arising from the new advances in our economy.

We are not content with the increase in the general economic indicators. We saw to it that these indicators also reflected an increase in the level of income and dignity of the ordinary Filipino.

We reshaped our educational system to conform to the needs of our economy.

We established a more pervasive social service.

We widened the base of political action by increasing the number of voters from eight million to 23 million, giving representation to the youth and to the labor sector as well as the professionals in the councils of the villages, the barangays, the municipalities, the provinces, and the National Assembly, or the Parliament.

We have moved forward aggressively to set up a truly authentic participatory democracy. We have held referenda and plebiscites and elections on the local and national levels. A new National Assembly was elected in 1978.

The Philippines is at the crossroads of the Pacific. We are at the central point of passage from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. In the South China Sea, west of the Philippines, lie the sea-lanes to Japan, China and America. Whether we like it or not, in case of war we are a critical military objective.

Time was when military strategists in America believed that all the United States had to do was to keep Japan at its side in order to dominate Asia, but not anymore. The Philippines and the South China Sea in the hands of the enemy would successfully blockade the Indian Ocean and prevent the projection of American power in the Pacific to the Middle East through that ocean. Thus your Seventh Fleet is based on Subic Naval Base and your 13th American Airforce is at Clark Airbase. Outside the United States the nearest repair facilities for your aircraft carriers nearest to the Indian Ocean and the Middle East is Subic Naval Base.

America is also the biggest trading partner of the Philippines.

The countries of Southeast Asia, more specifically, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines, have organized a regional cooperative unit known as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Speaking of the ASEAN region alone, we can see the directions of our economic relationship. ASEAN represents a total combined G N P of about \$75 billion a year, growing at the rate of 6 to 8 percent annually, and a population base of approximately 250 million people.

In terms of natural resources, the ASEAN region is blessed with almost every known and important resource. It produces 12 percent of the world's rice supply; 56 percent of the total world coconut production; 52 percent of the total world palm oil production, and 81 percent of total rubber production.

As for mineral resources, ASEAN produces over 70 million metric tons of crude petroleum, or about 3 percent of global output; 63 percent of the world's tin production; 7 percent of chrome; 4 percent of bauxite; and 3 percent of gold and nickel.

ASEAN trade with the United States today accounts for about 18 percent of its total trade with the world. And this trade has been increasing by an average of 17 percent yearly since 1974. The potentials of ASEAN-U.S. trade, however, are even more encouraging. For ASEAN is the fourth biggest market for the United States, and the Philippines, among others, is one of the biggest markets for American products.

To these we need only add that the ASEAN countries have stable governments, and all our economies in which free enterprise is the key engine for growth and in which foreign investments are welcome as a vital component of economic effort. In recent years, the growth of community and cooperation among the five member countries of ASEAN has led to a greatly strengthened climate for economic effort and trade with other regions, such that today ASEAN's potentials have greatly been enhanced. And I would venture to say that it is in ASEAN where the United States will find truly expanding prospects of her Asia-Pacific relations. And it is in ASEAN where the world may well witness many of the hopes of the developing nations coming to fulfillment.

As I have said in the past, "To function in Asia without Asian support is to build on shifting sands. The greater the power projected from outside into Asia, the more compelling the need that it should operate in harmony with Asian aspirations towards goals compatible with Asian independence, dignity and self-respect."

So I welcome you to our country, calling attention to the fact it was here in the Philippines that for the first time the American flag was struck down and surrendered to an Oriental power and the greatest number of American troops were handed over to enemy captivity. Many of your brothers are buried in Philippine soil. The battle monuments that have been established are also monuments that constitute a part of the proud heritage of the Filipino people. When you speak of Bataan, Corregidor and of the underground, we speak of the partnership between America and the Philippines. The Filipino generation that fought with the American soldiers dominate the Philippines.

There is a reservoir of goodwill for America and the Americans for it was America that established a national educational system in which up to now English is the medium of instruction jointly with the Filipino language.

Rest assured that those ideals of freedom and democracy which have bound us together in the last 80 years are the noble objectives of the New Society.

As I have announced repeatedly, and I reiterate it today, martial law does not mean the take-over of the military of civil power. On the contrary, it is the civil government that seeks to enforce the decisions and the laws but with the strength and power of the military. Arrests cannot be made without due process. Only those who seek to conspire to undermine the Republic need to fear martial law. But even so, I have promised as I promise again that by March 1981 I shall consider the lifting of Martial Law throughout the Philippines, provided that the economic crisis does not worsen and the security of the Philippines and the Filipino people are not threatened by the present conflict in the Middle East and Indochina.

Welcome to our country, therefore. May you enjoy your stay and may you bring more of our American friends to our shores that we may continue to strengthen the friendship and the alliance that has been existing between us for the past eight decades.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the resumption of the 3rd Regular Session of the Batasang Pambansa, October 27, 1980

Relief, Stability and Development

WHEN THE BATASANG Pambansa opened its third regular session last July 28, it was to convene under the shadow of growing disquiet and apprehension throughout the world; and our attention in the ensuing deliberations of this assembly was riveted to the all-encompassing issue of maintaining national stability and momentum in a new decade fraught with the omens of graver crisis still to come.

Almost three months have now passed since we opened our third session, and today as we reconvene the Batasan, it will surely seem to all that the disquiet and apprehension have not passed away. The world now is in a much more confused state. And our anxieties, our presentiments, our uncertainties have not been lifted from our hearts.

We look across the seas at the situation prevailing in the world, and we cannot help but note that in some ways the portents of graver crisis are being fulfilled. To the tension then prevailing in the Persian Gulf, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, there is now added the spectacle of a shooting war between Iran and Iraq, which has inexorably enlarged the dangers to global stability by reason of these countries' important role as oil suppliers. And this worrisome development has not been mitigated by any salutary development in, say, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where the fate of entire peoples continue to hang on the blade of aggression by a foreign power.

These developments in the security sphere have thrown into deeper crisis an international economy already long burdened with the difficulties wrought by spiralling energy prices, inflation, and declining global trade.

The impact of these developments on national life has been to mobilize the energies of the government and the people for the tasks of crisis management and national development. But side by side with our resolute efforts to stem the tide of crisis, there have also risen in our midst renewed efforts of opposition groups to take advantage of the crisis to weaken the will and the resolve of the nation. These efforts have taken the form of wanton violence and terrorism, which while in no way eroding the stability of government, has taken its toll on the lives of innocents and endangered the safety of public places and public assemblies.

To these, our common attention is called today by the nation, in the supreme faith that acting and working together, we will again lead the way towards national relief, stability and growth.

It is my task as President and Prime Minister to bring before this assembly the dimensions of the problems we now confront, and to spell out the program of action of government. To enshrine our objectives in enabling laws and in effective and purposive action by our people is the task of all.

The conflict in the Middle East at present has raised many complex questions about global security and international economic life. Its implacable rejection of all forms of mediation and its continuing escalation have raised the real possibility of a prolonged conflict without victors or losers. At the same time, the conflict is immeasurably complicated by the anxieties of nations which perceive their interests as inevitably joined to the hostilities. While everywhere we hear it said that all nations must strive as much as possible to stay neutral in the conflict, the tendencies of the day tell us otherwise. Already, a number of countries have weighed in to declare themselves on the side of one or the other combatant. And already, too, the Iran-Iraq conflict has served as a testing ground for the much more fearsome rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The issue, however, that has raised to fever-pitch the anxiety of the whole world is the critical question of oil supplies, which at the moment has been partially disrupted by the war in the Persian Gulf and which in the future may develop into a prolonged energy shortage should the war make difficult the flow of oil from other Middle East countries through the critical Hormuz Strait to the rest of the world. It must be said plainly that the reason the war totters so precariously on the edge of a much wider conflict is because of this global anxiety over oil supplies. And this anxiety will not pass until a settlement to bring the conflict to an end is fully negotiated.

Iran and Iraq, prior to the conflict, provided together about 20 percent of OPEC's total oil production. Today, both countries have virtually no production and are even importing domestic oil requirements.

The decision of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates to increase production is heartening but not nearly enough to meet the requirements. Their additional production is estimated at 1.5 million barrels per day which will partially cover the 4.5 million barrels per day which has been lost due to the cessation of production in Iran and Iraq. Thus, the difference of three million remains clearly as a shortage. It will have the greatest repercussions on the global economy, including ours.

Fortunately, however, we continue to maintain as of today a 120-day reserve in oil supplies which discounts the threat of an immediate shortage. Partly because of our anticipation of the growing border conflict between Iran and Iraq and partly from sheer luck, two tankers carrying oil to the Philippines were able to get through before loading closed in Iraq. The 120-day reserve is certainly vital. It will cushion us against any new crisis but it will not prevent such crisis within our country if the war is prolonged.

In accordance with our policy, we have government-to-government supply agreements with Kuwait, Indonesia, China, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia which provide 60 percent of our total oil requirements. The balance is brought in by private oil companies. We have deliberately followed the policy of supply diversification, taking care not to be too dependent on any one country or any one region for our oil supply. About 50 percent of our government-to-government contracts as a result are from non-Middle East sources.

Even today we are continually exploring new sources of oil supply. If you will remember in 1974 during a visit of the First Lady to Mexico, we signed an agreement for the exchange of technical expertise in oil development. We have kept this channel open and in 1979, I officially reiterated our request for oil supply. In this regard, I would like to mention here that as a result of the First Lady's visit to Mexico a few days ago, and as you are already aware, Mexico assured the country of supply beginning next year. We are hoping to obtain some oil also from Venezuela with which we have initiated some discussions.

I would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance of our ASEAN partner, Indonesia. During the height of the Iranian revolution and the resulting oil shortage, Indonesia increased our purchases from her 20,000 barrels per day to 25,000 barrels per day. She has again agreed to assist in meeting the shortage we may suffer as a result of the Middle East conflict.

The assurance of a supply under contract by our Chinese friends, even at their loss as a result of problems in the Middle East, is very gratifying.

In the immediate future, therefore, we do not foresee any difficulty in the supply of our energy requirements.

Our concern is that should a shortage develop next year, when inventories begin to come down, there will be a mad scramble for oil that will likely push energy prices to unheard-of levels.

In short, the present situation emphasizes to us once more how precarious and unpredictable is the energy situation, and how important to national survival is the program to develop our indigenous energy resources. It is proof of the wisdom of our decision—of the Executive as well as the Batasang Pambansa—not only to move into energy development, but to accelerate its timetable. Just recently, as you well knew, we decided to speed up our original 10-year energy program to five years, setting up as the target the sourcing of 49 percent of all our energy requirements in domestic supply by 1985. At this point, I wish to report that I have encouraged the intensification of the exploration of our petroleum resources, geothermal resources, coal deposits, hydro-power resources, mini-hydro, dendro-thermal, uranium, solar and other non-conventional sources of energy.

I have been advised by the Minister of Energy and I am pleased to announce to you that the Cadlao field will be brought to production in mid-1981, and the Mantinloc field will be operational by the end of the same year.

The untoward turn in the energy situation in the world may be expected to depress further a global economy that has been under constant siege this year. Prior to the Iran-Iraq conflict and its far-reaching repercussions on the economic environment for the coming year, the economic ledger for 1980 already was reporting lower productivity growth, sluggish investments due to internal stabilization measures, and further deterioration in global trade. The combined growth of developed economies of 3.4 percent in 1979 is now expected to slow down further to only 1 percent this year, and may altogether stagnate in 1981.

In laying before the Batasan at the opening of this third regular session the economic program of government, I laid the case for an aggressive development program in the face of a less favorable international economic environment. I said then that if we make urgent and decisive adjustments in our policies and programs, we can overcome the challenges of costly oil supplies, world trade contraction, and restrictive capital flows, and fuel continued growth in our country.

The challenges are heightened by the new turns in the international situation. The prescription for national recovery and growth remains, and will be our primary instrument in the management and guidance of national economic life.

The recent actions of government have been designed to minimize the impact of these external disturbances and maintain a policy of continued development. Thus, there is strong optimism today that many areas of internal growth and dynamism, particularly in investments, exports, agriculture and energy, provide promise for the future.

This is not a rhetorical projection of our hopes. This is, rather, the message borne to us by the record of economic effort in the year now ending.

Let us review our economic performance so far.

Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) achieved a modest growth of 5.3 percent in the first half of 1980. Agriculture expanded by 5.2 percent, as compared to the 3.4 percent growth in the first semester of 1979; industry grew by 5.3 percent relatively better than that of 1979; and the service sector recorded a slight increase of 5.3 percent, as compared to 5.1 percent in 1979.

The real Gross National Product (GNP) is targeted to achieve a 5.5 percent growth by year-end. This will be sustained by the continued expansion in agriculture, intensification of export promotion efforts (1980 targeted growth: 24.5 percent), industrial production (1980 target of 6.5 percent), and accelerated development of infrastructures and new energy sources.

Stimulated by favorable prices in the world market, particularly for copper, cobalt and nickel, mining and quarrying output showed considerably high growth rates averaging 15.8 percent. There was also a favorable growth in the public-utilities subsector of 11.6 percent in rural and electrification projects; waterworks were implemented as well.

Domestic investment, in the first half of 1980, expanded by 3.2 percent, as compared to 1.2 percent in 1979, and it is expected to reach 8 percent by year-end. Public and private construction which grew substantially during the first six months by 2.5 and 3.7 percent, respectively, is expected to rise further by year-end to growth rates of 9.5 and 8.1 percent.

The mobilization of resources for development is noteworthy in this story of how we are faring this year. As of September 1980, liquidity expanded by 15 percent while domestic credits increased by 23 percent. This provided additional stimulus to production. As of June 1980, long-term loans of the commercial banks constituted about 14 percent of total loans granted as compared to only 8 percent in 1978. The expanded commercial banking reforms are expected to generate greater resources and make the financial system more effective in supporting longer-term investments.

The expenditure program reached P24.0 billion during the first eight months of 1980 and will reach P38.0 billion by year-end. With this, the government provided the much needed stimulus to counter the slowdown in the economy.

Infrastructure still accounted for the bulk of capital outlay even as the capitalization for government corporations were increased to support the major projects, particularly in energy development and industrial restructuring.

Significantly, the balance-of-payments position for the first nine months of 1980 recorded a lower overall deficit of \$200 million, as compared to the 1979 deficit of \$568 million. Despite recessionary trends, our exports grew by 27 percent (\$3512 million) due to export development initiatives. Imports likewise increased by 15 percent (\$4617 million) as payments for crude oil and capital goods continued to rise.

The small deficit helped in maintaining the adequacy of international reserves at \$2.7 billion as of the third quarter of 1980; representing a 13-percent increase from end-1979 level and more than enough to finance five months of imports. At the end of 1980, the overall B.O.P. position is expected to register a manageable deficit of \$380 billion.

Efforts at price stabilization showed significant gains for the first nine months of 1980 as the inflation rate decelerated to 15 percent. This clearly indicates that the battle against inflation is being won, and will protect the public and strengthen the investment situation.

In contrast, the overall employment index (1972-100) increased by 2.4 percent as a result of employment increases in agriculture, mining and quarrying, transport, storage, communication and services.

The welfare of workers continued to receive major emphasis this year. As of the first semester of 1980, some 106,638 workers were placed in different labor markets abroad. As of August 1980, the effective minimum wages were raised to P29.85 for the non-agricultural activities in the capital region, P28.76 in areas outside N.C.R., and P24.70 and P18.67 for plantation and non-plantation workers, respectively. These new levels have been an essential means to protect workers from inflation.

It is not my intent to bombard this assembly with statistics whose meaning cannot be understood unless fully studied. I wish merely to emphasize that the cloud of uncertainty that hovered over the nation at the beginning of the year has been dispelled. And we have quiet confidence now that our policies and programs are doing their work of injecting new vigor and life into economic effort.

The salient point to remember is that in the areas where we have shown creditable performance in the past, we have continued to maintain our momentum. In rice and cereal production, for instance, surplus production has been fully sustained.

In the areas where improved performance was a matter of the gravest concern to the economy, as, say, in the export sector, the growth-rate has been high. And what is more, we have shown fresh capacity to penetrate a vastly depressed global market. Significantly, as of June this year, we recorded a trade surplus with two of our biggest trading partners: Japan and the United States which together account for 54.1 percent of our exports and 43.3 percent of our imports.

Finally, we have shown once more our capability to stem the tide of inflation, with judicious measures to protect the purchasing power of our people, to provide relief to distressed industries, and to stimulate productivity, especially in basic commodities and exports.

The grim predictions, therefore, of critics and oppositionists, who prematurely foretold the deterioration of the national economy, have been belied by the record of our economic performance.

But this may also be the reason why there has been a desperate effort on the part of certain groups to destabilize by whatever means the normal course of life and activity in our country. This may be the reason why the innocent spectacle of our people finding leisure in public places has been the regrettable target of terrorist violence. This may be the reason why the schools, even of the very young, have been the subject of terrorist threats. And this may be the reason why there seems to be a pathetic effort to prevent the international community from coming to our country to see what is taking place.

It has always been very clear from the very start that this mindless violence against our people and our guests has never posed a serious threat to the stability of the government and the nation. The boastful pronouncements of some notwithstanding, terrorism has done nothing to advance the cause of those who seek the overthrow of our government. Indeed, it has foredoomed it to the lasting condemnation of the nation, and of international society as a whole.

But we must be mindful of this threat, for in a savage way, it has done injury to many and robbed the life of a few. It has sown a measure of anxiety among our friends abroad, especially those who do not fully know the real situation in the country.

In this wave of terrorist violence, the bombing of the 50th World Travel Congress was clearly perpetrated for its shock value to our people and the world at large. And shock and outrage have indeed been its dubious fruits.

It is to be regretted that security measures notwithstanding, terrorists were able to wreak confusion on the ASTA assembly.

It is to be regretted that our guests, in the shock of the assault, were intimidated into cancellation of the public functions of the congress.

But while we must express our most profound apologies to our guests for this assault on an international assembly, let us frankly acknowledge that violence of this nature, which does not choose its victims or its venue, cannot always be prevented. This has been the experience of other countries; this is our sad experience now. And there is no reason for us to feel ashamed.

But let us also say now that by whatever means necessary, whatever action may be required, however long it may take, our nation now will act to remove this blight from our society.

This is not a call to action that will require us to curtail liberties or disrupt the normal course of life in our country. But it does mean a relentless campaign against terrorist groups and against those who blithely mouth the cause of anarchy and savagery in our society. With the utmost prudence, we shall endeavor to implement the limits of our laws governing the peace of public life. And we shall seek of this assembly whatever measures will be necessary to advance this cause, and of our people their unwavering support in a campaign to isolate and identify these groups in our society.

Of those who are now in custody, we shall seek the punishment and retribution commensurate to their heinous crime against society. Of those whose complicity in the bombings has been established, we have ordered their arrest and will seek their prosecution. Of those who may not be within our jurisdiction at the moment, we shall exert every means to have them prosecuted by our laws or by the laws of their present country of residence. And let all groups who oppose the government know that we do not quarrel with their right to disagree and oppose government by parliamentary means, but we will not hesitate in implementing laws the moment such oppositions embrace the course of violence, whether it be in word or in deed.

There will be no ifs or buts in this campaign. The period of hairsplitting and vacillation must cease, for they only tend to abet the work of terrorism.

And let no one here imagine, including those who count themselves as part of the opposition, that combatting terrorism is the work of our police and security agencies alone. Precisely because the menace is lunatic and mindless, there is all the more reason for matched and complementary actions together. And there can really be no success in this campaign unless each of us deny room for the terrorist to advance his cause and to perpetrate his assault on our society.

It was my hope in offering a dialogue between the government and the opposition that we could together defuse the tendencies to violence in our political life. I had hoped that even those who may have initially supported the initial

acts of terrorism would find their way to thoughtful dialogue, and I really had in mind to ask them quietly why it was necessary for them to resort to terrorism. I sought this venue before things became more extreme and complicated.

The sincerity of this offer was never in question. Time and again, the credentials for sincerity in dialogue of our government have been shown in our actions *vis-a-vis* the opposition. Whenever they had grievances, we listened to them. When they denounced abuses, we acted on them with dispatch. When they initiated agitation against the construction of the nuclear plant in Bataan, we took their stand into account.

Sincerity, therefore, was not in question. But, sadly, our offer of a dialogue was mistaken for weakness on our part. And the response of the opposition particularly of groups abroad, was to present conditions for the conference that were onerous in the extreme and calculated to prevent the dialogue from taking place.

Now we say, so be it!

If the course of the opposition leads it to total confrontation with the government, let us reply that we will so confront it.

And whatever distinctions or similarities there may be between the opposition and terrorism, let it be very clear that with an opposition prepared to work for peaceful political reform, we are prepared to listen, but with terrorists, we shall not and we will never negotiate.

At this point, with respect to the measures that have been taken to apprehend terrorists and contain the bombing threats in Metro Manila, I will report merely that we have already in place a comprehensive program to deal with terrorism. Appropriate agencies are involved in the program, and a system for policing the security of public places and effective surveillance of society is underway. In addition, we have not neglected measures to counteract terrorism should it fan out to other areas in the country.

These events have clearly posed new problems to the program of normalization we have embarked upon. And it is clearly necessary to undertake now a thorough study of the situation in line with my plan to lift martial law by March 1981.

The issue must now be fully deliberated on by the National Security Council, and it is now my intent to seek the advice of this assembly as well as other groups in reviewing the course that must be taken.

Here in the Batasan, concern has lately been expressed about the security situation in a number of proposals designed to assist the leadership in dealing decisively with security threats. It is my thinking, however, that these measures are perhaps unnecessary considering that many of their provisions are already embodied in the national security code, which codifies the various decrees and measures on national security. In many respects, the code adequately equips government with the means and powers to deal effectively with any emergency that may arise.

What may be more useful at this time is for the Batasang Pambansa to pass a resolution that will give support to the existing security code. And it may be appropriate that a committee be designated by this body to undertake this review of the code and the proposals in conjunction with members of the security council.

In addition to the codification of all orders, letters of instructions and decrees which were promulgated by me in relation to national security and which have been put together as part of the national security code, as early as after the last session, in view of the developments here and abroad, I issued a decree redefining subversion. Decree No. 1736 amends Presidential Decree 885, otherwise known as the revised anti-subversion law, so that subversion is committed by any person, association, organization or political party that is organized for the purpose of subverting the government of the Republic of the Philippines or for the purpose of removing the allegiance to the said government of a portion of the territory of the Philippines or any part thereof with open or covert assistance or

support of a foreign power or any foreign source, whether public or private, by force or violence, deceit and other illegal means.

At the same time, I issued a letter of instructions defining the crimes and offenses for which arrest, search and seizure orders may be issued with the prior clearance of the President. These involve principally crimes against national security and the law of nations as defined and penalized by the revised penal code and crimes against public order as defined and penalized in title I, Book II of the revised penal code.

As you are also well aware, I have issued Decree No. 1728, imposing the death penalty for any person who utilizes bombs and explosives in terrorist actions which result in the death of any person.

At the same time, in view of the discovery of the plot for the destabilization and the undermining of our Republic and in view of the fact that the Batasang Pambansa was not in session and it was a matter of urgency, I promulgated a decree on public order and safety which authorizes the incumbent President and Prime Minister as provided for in Amendment 3 of the Constitutional Amendments of 1976 as well as Amendment No. 6, to exercise the powers of control and maintenance of public order and safety like searches on checkpoints and issuance of the orders for arrest, search and seizure, provided that such powers shall be exercised or enforced only upon order by the incumbent President and Prime Minister on finding that there exists a grave emergency or a threat thereto, or imminence thereof, and that the enforcement of such provision is necessary to meet the exigency.

In general, it may be safely said that this decree on public order and safety act does not in any manner change or add to the power of the incumbent President and Prime Minister under martial law.

I also wish to notify the Batasang Pambansa that I have also signed into law a presidential decree declaring the banking industry as indispensable to the growth of our national economy and for other purposes, as well as a presidential decree providing fiscal incentives by amending certain provisions of the National Internal Revenue Code.

The first decree puts at par investments in the banking industry with those investments in preferred industries and therefore would qualify for exemption on the tax on capital gains.

The second decree which actually seeks to implement the Batasang Pambansa legislation on universal banking encourages deposits by reducing the tax on interest earnings on savings deposits to 15 percent on interest earnings not exceeding P800 and the final tax of 20 percent on interest on time deposits and deposit substitutes (money market). This is an equalization of treatment as well as reduction of the tax now imposed from 25 percent to 20 percent.

The decree also equalizes the capital gains tax on the sale and exchange of real property with that of the capital gains tax on real property. This means that the rates have been standardized at the level of 10 percent on gains not exceeding P50,000.00. The maximum rate for the capital gains tax is 20 percent. Under this treatment, capital gains will not be considered like ordinary income.

There are other features such as offsetting capital losses with capital gains.

The gross receipts tax on banks have been modified so that the longer-term maturity papers will be taxed at lower rates. If maturity exceeds seven years, there will be no tax at all. This is designed to favor longer maturity papers.

Let me say now that the attention now being directed to the sphere of security does not imply a dramatic change in the safety of national life. The bombing threats, however harmful they are to the safety of lives and property, constitute no meaningful threat to national security. The boastful pronouncements of various opposition groups abroad do not represent anything that should be seriously confronted for the moment. The recent disclosure that there are a number of new groups forming is no reason for national alarm; they are now effectively contained. And this is true in the main of the threats posed by the New People's Army and the rebellion in Mindanao.

What does require constant vigilance and attention at this point is the real danger that challenges to government will gradually focus on terrorist violence as a means to simply sow chaos and disorder. And it cannot be an idle matter to ponder what this might lead to should we precipitately lift martial law.

In Mindanao, we are seeing a favorable turn in the situation, quite apart from whether the Jakarta peace talks will take place or not. We have broken the back of the Moro National Liberation Front. Out of the original seven leaders of the MNLF, five are now with us, and one is dead. Only Misuari remains. If another election for MNLF leadership were to be held, only Misuari may be voting for himself.

Overall peace and order is returning to the troubled areas, and the promising developments are being pushed forward by local leaders, government workers, and rebel returnees working together. The Muslim leadership today is fully engaged with us not only in the pacification effort, but in the vital socio-economic development program for Mindanao. A number of projects that are underway are especially noteworthy:

1. First, we shall now organize the Shari'a courts, which is provided for in P.D. No. 1083 of February 4, 1977 and which the presidential committee on judicial reorganization has recommended for implementation. Implementation of this had been withheld at the urging of many Muslim leaders, for the reason that it was then felt that the high standards demanded by the law itself required a wider range of aspirants from whom to draw those who are to serve as district judges, circuit judges, Agama arbitration council members, and as jurisconsult. I have accordingly instructed the Minister of Justice to organize seminars—in consultation with and with the assistance of public and private legal and educational institutions—for purposes of carrying out a program of study in the various Islamic schools of law and jurisprudence. Thereafter, the Supreme Court shall, in compliance with the enabling decree, give the examination in Shari'a and Islamic jurisprudence for admission to special membership in the Philippine bar to practice in the Shari'a courts. From this membership shall be drawn the appointees to preside over the Shari'a courts. I consider the establishment of these new adjudicative institutions not only as a landmark development for our Muslim communities, but a landmark in the development of the judicial system in our country.

2. We have launched a major fisheries development program in Mindanao that is designed to encourage the rebel returnees who are also fishermen to form fishermen's associations and cooperatives, and to train them on fisheries technology and fisheries resources management. At present, the amount of P4.5 million has already been released to nearly 400 fishermen in the four regions of Southern Philippines. And various individual projects ranging from the establishment of fish shelters, fishpond development, fish marketing infrastructures, cold storage, and bullfrog dispersal have been commenced.

3. At the same time, a program for animal distribution on a region-wide basis has been launched by the Bureau of Animal Industry.

4. In industry, a textile mill in Cotabato is now underway. The great significance of this is that it reflects the new vigor of private sector participation in Mindanao development. And industrial development is now seeping into the once depressed areas of the Philippine south.

On the whole, Southern Philippines is entering a new phase in its once troubled history, which for the first time, truly promises peace and development. Whatever the peace and order problems that may remain, we can no longer doubt the direction that events are taking. And it is but a matter of time before the whole of Mindanao will truly be on the march towards development.

The favorable situation in Mindanao strengthens our resolve more than ever to continue with the program of political normalization.

While the renewed activity of radical elements and the wave of terrorism poses some thorny problems to the plan for the lifting of martial law by 1981, the longer-term vision of political change is fully on course. And there is no reason to alter our sights in the face of these isolated disruptions in our national life.

While the decision, therefore, to lift martial law must wait upon favorable conditions in 1981, the work to prepare the way for elections in 1984 must now begin in earnest. And it is here in the Batasan where this work must be carried forward, resolutely and wisely.

Specifically, we must deal, once and for all, with the issue of constitutional amendments that time and again has cropped up in the discussion of political change. It has been repeatedly discussed whether we should reopen the issue of changing the form of government prior to the decisive elections in 1984. It is my belief, which I commend to my colleagues in the Batasan, that we should not jump at midstream into another course before we have fully tested the system of parliamentary government. Whatever may be its initial shortcomings during this transitional phase, we have witnessed, I think, the virtue of combining executive will and legislative reason within parliament.

Then, too, there is the question whether the tenure of the members of the Batasang Pambansa should be changed. Under our existing law, the tenure of members of the Batasan is up to 1984, when regular members of the National Assembly will be elected and will convene. It does not seem prudent or useful, however, for the nation to undertake another election of members who will be in any case interim legislators. More important than elections now is for the Batasan to act as a legislative body preparing the way for parliament.

One task that clearly must be resolved in legislation is the question of whether elections of members of parliament should be by region or by district. At present, there is considerable divergence on the issue. And I would deem it important that the majority party first resolved this matter by party caucus.

The tendency, however, to jump from one system to another ought at least to be prudently discouraged, even if only for the reason that it tends to be confusing to the national electorate and suggestive of arbitrariness in our approaches to political change. Unless it can be truly demonstrated that regional elections militate against the reforms we seek, we should not undertake a change.

And yet there is evidence that our experiment in regional elections has been satisfactory, and conducive to the building of broader perspectives in the art of legislation. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that the COMELEC or the nation will find it more difficult to undertake regional elections rather than district elections. In fact, it may well be that the terrible disease of factionalism will be more troubling in a localized election rather than in a region-wide one.

Finally, I would commend to the attention of this body the matter of the qualification of members of the Batasan for the post of Deputy Minister. The issue requires thorough study, and we must make a final decision.

Whatever my thoughts on these matters, however, I am prepared to abide by the decision of the Batasan.

Legislation relating to our program of political change is one priority area of concern. Legislation relating to vital problems at hand is another.

Problems and circumstances now prevailing require, it seems to me, some adjustments in the priorities of our work in legislation, so that increasingly we devote more and more attention to matters crucial to the capabilities of government and the nation to deal with problems.

Since 1901, our judiciary has never been completely reorganized. As you are well aware, I appointed a presidential committee headed by Chief Justice Enrique Fernando and Minister Ricardo Puno, during our recess for the purpose of such judicial reorganization. This committee submitted its report on October 17, 1980.

I now submit to you the draft of the proposed legislation, drafted in accordance with the guidelines of that report.

It will be necessary for the Batasang Pambansa to immediately call committee hearings on this matter. The objectives of the reorganization should be the attainment of more efficiency in the disposal of cases, 450,000 of which are up to now unacted upon in the judicial system. This may require a reallocation of judicial jurisdiction of

courts, the abolition of some old ones, and the creation of new courts of different jurisdictions. It will demand the modification, amendment or revision of procedures which presently do not tend to the proper meting out of justice. I refer, for instance, to the fact that cases are held pending before members of the judiciary who have considered the period within which a decision must be promulgated as merely directory and not mandatory, resulting in pendency of decisions of utmost importance before such a court.

I also call attention to the fact that the courts have the tendency to issue restraining orders even without hearing on such complex and technical matters like service contracts in the movement of goods, the grant of forest concessions, the award of mining claims, and the operation of banks as well as the construction of infrastructure like public highways and public buildings and the public bidding that accompany them. The additional costs alone in the intervention of the judiciary by interlocutory orders or injunctions in public biddings alone can be calculated in the billions of pesos. The rules of procedure should allow the continuance of the public infrastructure to be constructed and public service rendered (for instance, in the service contracts in the piers and in the movement of goods) to continue during the pendency of the case with the income possibly deposited in escrow with the bank or with the court of first jurisdiction for disposal after the case is decided. In this manner, the courts would not be a party to wastage to a point of bankruptcy of public and private funds.

A third objective should be the elimination of dishonest, inefficient and incompetent as well as ineffective judges and their personnel. With an eye clearly set on the compliance with the due process requirements of law and the demands of equity and justice, it is now necessary that we ruthlessly extirpate any possibility of injustice arising out of dishonesty by the members of the judiciary. The members of the integrated bar and the public in general still have the habit of whispering in hushed tones of fear about judges that sell decisions. But seldom do we get any evidence sufficient to support such charges. At the same time, there has been inclination on the part of both executive and judicial officials to move over cautiously against corrupt judges.

This will require the patience, understanding and statesmanship of all members of the Batasang Pambansa.

In presenting its legislative program to the assembly, the government has taken pains to demonstrate the urgency of tax reform as a measure vital to our program of relief, stability and growth. Some of the measures embodied in the tax reform package are still pending with this body.

One important change which surely deserve your attention now is the proposed tax on individual gross income. A decision on this issue is needed. For clearly this is a matter that is of concern not only to government but to the citizenry as well.

It must now be said that we must fully complete the readjustment and reform of our system of taxation, so as to bring more method and mind to this vital aspect of government. In cases where necessary reform is designed to bring relief and assistance to taxpayers, we should not shirk the step. Equally, we should not balk at tax reform that will reasonably increase the resources of government.

The assembly early in its session approved the budget for 1981, but there are many officials in government, including myself, who believe that the loan component is still too big. We strongly believe that an effort now must be undertaken to shave this component further, and to assign that portion to improvement in tax collection.

With our performance for the year increasingly showing the salutary effects of our programs to contain inflation and to stimulate economic effort, we in government do not hesitate to ask of the Batasan the requisite support for its programs for the coming year which will be vital to the forward movement of national life.

Whatever may be the tribulations of the times—the sorry passes in which international life is trapped, and the lash of crisis upon our shores—there rises above the tides of crisis the clear and unmistakable strength and resiliency of our economy and our nation

Assaults upon our society take the form of violence not because we are relapsing into disunion and disarray, but because increasingly, as many in the world are finding, our nation is proving stronger and more stable than every

portent of upheaval and every forecast of defeat. Terrorism is only the desperation and admission of defeat of those who do not share our cause.

We have been through a storm throughout the year, and we have weathered it. Now we stand in the eye of yet another gale breaking upon us, and on the world.

Let us therefore hold fast to the course that we have taken, open and prepared to undertake every adjustment that is necessary, and resolute in the prosecution of our purposes and programs.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the opening session of the 20th General Assembly of the International Social Security Association, October 28, 1980

A Stronger Lever for Social Security

DR. DEJARDIN, YOUR Excellencies, distinguished delegates to this 20th General Assembly of the International Social Security Association: We do our respective work in our societies, often conscious only of the needs and the hopes that have to be met and never knowing that sometimes our work is noticed and appreciated by others. And when it happens that the appreciation is conveyed to us, such as you have done to me today, it is always a very pleasant and fulfilling surprise.

I deeply appreciate this very generous honor that you have conferred upon me, and I would like to express to all of you and your association my most profound and heartfelt thanks. But I must also frankly say that this medal of merit, if it means to honor the modest advances my country has made during the past so many years in the field of social security, is not for one man alone but for all our people to receive. For it should really be said that the truly important landmarks in social amelioration and social change occur not because of the efforts of leaders alone, but because of the aspirations and conscious agitation of an entire society.

So it is also our people's and our government's gratitude I convey to you in receiving this honor, and I will add that to the words of welcome and felicitations which we now extend you as you open your 20th General Assembly here in Manila.

This is, I understand, the very first time that the International Social Security Association is meeting here in Asia for its General Assembly, and it must surely seem strange that so vast a continent, in which more than half of the world's population live, should only be hosting this important assembly for the first time. Whatever may be the reason, we are glad you are meeting now in Asia, and we in the Philippines are indeed very privileged that the distinction of being your first Asian host should belong to us.

Your association encompasses a very broad representation of institutions all over the world that promote, protect and develop social security in all human societies. It is a measure of the growth of the association, and the development of global consciousness on the importance of social security that from the association founded in Brussels in 1947, I believe it was, which was limited to only the nations of Europe, ISSA today covers all the continents of the world and includes within its membership more than 300 institutions from 110 countries.

And it is a measure too of its growth that this triennial congress has come to serve as the global forum for fruitful changes and exchanges in social security programs.

To speak of the sense of solidarity and common purpose embodied by this association and this congress is not of course to ignore the great disparities in capacities that do exist among the members of ISSA. As in every international organization that is truly global in representation, ISSA is a family which cannot but reflect the real differences in wealth and development of the nations of the world. Yet there is no question, I think, that whether our nations be developed or developing, whether our institutions be located on the north or south of the globe, we all strive in our respective ways to live up to the standards set by ISSA for protecting, promoting and developing social security in our respective societies. Our programs may diverge in the volumes, levels and kinds of benefits they provide, but the spirit of service is the same.

In itself this is impressive. For plainly social security—as an organized means for providing humane support and insurance for working people and their families—is a concern that until a quarter of a century ago was hardly a global movement.

Its origins may be said to lie in the historical transition of human society from its old structure into the age of industrialism and modernity. It was in a very real sense a byproduct of progress: for as machines and industries began to revolutionize human society, so did the concern for human welfare begin to rise. But since this historical

transition was not to take place in the rest of the world until many decades later, social security moved in stages before it truly became the global concern that it is today.

The truly interesting thing, as I see it, is that social security as a tool for human welfare should have taken root at all in the poor and developing nations, not as a byproduct of their achievement of modernization but as a phenomenon rising side by side with their struggle for emancipation and development.

Today in the developing nations, social security has become as fundamental and necessary as the political rights so often proclaimed in the charters of national independence. And it is not uncommon to find today that social security programs are often spoken of as germane to the attainment of social justice and dignity for peoples in these societies.

I venture to direct special focus in this assembly on the progress of social security in the Third World, not only because this is the perspective of our experience, but because it seems to me that it is in the trends and developments in our part of the world where we will find the measure of progress of social security in our globe today. The social security schemes in the advanced societies may show us the heights and limits of this worthy case; the experience of the developing countries, however, is the measure of what the greater majority of human beings are deriving or are expecting from social security.

In a certain sense, social security may be said to be part and parcel of the so-called "Revolution of Rising Expectations" that enveloped the new nations in the aftermath of independence. Like the idea of economic progress, to which it is fatefully joined, social security was a promise that fired the imagination of millions. It was at the beginning—almost like the coveted image of progress in the West—a costly program that governments had to provide their peoples. But in the event, it became more than just a promise to be redeemed. What our countries discovered was the ineluctable fact that social security, human dignity and welfare and economic rights, constitute an integral part of the aspiration and movement of peoples to progress. And beyond being merely a means to satisfy popular demands, they are themselves tools for the achievement of social transformation and development.

The transition, naturally, from brave ideals to programs that truly work, is not an easy one, and it will be observed, as has often been observed, that there have been many false starts and wrong turns in the course of the developing nations. What we have discovered in the quest for development is the same in the case of our desire to provide for social security: that for programs to work, we cannot simply transplant the ideas of other societies; they must imbibe what Burke once called "the color of our circumstances."

As these adjustments are made, a little more realism begins to govern the provision of social security in our countries, and significantly too the concern for social security begins to be related to the drama of development.

In the vital function of providing relief for people against the uncertainties of life, developing societies in their securities focus their attention on benefits that they can truly provide. Gradually, these benefits broaden to include more and more benefits, as capacities for funding grew. They have not been too zealous, and, in fact, are often cautious, about bringing into the social security package the more innovative programs of the day such as unemployment insurance and family allowance, in part because these are really beyond their means, and in part also because they find it questionable in the light of their approaches to the task of development.

The interesting point is that as the social security program begins to be rooted in a realistic perception of what can and what cannot be done, the developing nations gradually begin to see the contribution that it can make to the national development effort. As the institutions and programs for social security are built, there also emerges a growing consciousness of the social and economic dimensions.

This intimate connection between social security and development is not strongly perceived in more developed countries where the fuel for economic growth derived from other factors, but in the developing countries, where capital accumulation and savings are a must for any forward movement, it makes for a difference that is not to be ignored.

One aspect of this convergence is, of course, the fact that social security tends to strengthen what is usually acknowledged as the most important and abundant resource of the developing country: their human resources. In this essential service of tending to the dignity and welfare of human beings, social security provides a lever whereby the vitality of the human resource is sustained and promoted. This is true in the protection given to families and in the services of medical care. This is also true in the more experimental schemes in some developing countries where social security institutions involve themselves in broader social programs.

The second aspect lies in the system of income redistribution and democratization that social security invariably provides. While the essential scheme primarily seeks to insure working people against the hazards of misfortune, the self-help program actually works toward a degree of sharing wealth in involving employers in defraying part of the cost of social insurance, in providing for care of families in distress, and in establishing a formula which invariably favors the low-paid workers and those with dependents. In some countries, the scheme may tilt even more towards income redistribution where additional schemes for providing relief are instituted, such as, say, housing and salary loan schemes. These benefits to social and economic life are more or less well known; what is of more recent currency is the increasing attention being given in social security programs in the developing countries towards the goal of assisting the critical saving and investment process of national economic life.

More and more we are witness to an effort of developing nations to involve social security institutions in the task of fueling economic development. We watch them undertaking efforts to build up social security reserves as a means to reduce current consumption, promote capital formation, and support economic development. And these have in no way interfered with the goals of providing social security benefits to working people.

While in the developed countries, there is generally no felt need to build up social security reserves other than an contingency funds, in the developing countries the desire has clearly become a matter of high concern.

It would certainly destroy the directions of social security if this development bias were to compromise the more immediate goal of providing social security to workers. But applied in a purposeful and enlightened way, there is no question that such a scheme commend study in the overall approach to national development.

What may be seen in the case of the Philippine experience is the growth of our social security programs into a total program in which benefits have multiplied, while significantly also it has become a tool for mobilizing resources for economic and social progress. And in a sense, our experience mirrors much of what is taking place in the developing world.

Essentially, we have an integrated social security program that is served and promoted by four complementary institutions, namely: the Social Security System which takes care of the needs of private workers; the Government Service Insurance System which attends to the needs of workers in government; the Medical Care Commission which especially administers our scheme for medical care insurance; and the Employment Compensation Commission which administers disability benefits and insurance.

As of now, our social security program provides all social security benefits promoted under ISSA auspices, except unemployment insurance and family allowance. The seven key benefits are retirement insurance, survivors benefits, permanent disability insurance, temporary disability insurance, medical care, employees compensation, and maternity benefits. Of these, medical care is the newest benefit added to our social security program when it was implemented sometime in 1972.

With regard to the scope of coverage, the Philippine social security system today has a membership of nearly 9 million, not to mention their families which when included would bring within the scheme nearly three-fourths of the entire population. At present, the system covers all our entire labor force, with the exception of domestic help and self-employed farmers.

Policy-setting and administration of our social security programs are generally typical of the current trends and developments in many developing countries. In fact, our system of administration and organization may have caught the interest of some of our Asian neighbors who have found some of its features worthy of study.

There is surely nothing here that will be in any way exemplary in the eyes of more developed societies, but we do take pride in the fact that our social security programs have served us well in the provision of relief to distressed workers and their families, and that in addition they have become a meaningful tool in contributing to a healthy climate of industrial peace, stability and economic effort.

One particular area in which our attention is now increasingly being drawn is the question of how social security can be broadened and extended to penetrate and affect our rural areas. It would seem to us that this, too, ought to be an area of concern to all those who make policy in the field of social security.

For we must acknowledge that in the main social security—as it is today—has a pronounced bias in favor of the urban areas and only affects in a very limited way those in the rural areas.

I have just come from another conference which probably has relevance to this particular point where I have just given titles to the settlements of the non-Christian, non-Muslim tribes in the mountains of Mindanao. There are a total of more than 4.5 million non-Christian, non-Muslim members of these tribes, and they don't own land. In short, when we speak of social security, the first impression is land. And this is why the land reform program is basic even to the question of social security.

Well, of course, all of this is germane to the approaches of our programs as presently conceived. But when we consider that the great majority of the people of our country, and of Asia and, for that matter, the entire developing world, are in the rural areas, it seems reasonable to ask why social security should not be broadened and adopted to cover the rural sector.

Here, admittedly, there are real and difficult problems to contend with, and availing answers and approaches will not come easy. But the task must be attempted, and we are inclined to believe that the future directions of social security in the developing world may well lie in a thrust toward the rural sector.

And I would tend to believe further that the progressive link-up of social security programs with projects that have meaning and import for economic development will find its fullest expression in the inclusion of the rural population within the scope of social security. This would include land reform.

The themes I have raised here are by no means new to the agenda of this assembly, and we are aware that some hopeful starts have been made towards giving answer to them. But this is only the beginning of what is obviously a very long route, and it is not, I hope, presumptuous of me to suggest that the cooperative efforts of the developing nations and the international forums such as this organization, will do much to get us on the road.

This is by no means to displace the sense of realism which, as I said earlier, has been critical to the development of social security in the Third World, and to displace it now with an idealistic agenda that is difficult if not impossible to fulfill. For it is to my mind prudent and realistic that social security now, here in our country and in others with whom we share “the same color of our circumstances,” should aspire to face up to the larger realities of our societies. In this way may well lie the future progress of social security in the developing world, and the hope that it will continue to provide refuge and security to more and more of our peoples.

May I then congratulate the ISSA. May I congratulate Dr. Dejardin and the officers of this organization. That in a world that is driven and divided by people bent on killing and incinerating each other, there are well-meaning and idealistic men and women who can gather and think in terms of the more unfortunate members of our society, that there are such men is the hope of our world, the Third World, wherein the greater number of human beings belong.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos during the 2nd International Conference on the Role of Nongovernmental Organizations in the Prevention, Treatment, Rehabilitation and Control of Drug Abuse, November 3, 1980

Citizen
in the War on Drugs

Participation

I AM VERY honored to be invited to address this Second International Conference on the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in the Prevention, Treatment, Rehabilitation and Control of Drug Abuse, and we are very pleased that the Philippines has taken a signal role in organizing this conference alongside the Colombo Plan Bureau of the International Council on Alcohol and Addictions.

We are very much aware of the indispensable role that non-government organizations play in the all-important campaign against drug abuse. Indeed, we recognize that there can be no success in the actions and initiatives of government in the fight against drugs where the civic spirit does not match governmental will.

This is the importance we all attach to this Second International Conference on Drug Abuse. We in the Philippines are again very hopeful that we shall have the opportunity to share in the key deliberations of this meeting.

Historically, the Philippines has been spared from the excesses of drug abuse. Unlike other countries in this part of the world, we have been comparatively free of the social scourge of drug addiction until well into the current era. This has been attributed to a number of factors among which are the country's geographical position which made the traffic of illegal drugs difficult; the absence of indigenous flora and substances that could have been processed into opiates; and a level of social and cultural development that discouraged, as well as facilitated the monitoring of, drug abuse and dependence.

Like alcoholism and venereal disease, drug abuse is a social aberration assimilated from and reinforced by alien cultures. Previously, drug abuse was virtually unknown in this country, except perhaps for the ingestion of certain alcoholic drinks, a native tradition which though widespread never did reach alarmingly counter-productive levels. For instance, at the time when the country's population stood at 20 million, no more than 60 persons were arrested annually for various drug violations. *Cannabis sativa*, or marijuana, was introduced into this country only in 1956 during which year a number of American nationals who were cultivating marijuana plants were arrested in Pasay City. In fact, it was only because of this and other similar instances that the Philippine Government then felt compelled to amend Article 190 of the Revised Penal Code to include marijuana as a prohibited drug under Republic Act 2060.

However, this uniquely fortunate set of circumstances did not prevent the illegal drug situation in the country from becoming worse. Over the span of a few years, drug abuse as a social problem grew to frightening dimensions. At its height in the early '70s, there were an estimated 150,000 drug abusers in the Philippines.

To be sure the combined efforts of government and private organizations have served substantially to reduce the drug problem such that by 1978 there were an estimated 12,000 drug abusers left in the country. Still, the work is far from over. Even if somehow there would only be one drug dependent left, we should still view the menace as a serious threat. On the other hand, certain recent developments have rendered the illegal drug picture more complicated.

Previously, the production and propagation of opiates had been restricted to small, isolated—and therefore, easily identifiable—enclaves, particularly among alien communities. Eventually, this underground industry began to spread its terrible tentacles as it acquired more sophisticated processing techniques, established and firmed up its links with international drug traffickers and, thus, gathered more victims. We have collected information indicating that the Philippines has become a major point of transshipment of opiates originating from the Asian mainland.

The proliferation of marijuana seems to have followed the same historical pattern. Other circumstances, however, have made the marijuana problem more perplexing. The growth of marijuana abuse coincided with, and was perhaps

propelled by, a number of worldwide events. The wars in Indochina, the rise of dissident movements both here and in the West, and the emergence of the so-called counterculture of the disenchanted youths of the West—which was soon enough aped by the young people of less developed areas—all these contributed to the popularization of illegal drugs, most especially marijuana.

As a logical consequence, the cultivation of *cannabis sativa* and its production into marijuana became increasingly lucrative, thereby attracting the involvement of criminal elements. Though not indigenous to the Philippines, the plant has been found to flourish in local conditions. It seemed only a matter of time for marijuana cultivation to become widespread. Plantations of *cannabis sativa* sprang up in several regions. These plantations became so vast and so numerous that even now with the rigid enforcement of anti-drug laws, a significant number are assumed to be still in operation. A more alarming dimension of the marijuana problem has been confirmed by reports indicating that the dissident underground, particularly in Northern Luzon, has been cultivating and distributing marijuana for the twin purpose of generating funds and undermining the moral fiber of the national community.

Various theories have been posited and expounded in a collective attempt to determine the causes of, as well as the conditions that reinforce, this social phenomenon. For drug abuse, drug dependence and the mere production of opiates though serious, are mere manifestations of even graver flaws in our society. The all too dramatic popularization of illegal drugs occurred simultaneously with an increase in the social alienation experienced or at least perceived by various population sectors of all age groups and regardless of social strata. In addition, where traditional opiates are scarce or exorbitantly priced, it has forced drug dependents to resort to improvisations, such as imbibing industrial solvents. Drug addiction, therefore, is egalitarian in the sense that it recognizes no class, age, racial or economic barriers.

We must all learn to accept the undeniable fact that the Philippines, like many other nations, has so far been unsuccessful in eradicating the problem of illegal drugs. The approaches and methodologies utilized by either government or private agencies—and which are apparently mere derivatives of Western paradigms—have been found to be ineffective, and on occasion, even counter-productive.

Many experts agree that prevention should be given emphasis. Unfortunately, very little is known about this aspect of our work. One Filipino social scientist has observed that “preventive practices defy traditional evaluative, assessment techniques.”

Though no unassailable empirical evidence is available, it would seem that in societies where social control is prevalent and strongest, drug dependence and even mere abuse is less of a problem. The character and scope of such control may vary, and may originate and be exercised by traditional and undefined sources such as family, religion, peer group, and more institutionalized, clearly coercive mechanisms such as laws, the police and the judicial courts. The strength and, for that matter, the weakness of social control may result from either ideological persuasion or the level of social development or cultural considerations or a combination of these. Nevertheless, it is evident that a concerned, committed and actively participant citizenry plays a crucial role in addressing those issues over which a society feels endangered. We would, therefore, have to advance the proposition that only a situation where the majority of the citizens are sufficiently united to resolve certain problems and safeguard established values and norms of conduct, only with this most principal of conditions, can we find a lasting solution to the drug problem.

We must, therefore, take the fullest advantage of this rare opportunity for the government and other sectors of the citizenry to come together. We know how all of us have been working in the campaign against illegal drugs. Though our combination of forces is formidable, it is still not enough to finally put an end to this matter. We must expand our ranks, we must recruit and mobilize to our cause more individuals and institutions.

We must broaden the coverage of our work and apply those insights we all gain from the exchange of experiences. For what is at stake is not merely the mental and physical health of a few thousand persons. What is at stake is the survival of those very ideals and institutions that have made and make us what we are.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Address of President Marcos at the 7th International Tobacco Congress and 13th General Assembly of the Cooperation Center for Scientific Research Relative to Tobacco (CORESTA), November 10, 1980

Equity in the Tobacco Industry

IT IS A great privilege for our country and our people to host this 7th International Tobacco Congress and 13th General Assembly of the Cooperation Center for Scientific Research, and it is for me personally a high honor to be invited to address you.

When I address this forum I am aware that I speak to a select community whose work is vital to the development and the future of the world tobacco industry. CORESTA has long been known to us all as the umbrella organization for global cooperation on tobacco research, and this congress, which takes place every two years, has been a vital forum for exchange and understanding on the latest happenings in tobacco research and development.

I have no claim to professional competence on the subject of this conference, but there are certain factors that make me personally interested in your deliberations.

I was born and raised in that part of the Philippines where tobacco is the major crop. I must admit that I have not managed to cultivate a personal taste for tobacco, despite the fact that in my province you can often see women of all ages, and sometimes young people, smoking and apparently relishing foot-long native cigars. But even as a boy I have had a very real knowledge of how important and vital this crop is to our people and to all the 80 countries in the world where tobacco is grown. This humble plant has secured the livelihood of thousands of families, financed the education of millions of young people, and led to investments that have generated other economic activities. Thus, although I have remained a non-smoker all these years, I have nothing but respect for this plant and for the many industries that it has spawned.

Admittedly, we live at a time when tobacco is at the forefront of a worldwide debate on the possible negative effects of smoking to human health. And it is not an issue to be taken lightly. But whatever the pros and cons of the matter, this is not the central focus of this conference. You have come here to address rather the issue of future growth via scientific research of tobacco as an important industry in our respective countries. For if we were to concentrate merely on the more dangerous aspects of tobacco, we would in the process be ignoring the economic blessings this product has somehow in its long controversial history brought to many peoples of the world.

Partly because of environmental conditions and partly because of world demand, the total world production of tobacco fluctuates between 9 million and 10 million pounds annually. While the movement of market forces that determine demand levels and the subsequent price of tobacco are hardly predictable and much less controllable to any significant extent, science can very well devise the techniques and other inputs that will make tobacco less vulnerable to environmental hazards. Already, scientific research has managed to bring under some measure of control such common tobacco plant diseases as black root rot, fusarium wilt, tobacco-mosaic and others. These have, in turn, permitted tobacco-growers to produce at optimum levels, making the cultivation of tobacco a less risky enterprise.

We must, however, take note of the fact that the cost of acquiring those inputs that control tobacco diseases as well as those that increase tobacco production is inordinately high for most of the tobacco-producing countries. The cost of these inputs for those developing countries where tobacco is a major crop has been pegged at levels that severely affect the competitiveness of our products in the world market. We are talking about the cost of fertilizers, pesticides and the accompanying technology that have made tobacco-growing in the developed world a lucrative business, but which make the same industry a highly speculative enterprise in countries such as ours. The developing countries that grow tobacco are in a very real sense at the mercy of those tobacco industries in the developed world. Because of the nonavailability of those scientific and technological inputs that enhance the growth and maximize the production of tobacco, we have had to rely on the developed countries to supply us with these inputs at what can be understatedly described as unfair prices.

At the other end of the process, we virtually have little voice in determining the price of our tobacco products in the world market. While it is a fact that most developing countries export their premium tobacco produce to more lucrative markets, tobacco consumption has nevertheless risen faster in the developing countries than in the developed ones. In the advanced countries, consumption began to decline with the circulation of reports connecting smoking with certain forms of cancer. In spite of this occurrence, the tobacco industries in those same countries have never been healthier.

The cultivation and smoking of tobacco were, in most cases, introduced into the developing world by those same countries which currently benefit most from the tobacco trade. In our country tobacco was brought in by the Spanish colonizers—a historical event that, in fact, sparked off a number of uprisings. When the Americans occupied the Philippines, they somehow managed to turn the local tobacco industry into a relatively efficient enterprise. Whether these events were beneficent or otherwise is not the point. What is, or what should be, of greater concern to us at the moment are certain international arrangements that place tobacco-growing countries such as ours at a serious disadvantage in the global network of the tobacco trade.

We have only to call to mind what I mentioned earlier about the fact that most developing countries export their premium tobacco products, generally tobacco leaves. We have had to resort to this practice because it is presently the only economic choice available to us. We would rather be in a position to export finished or, at least, value-added tobacco products, or perhaps manufacture better-quality tobacco products for our own use, but unfortunately we do not possess the necessary processing and manufacturing technology. We do not have it because there are certain entrenched interests that prevent us from acquiring it. And because tobacco products that make use of basic inputs imported from countries such as ours have become known as tobacco products of superior quality, our own home markets have developed an inordinate preference for tobacco products that bear some association with foreign brands. As a marketing recourse we have had to enter into licensing and royalty arrangements with foreign tobacco (especially cigarette) manufacturers, if only to gain some benefit from this phenomenon we call the colonial mentality in our home markets.

We are therefore seeking a reevaluation of such arrangements; we are, in fact, demanding a rectification of such imbalances. I need not call to mind the example of other developing countries which, because of inequitable relations forced upon them by a number of developed countries, had felt compelled to band together and make use of their natural resources to gain significant leverage in their negotiations with the advanced countries. I would like to assume that the advanced nations have learned the lesson, even if bitterly, that they must recognize the rights of those nations from where they derive their raw materials.

It may seem to the scientific sector of the tobacco industry that this issue is not related to its concerns. But it seems to us precisely a point to be stressed that scientific research must be harnessed for the purpose of achieving more balance and harmony in the world industry, and not for the purpose of merely conferring advantages on the more developed nations. It seems to me vital to the spirit of sharing that science be the hand-maiden of global growth and productivity in the industry, though of course science and technology transfer is by no means the answer to everything.

Fortunately, there is something to cheer about in the degree of research cooperation and sharing that CORESTA is fostering through its various programs. And I find myself hoping here, as you open your congress and your general assembly, that the spirit of cooperation in tobacco research will eventually be matched by equitable arrangements in the sphere of trade.

Let me close by wishing you a most pleasant and fruitful meeting in Manila.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos at the 31st Annual Convention of the Philippine Hospital Association, November 12, 1980

Public Health Beyond the Commerce of Man

BEFORE ANYTHING ELSE, allow me to extend my apologies for not being able to deliver this message to you in person. My absence need not mean that government and I personally hold this occasion to be of less importance. You, more than anyone else, should realize just how seriously the government, and most especially the President, view the issues that directly concern your organization. I must nonetheless beg your leave for my physical absence. Rest assured, however, that my representative has been instructed to convey my sentiments as well as to take note of every significant matter that is brought up in your gathering.

Too, I will not elaborate on the crucial role that the Philippine Hospital Association and its members play within the broader scheme of our national health program. As the principal institutions in our public health system, hospitals perform the threefold task of health care delivery, of education in the various medical sciences, and of medical research. Hospitals in our country have managed to perform these functions, in many cases, quite creditably, while in others at levels requiring further improvement. That a significant number of our hospitals are owned and managed by private organizations attests to the deep-seated concern within the private sector and the sense of mission that they have to safeguard the health of our people. On the other hand, the fact that our national health program still has to rely largely on private initiative should underscore certain flaws in our public health systems.

Historically, this inordinate dependence on the private sector to support some aspect of our public health programs has been due to the failure of previous administrations to provide the direction and attention required for a broader-scale approach to national health care delivery. This historical inability of the public sector may very well explain the commendable initiative that private organizations, mainly religious and professional, have had to exert—as a sorry but nevertheless fortunate contrast to governmental inability—in the field of health care, particularly the development of hospitals.

It is only in the recent era that government has seriously involved itself in the formulation of a comprehensive national health program that views public health from both its preventive and curative aspects. But even though we have been able to devise this broad program, it has had to be drawn up in consideration of the historical flaws inherent to our health-care delivery systems.

Health care and its delivery are issues of national importance. The state of health of our citizenry impinges on every aspect of our national life—from economic productivity to political maturity. It goes without saying that these issues should be the concern principally of government. Health care and its delivery ideally should, therefore, not be within the scope of private enterprise. Health care and its delivery should not be a field for entrepreneurial profit. Moreover, we have had to tolerate many instances where private organizations were able to make a profitable business out of supposedly nonprofit institutions. We have had to turn a blind eye to these activities simply because, despite the fact that this practice is obviously unethical, we could not afford to deny some segment of our population the health care services they have to have. This is a problem that confronts not only our country, but many other developing nations who are compelled to make the best out of available resources. Besides, through these institutions our people who can afford their services are able to benefit from the advanced medical technology they provide.

Nonetheless, we must not content ourselves with a situation where even in the matter of health, class differences—socio-economic stratifications—are so cruelly delineated, where a citizen of less means must suffer through cruder and less effective treatment simply because he is in no position to pay for more sophisticated health care. If we were to persist in tolerating such a situation, then all our other efforts at restructuring Philippine society would be meaningless. Every Filipino has a constitutional guarantee to live a full, productive and healthy life. A health-care system that discriminates between certain classes of Filipinos undermines the very foundation of our New Society.

We must, at this juncture, begin a rethinking of our mission as hospital administrators and as experts in health-care delivery. It is time we reaffirm our original mission: That of extending the best that modern technology can offer to protect the health of every Filipino. For every-time you deny such services to the poor, everytime you detain a patient who is unable to meet his hospital bills, every instance when you turn your hospitals into veritable five-star hotels, then you are contributing substantially to the forces of resentment, to the feeling of alienation that is steadily building up among our less fortunate countrymen.

Which brings me to the matter of the petition you sent me recently. I was, of course, delighted to note that you have pledged yourselves as an organization to promote the national health program. As I read on, however, I was somewhat disheartened by the tone of your other proposals. I do realize, naturally, that many private hospitals are now en-counterling many problems of a financial nature. I do realize that definite steps ought to be taken by government to relieve private hospitals of such pressures. As a matter of fact, I have instructed the agencies concerned to study the matter and come up with recommendations at the soonest possible time on your proposals that deal on issues as diverse as a request for liberalized terms of hospital loans and motor vehicle liability insurance and restructured rates on electric power and water consumption. Although I certainly welcome this articulation of your problems, still it has left me with the impression that you seem to be more preoccupied with maintaining the viability of private hospitals, not as vital components of our national health program, but as clearly commercial enterprises. It has somehow made me believe that we have not yet reoriented ourselves, that we have not sufficiently grasped the new-modes of behavior, the new codes of conduct, the greater range of sacrifices that are required of each and everyone of us in order to achieve the full development of our nation.

Instead, what we all must do is to learn to put self-interest aside, to hold in abeyance our pursuit of corporate profit, and from there con-template and eventually take action on those measures that can propel the fulfillment of our national health goals. Public health, after all, should not be within the commerce of man.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos of the President at the 48th General Assembly of the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol), November 13, 1980

Meeting the Challenge of International Crime

IN THE LIGHT of recent events that have taken place in our country and in other parts of the world, it is most opportune and significant that you should choose to hold this, the 48th session of your General Assembly, here in the Philippines. If belatedly, we have become inextricably involved in the worldwide pattern of international crime: from terrorism to international fraud and the international traffic of illicit drugs.

For our people it has been a rude introduction to international crime. To be sure, our government had anticipated this infection to eventually reach our shores. But when it did finally affect us, we came to realize quite clearly the urgent need for international cooperation in the worldwide battle against crime.

In the recent spate of terrorist acts to hit the country's national capital region, Metropolitan Manila, we have discovered indisputable proof linking terrorist groups operating here with organizations and individuals based overseas. We have been able to ferret out the operatives of these organizations who in turn have voluntarily provided us with evidence attesting to the international character of crimes.

While our government shall continue to exercise restraint in handling the matter of political dissent, we shall spare no effort in eradicating its most virulent extension—terrorism. Certainly, while we are aware that crimes such as terrorism are rooted in the social, economic and political conditions in any given country, we are also conscious that the criminals who perpetrate these acts recognize no national boundaries, respect no duly constituted authority and are callously indifferent to the general desire for peace and order among all the peoples of the world.

Terrorism, which employs such tactics as hostage-taking and indiscriminate bombings, among others, has in the recent era managed to tear asunder virtually every accepted international convention. While its avowed aim is in most cases the redress of some real or imagined socio-political slight, terrorism on an international scale has yet to achieve any tangible victory. Instead, it has wrought havoc, destruction, injury and death. Its perpetrators have only managed to alienate themselves further from the very people whom they champion or wish to win over. By the senselessness and brutality of their actions, they have rendered closed and shut those very same issues and causes they claim to espouse. They vilify not only themselves but also the causes they represent—no matter how morally valid at the outset—when they resort to violence.

But what is most perplexing about terrorism is that even now when we have been able to define, quantify and qualify it as a problem, we have yet to arrive at a practical solution to terrorism. Part of the difficulty in formulating the solution probably lies in the fact that as our political and ideological inclinations differ, so do our respective views and perspectives on terrorism—a fact which terrorism itself thrives on. Terrorism—regardless of its declared intentions and objectives—is an anarchistic phenomenon that plays certain governments and states against others. A nation that on one occasion finds itself the victim of one terrorist band may in another instance find itself coddling a similar group. A government that compromises its standing in the international community by its vacillation in the face of terrorist challenges to its authority can only expect itself to become a regular victim of such crimes.

We must of course always attempt to identify and root out the fundamental causes of political and social dissent. Governments every-where must recognize that dissent is merely a manifestation of problems deeply ingrained in our respective societies; that it reflects actual or perceived alienation by one social sector from the mainstream: from the lack of economic opportunities to the absence of political expression. And governments everywhere must somehow learn to accommodate these dissenting voices and, more importantly, take action on the issues they point to. This is the only pragmatic approach for a lasting solution to social dissent.

However, when social dissent—as in terrorism—exceeds the bounds of reason, when it chooses the path of violence, when it bullheadedly insists on having only its way to the detriment of the people and to the prejudice of duly

constituted authority, then governments must resolutely deal with terrorism, a matter that the terrorists themselves so aptly describe as a life-and-death struggle. For men of violence have little or no appreciation for dialogue; talk and negotiation, they employ only to gain some strategic or tactical advantage. Mediation with terrorism can only be temporary, never permanent. Governments, therefore, have not only the right but also the mandated responsibility to exert every effort, to make use of every means available to combat and defeat terrorism.

But international conditions have yet to make life difficult for terrorists. Technological developments in transportation and communication have on the other hand increased the range of weaponry that are at their disposal. Although responsible governments have officially condemned terrorism, recent events tend to put in doubt the earnestness with which certain nations are pursuing the campaign against international terrorism. Terrorists who commit their heinous crimes in one country can only do so when they have a safe and secure base to fall back on in another country.

The same lack of consensus and cooperative action appears to plague the worldwide campaign against the traffic on illicit drugs and substances. Due to the laxity with which certain governments handle this problem within their boundaries, the trade on illicit drugs has grown into truly massive and international proportions. Our own law enforcement agencies have been able to gather information which indicates that the Philippines has become a major point of transshipment of illegal drugs originating from the Asian mainland. More seriously, we have also received reports that certain terrorists groups have been actively engaged in this underground trade, probably as a means of generating funds.

Although the enormity of the drug problem appears to approximate that of terrorism, we should certainly find it much easier to arrive at some basis of unity for dealing with illegal traffic on drugs. For unlike terrorism, tainted as it is with ideological or political implications, there can be no wrestling over consciences in the matter of illegal drugs. Its perniciousness is beyond question. Its debilitating effects on individuals and on societies have been well documented. Its potential for corruption is an established fact. Yet, on this matter, we encounter the same hesitancy, the same apparent reluctance on the part of some governments to come together and work decisively to do away with the problem.

This perhaps explains why we repose so much hope in the Interpol as an effective weapon whose integrity is unquestioned in the fight against international crime. We, policy-makers who quibble over the finer points of international relations, should learn some lessons from the Interpol. For more than half a century, this organization has demonstrated how international cooperation should be practised. It has never been incapacitated by anguish wrought by doubts over its mission, which it has consistently and commendably accomplished over all these years. We therefore have great expectations of the Interpol: that it will continue to function as an effective deterrent to international crime, and that our assembly here in Manila will enlarge the degree of cooperation among nations that alone guarantees its success.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Forming A United Front

OVER THE YEARS, I've learned to look forward to this annual get-together of ours, to once more be among true and tested friends, my comrades-in-arms. Perhaps this is because, as one writer so keenly observed, the tie that binds men and women who together risked their lives and their honor for a cherished ideal is stronger than any other known to man. Ours is a kinship of choice. No force on earth could have compelled us into this brotherhood wrought in pain, deprivation and suffering but that irresistible impulse that comes from a singleness of purpose, a unity of devotion and loyalty to the fatherland. Some people have the notion that whenever veterans hold reunions, you can expect to hear long-winded narrations of actual or fanciful exploits. To be frank, I too sometimes find this tendency among some of our comrades rather tiresome. Still, I ask you, can they be blamed?

To me the sight of a veteran recounting his experiences, particularly to a generation that has fortunately been spared from the ravages of armed conflict, is of no meager import. By this gesture, the veteran is reminding younger people of the moral debt they owe to that other generation who without the slightest hesitation rose and struggled through every conceivable hardship in defense of our nation. There is, moreover, a profound and probably more disturbing aspect to this image. For that self same veteran tells his stories not only for the benefit of his particular audience, but also for himself. While he seeks to reaffirm his contributions to the national welfare, through some subconscious process he seems to ask himself whether those past sacrifices were of such substance as to earn him a respected place in society. For if we were to be absolutely honest with ourselves and tried to dig into the real meaning of our lives now, we would find that even if our past deeds were undeniably noble they always seem not quite enough. There are many among us who feel—not without some justifiable bitterness—that people in general have short memories; that their appreciation of the contributions of veterans is marked only by a tragically brief attention span; that even as the last shots of an armed conflict are being fired, the public has begun to forget its defenders.

Many among us seem to take it for granted that the struggle for us is over as we say to ourselves: Look, we've done our share and now it's our turn to sit and rest on our laurels. Should we sink into this kind of complacency, I seriously doubt whether we, though tough veterans all, could have any genuine claim to being patriots. Because people rather instinctively get over traumatic incidents as quickly as possible. No one, except for the dyed-in-the-wool warmonger, relishes memories of battle, of fighting. And, as veterans, we were integral actors in what are generally held as best-forgotten episodes, those flashbacks of death and destruction. In most people's minds, our deeds are best consigned to the pages of history—there to be retrieved only when unavoidable and necessary. For us to expect more would betray an attitude of excessive self-importance and would even cast into grievous doubt our motives. If we wish to remain as active participants in the more trying tasks of the present, then we must be willing to assume the duties of what can be termed as our continuing responsibility.

In our service to the nation, we ought to have learned the lesson that the struggle for nationhood does not end with the cessation of armed hostilities. We ought to have learned that war and other forms of conflict arise because an earlier generation of leaders had chosen to remain blind to the portents and causes of an impending catastrophe. We ought to have learned that victory does not come with the mere defeat of an enemy; that, in fact, it is only the beginning of a more arduous path towards reconstruction. The adage "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" is often quoted, yet its essential truth remains irrefutable. If these words are to be believed, then it must dawn upon us that our mission is far from accomplished. Even as we come out victorious from one front, another set of foes inevitably emerges, challenging us to yet another test of strength and will.

Sometimes these new enemies are faceless, vague external forces that even our entire nation by herself cannot hope to overcome. At other instances, our new enemies can be found within our ranks, taking forms and claiming motives that are ironically, yet deceptively, similar to our own. These new enemies are many and varied since we wage our struggle not just on one front but on several others.

It is of common knowledge what we have had to contend with to safeguard and ensure the security of our nation. So it would not be premature to announce now that our government has achieved significant breakthroughs in dealing

with the secessionist problem in Mindanao. Even as we've been able to win over ever-increasing numbers of MNLF members, we've also been able to isolate further the recalcitrant leaders of that movement. Through our encirclement campaigns in Northern Luzon and Eastern Visayas, particularly on the island of Samar, the government has checked the creeping influence of the New People's Army. Naturally, our primary weapon in these efforts has been the Armed Forces of the Philippines, although our principal strategy in neutralizing this momentum of social conflict is economic development. We have initiated and are continually implementing a whole array of programs and projects to bring back the disenchanted among our countrymen into the national mainstream. We have been taking action on what they perceive to be valid grievances. We are providing them with the means with which they may improve the quality of their lives. I am confident that we have so far been successful in convincing the great majority of them that in this New Society of ours lies their hope for genuine liberation.

There are, unhappily, certain elements and sectors in our society that will never be convinced, or to be more accurate, who will simply refuse to understand the meaning and the long-term consequences of all that we are doing now. More often than not, their list of grievances is vague, colored by ideologies and modes of thinking that are fundamentally alien and irrelevant to our people. More often than not, they belong to the upper crust of the very same society they wish to dismember. Historically, they are well-entrenched: some can trace their origins to what Marcelo H. del Pilar nearly one century ago called "La Soberania Monacal," now described by the more recent epithet, "Clerico-fascism." Others owe their historical beginnings to that class of Filipinos who consorted with the invaders of our country, and even made capital of these linkages with the colonialists to set up for themselves formidable economic and political kingdoms.

When we launched the New Society, among our first acts was to deny this class its traditional vise-like hold on our society. In the process we were able to release those countrymen of ours who had been caught in the grips of this oligarchic elite. Though we had made it sufficiently clear that we would no longer tolerate their self-directed exercise of power, still we were willing to accommodate them into our restructured democracy on the explicit condition that this time they should channel their energies towards the work of advancing the welfare of our people and our country. As it turned out, a number of them were less than contrite, less than willing to atone for their past errors. Instead, this small group of men, who as a consequence of their vast wealth still retained some influence, decided to undermine and undo all our recent achievements and, in a typically reactionary fashion, to deliver our people back to chaos and disorder. They have once more begun to work with certain foreign elements who, like themselves, would want to reinstate alien domination over our country. You know of whom I speak. The terrorist bombings that have only recently rocked Metro Manila constitute just one of the many threats they dangle over our heads. I have been informed by our intelligence community that this vicious minority had intended to eventually escalate their terroristic activities to include the assassination not only of top government officials but also the coldblooded murder of leading figures in the private sector, among whom are businessmen, industrialists, educators, journalists and intellectuals, a number of whom are veterans. They would have the country turned inside out.

Now, I ask you, to what end does this clique of displaced oligarchs and self-styled social democrats draw up this plot? Is it to bring back their own version of normalcy? Certainly, if by normalcy they mean the anarchy that gripped our society before martial law was declared. Is it to, quote, "bring the power back to the people," unquote? Certainly, if by the people they allude to themselves and that stubborn gathering of leaders who by the incompetence they exhibited when they were in power have disgraced themselves in the eyes of the nation and of the world. Is it to establish a healthier climate for economic growth? Certainly, if by that they refer to the old, iniquitous arrangements that allowed alien interests to gain and keep a virtual stranglehold on our national economy.

I've gone to some length at explaining these issues to you, my comrades-in-arms, simply because our people must once again call on your sense of duty, on your boundless and intense patriotism. On the people's behalf, I am asking all of you—even if many among you are already with us—to be even more vigilant, more cautious of the machinations of this clique of unscrupulous men. Our people are expecting from you the same brand of devotion that has helped make us what we are today to combat these elements who would have our nation again divided and without direction. In the face of their challenge, you, the veterans of our country's many struggles, must once more muster ranks with the rest of our people to form a united front to defeat this revived threat to our national security.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos at the Third National Population Congress, November 20, 1980

Population and Popular Welfare

I AM PLEASED to have this opportunity once again to join the many men and women and organizations involved in our population program at this National Population Welfare Congress.

In its previous staging this congress has served as an invaluable forum for policy-review and direction-setting in our population program, and it is to be expected that this Third Congress will once more serve this traditional task of the conference.

There is a sense, though, in which this Third Congress must be regarded as more significant and far-reaching than its predecessors, for we meet today with a full decade already behind us since we first launched the National Population Program by decree. Here, we have the opportunity to consider in sum the real advances we have made over a fairly long period, the problems we have encountered along the way, and the many challenges that have arisen. So that I cannot help but feel that as we commence the second decade of our National Population Program, the directions and the policies we laid down for it will gain more in confidence and understanding.

Looking around this hall just now, I see a number of faces who were midwives with me at the birth of our population program. But significantly, I notice here also many new faces who have joined the program in the course of the decade. And I can think of nothing that more vividly illustrates the vitality of our population program than this happy mingling of old and new apostles.

Ten years ago, advocates of population planning were literally pioneers working against a veritable tide of opposition to the cause. Some of us here today will still remember the many cautionary words that sought, if anything, to discourage us. We were going, it was then said, against the traditional wisdom that a population program would not work in our predominantly Catholic country. We were going against the economic wisdom which held that we should not invest in a program doomed from the start. We were going against the political wisdom which held that any advocacy of a program considered socially and morally objectionable was committing political suicide.

Against this chorus of criticism, all that we had was the conviction that if our country was to develop, we had to control the rapid rise in population, and the faith that our people when given time to fully consider the issues would also have the courage to make common cause with us.

The story of the cause—of how in the course of ten years, we turned around national perceptions of population problems and popular attitudes towards the population program—is a demonstration of what resolute will and planning can do to usher change in our society. It is also a story that does credit to the many hundreds of dedicated workers involved in the program, beginning with the handful who launched it and including the many hundreds who joined it along the way.

When we started out on our population-directed activities, we were mainly impelled by the neo-Malthusian predictions of impending disaster. Fear is a forceful motivator; and for us population control was at least anticipatory and at best evasive of what seemed was an all-too-probable specter that emerges from the dichotomy between dwindling resources and ever-growing numbers of people. Our determination to attain significant control over our burgeoning population was nearly hysterical, a fact that may have, nevertheless, helped us reach our preliminary objectives at a comparatively short period of time.

There is no disputing now the validity of our initial premises on the need for population control. At the start of this endeavor, we were a nation of some 33 billion whose annual rate of population growth was estimated at 3.01 percent. Our country had the dubious distinction of being on the list of nations with the fastest population growth rates. Difficult as the population situation already was, what made the general picture more alarming was that we were then a nation obsessed and preoccupied with more consumption .thoughtlessly expending our limited resources

while doing very little meaningful work to replace them, or at least to utilize them more efficiently. As a result, the more concerned sectors of our society were intimidated by the prospects of mass starvation arising from the ecological imbalance that an inordinately large population brings with it.

The zealous approach of our initial programs did not fail to jolt a considerable number of our people to view the population problem more seriously, and to mobilize action in support of the various activities. That in the last 10 years we have been able to reduce the rate of population growth from 3.01 percent in 1970 to 2.3 percent, should be adequate and concrete testimony to our initial success. Still, what we failed to emphasize during all that time is that the question of population can be likened to a hydra-headed monster, a factor that has a number of aspects which must all be regarded collectively and tackled simultaneously. It must be pointed out that the mass distribution and popularization of contraceptives does not make for a lasting solution. We then have to meet the prospect of runaway population growth within its proper perspective: that this problem, grave as it is, is but one function of a far larger social concern.

I deem it fitting that this gathering, through which we intend to evaluate our past activities and project our directions for the years ahead, should be held now, because before we move any further into this new decade we must once more reassess our position, reestablish our bearings and from there chart out a more relevant and potentially more effective course for the future.

We have, to be sure, been able to make our people become more aware of the danger that uncontrolled population growth would invariably result in more ruthless competition for limited resources. By resources we not only mean the basic essentials of food, clothing and shelter which by themselves are becoming more and more scarce. Beyond these basic needs, we refer to education, health, employment, energy and all the other accoutrements that define our civilization and establish for the individual his place and potential in society. Recent events have only served to underscore that the availability and extension of these resources are becoming increasingly difficult.

One option is for us to simply turn deaf and blind to these trends and thereby leave to the process of natural attrition the function of allocating scant resources. But reason also tells us that this option can only lead to chaos and the disintegration of current social values, lifestyles and, indeed, the whole pattern of civilized existence. Fortunately, we need not go through a debate on why action should be taken. We have already gone a long way. We have seen with our own eyes the rewards of determined and concerted action. We have tasted the fruits of success which ought to inspire and embolden us to strive for more. This should characterize our assessment of the population programs we have just undertaken.

All that, notwithstanding, we now arrive at the conclusion that population-directed action should now concern itself not merely with the control of population growth. We must broaden the scope and meaning of this thrust to include undertakings that would secure the welfare of our people, that would—to the best of our present capabilities and capacities—lead to a more equitable and judicious allocation of the scarce resources and material opportunities on hand.

The most pressing work of this congress is the formulation of approaches that would reconcile population pressures with such essential areas of our national life as energy, health, employment and education.

The recent years should have made us adequately aware of our present vulnerability in the face of the energy crisis. We have been caught in midstream by this crisis, between a stage of subsistence-sufficiency and a stage of industrialization. In this predicament we have chosen to forge ahead; and central to this decision is the development and channeling of limited energy resources to those areas that would sustain the momentum of economic growth. We are now harnessing previously untapped indigenous energy sources even as we continue to cut down our dependence on imported fuels. Alongside these are other efforts geared to the most efficient use of energy, including energy conservation and allocating more of the same to priority areas. In more real terms, these measures would inevitably entail providing less energy to certain population sectors in order that all of us would achieve growth. This would mean more sacrifices—brief to be sure, but deprivation nonetheless—that have the potential for social tension.

For the 1980s, our national health program must address itself towards the delivery of at least primary health care to 46.7 million Filipinos. While this program incorporates the contraceptive aspects of our population activities, it would have to be generally directed towards the improvement of the health and nutrition of all our people. Moreover, it must institute checks to the prevalence of debilitating diseases which adversely impinge upon the productivity of our population.

On the matter of employment, it has been noted that 17.2 million people—equivalent to 61.4 percent of the total labor force—joined the ranks of our working people in 1979. In the coming years, a greater number of people will be available for employment. The figures projected are 21 million by 1985 and 24.7 million in 1990. To each and everyone of these people a job must be given. It cannot be disputed how we have been able to reasonably deal with unemployment, which we have kept at the manageable levels of 5.2 percent in 1975 and 4.4 percent in 1979. That we have been able to maintain a comparatively low unemployment average can be attributed to our economic development programs. But that is not enough, judging from how underemployment, low productivity and other factors are usually ploughed under by the mass of absolute statistics. It follows that in the coming years we must be able to solve these as well as other problems related to the disadvantaged segment of the labor force: women, the youth and the handicapped.

Finally, our educational system must not only be able to absorb the increasing number of enrolees. Just as important and parallel to this, our educational system must train and produce men and women who can become productive assets to our society. Even as we strive to generate the fiscal resources that would enable us to extend education opportunities to as many of our people as possible, the educational institutions should take it upon themselves to render their level of instruction more effective and relevant to the needs of our developing nation.

I have at best only skimmed through the probable fixtures of our population scenario in the years ahead, but already all of us should be alert to the awesome task and the countless details involved in securing the welfare of our growing population. As we open this congress, let us all bear in mind the seriousness of the work we have been called to perform; for from this gathering will emerge the strategies and policy-ideas that can keep our growing population in step with the demands of progress.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos during the 39th Plenary Meeting of the International Advisory Committee, November 24, 1980

Balance, Harmony and Growth in the Cotton Industry

WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE the honor you do us in convening the 39th Plenary Meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee here in Manila.

The plenary meetings of ICAC have long been known to us as the decisive forum for the discussion of issues and problems affecting the world cotton industry. And we are very much aware, as a result of our modest involvement in its work since 1976, that the International Cotton Advisory Committee counts within its membership the world's cotton producers and consumers, and that it has been most instrumental in providing the many members and sectors of the industry a panoramic overview of the world cotton industry.

So broad a representation of the world cotton industry must naturally show the great variety of our community—the differences between big nations and small, between highly developed economies and less developed ones, between fledgling national cotton industries and highly modernized ones. But whether the delegations present here tip on one end of the scale or the other, we are all part of one global industry, and this collective sense lays the stamp of gravity on this plenary meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee.

In the next few days, you will be addressing yourselves to the problems and issues before the industry in the new decade that has just unfolded. You will be reviewing the latest statistical information on the production, stocks, trade, and world prices of cotton. In order to decipher and understand what they connote about the prospects of the industry, you will pay attention to the many problems of the various sectors of the industry which seemingly collide and therefore must be resolved. And you will be addressing, above all, the core issue which confronts every global industry today: the problem of maintaining growth and development at a time when the world economy is in distress.

Already in the mind of everyone of us, even as we meet for this assembly, is the outlook for world cotton production in 1980-81 which has diverged sharply from earlier optimistic projections. The prospective crop is now expected to be somewhat below last season's record harvest. While global cotton acreage increased by 2 percent over that of last year, to 81.6 million acres, average yield is now anticipated to decline to some 380 pounds per acre, as compared to the record 393 pounds tallied in the previous season. Hence, aggregate production is now calculated to reach about 65 million bales, which would be about a million bales less than that of the 1979-1980 season.

This is not necessarily the decisive factor that will spell difficulties for the world cotton economy. For as is well known, the industry has often had to cope with the problem of generating cotton utilization at levels to match production. But what must be of central interest to us all is the general effect of unfavorable economic conditions—the general slowdown in economic growth, escalating inflation and rising production costs—upon all member countries, some of which are bound to feel the pinch more acutely than the others. Especially must we be concerned about the competitiveness of cotton in the fiber market and the stability of cotton prices, which necessarily make all the difference between growth and decline for the world cotton industry.

The Philippines takes a very keen interest in your deliberations on these issues, because like all other members of ICAC, the future of our national cotton industry is squarely aligned with the prospects of the global cotton economy. Since we began active membership in ICAC deliberations in 1976, we have come to experience the close connections between our intensive efforts to develop our national cotton industry and cooperative efforts in the international sphere to achieve balance and stability for the global industry.

Our experience is that of a developing nation which has fairly recently entered into the headlong development of a viable cotton-growing industry, and which until now is more of a cotton importer rather than cotton producer. Our

decision to encourage the growing of cotton in our country roughly parallels similar decisions of other countries to venture into production.

First of all, from research studies we learned that cotton could be grown in the country with profitable yields and we saw in this an immense potential for our agricultural development program, and on the level of welfare for our farming communities.

Equally motivating for spurring the development of a national cotton industry was our position as a cotton-importing country. Up to now, our country imports approximately 200,000 bales of cotton lint for our textile milling industry, and this costs us an estimated \$35-40 million a year. The principal source of our cotton imports is, expectedly, the United States.

Today, cotton is the principal raw material of our national textile industry, accounting for 39 percent of the entire raw fiber requirements of our country's 35 spinning mills. When these figures are joined with the very pronounced need to clothe a growing population which by the last count reached 48 million, we see before us a situation in which we cannot prolong further our dependence on foreign fiber producers, without affecting greatly the other demands of our national development program.

The fact that cotton can be intensively and profitably cultivated in our country has been of course a major factor that has spurred our cotton development program. For beyond merely pining for relief from our dependence on foreign cotton producers, we know now that we have the capabilities to be a producer ourselves and even perhaps a future exporter of this important commodity.

It is no small cause for wonder to us why our country does not now figure prominently in the ranks of cotton producers. For when we look back to our early history, we find ample evidence of a time when our ancestors were intense cultivators of cotton and when there was a flourishing cotton trade with China and other neighboring lands. The Spanish historian, Antonio de Morga, in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, published in 1609, relates for instance that "cotton is much cultivated on the islands. It is spun and sold in skein to nations who come to trade for it." Other historical accounts dating from the time of the Spanish conquest to the middle of the 17th century similarly record the importance of cotton-growing to the native's economy.

The historical record further suggests that there was in the islands a fairly well-developed weaving industry, and an established commerce with other lands, principally China, based on the exportation of cotton goods. And it may then be concluded, as our historians have done, that cotton was at one time grown in commercial quantities in our islands.

In tackling the riddle of why the native cotton culture declined with the arrival of the Spaniards, we find the answer first in the fact that Spanish rule expressly restricted the old Philippine-China trade. While the object of this Spanish policy was to supplant this trade through the commerce being developed with Mexico, and not to discourage the native cotton industry, it did in fact had the effect of stunting the native industry. The Spanish monopoly of foreign trade which was based in Manila diminished the importance of the other cotton-producing regions, and in the end led to complete decay. It became more difficult to sell cotton surpluses at profitable prices, and consequently cotton-growers began to turn to other produce, as in Cebu where maize or corn became the substitute crop.

A second factor, undoubtedly, was the industrial revolution. Though for sometime cotton-weaving in the country was highly regarded abroad for its quality, as noted for instance by the historian-traveller Le Gentil, the industrial revolution and its new weaving techniques sharply changed the entire perspective of the world of cotton. In an ever-increasing volume, the machine-made textiles of the cotton mills in Europe supplanted the produce of the native handlooms in foreign markets, even to the extent of supplanting in the Philippines the native cotton products. What can be seen here is the ineluctable law of the modern age in vivid form, progressively and relentlessly, with the traditional crafts ceding ground to the more inexpensive and highly efficient techniques of a new and rapidly encroaching industrial age. And from here it is no big jump to the curious fact that in the memory of our people today, we find little to remind us that there was once in our country a flourishing cotton industry.

The lessons from this episode in our national history are not merely of antiquarian interest, for they reveal, I think, the principles and the factors that make for growth and development in every industry. We see in this, for example, the vital role of modernization and research in our industry. We see, too, how trade is crucial to the life of an industry that cannot be viable without a foreign market.

Taking up the aborted growth of our national cotton industry has been something like a personal obsession with me, ever since I discovered in my native region of the Docos and in my researches into Philippine history, that cotton was once a major product of Philippine agriculture, and can still be, given but the will and leadership of a far-seeing government. And that personal interest took a more practical turn when at the conclusion of various research studies made, the findings broadly confirmed the viability of instituting an intensive cotton development program in our country.

Following this, I directed in 1973 the launching of a national campaign to reintroduce cotton in Philippine agriculture. I established the Philippine Cotton Corporation with the assistance of the private sector through P.L. Lim and other cotton-growers and gave it the task of working towards the development of a viable cotton-growing industry in the Philippines, and by doing so, bringing about increased incomes to our countryside. Subsequently, we also established the Cotton Research and Development Institute to provide the indispensable research and technological input in the program.

In this effort, we have adopted an integrated agri-business approach, built around a foundation of small-farmer participation. We had 7,000 hectares planted to cotton last year. We are trying for 15,000 this year. We now have two cotton ginneries; modest, but a beginning, nonetheless. Eventually, we intend to increase our cotton fields to approximately 100,000 hectares. We are confident that, in time, we shall be able to reestablish cotton cultivation as part of contemporary Philippine agriculture.

The future of our yet fledgling cotton industry today hinges very much on the same considerations as that of the national cotton industries represented here today. We face similar opportunities and challenges. Scales-of operations, degrees of forward integration may vary, but common to all is the need to ensure the adequacy of incentives to produce in the face of increasing costs of production and the instability of market prices. All other considerations flow from this. Decisions and actions in cotton marketing, processing, and utilization are affected significantly by the costs of production of cotton, and its price at farm gate.

There is, on the one hand, interest in maintaining and enhancing the income generation potentials of cotton-growing, particularly among the producer countries. There is, also, on the other hand, interest in maintaining and enhancing the affordability of cotton as a raw material in textile manufactures, among both producer and consumer countries. While these interests verily appear to pull towards opposite directions, if one were to consider the world cotton industry as a single organization, a single system—spanning in a fully integrated fashion activities related to cotton production at one end, and activities related to the provision of clothing at the other—it is easy to appreciate the need for a continuing balance within this system. Only with the maintenance of a certain balance in the system can it survive.

From our viewpoint, we feel a special need to give attention to the cotton farmer at this time. And I would hope that in the course of ICAC's deliberations this year, even as it addresses itself to the various issues in the cotton economy, special emphasis should be given to the conditions of cotton production worldwide. For this is the sphere in which the cotton industry can be a decisive contributor to national development and human welfare in the Third World.

We in the Philippines regard the farmer—whatever his crop—with special interest and concern. We see the productive capabilities of our nation as depending in large measure on the ability of our farmers to bring forth the maximum potential of our limited land resources. And this is for the most part true also of other countries.

The cotton producer in various parts of the world needs to be given attention, whatever may be said for the need to discuss issues relating to consumption, trade, utilization and research in the world cotton industry. For the producer

lies at the heart of any commodity system. The long-term survival and progress of the world cotton industry lies in the continuing viability of its farmers.

I would also urge the committee, if I may, to give special focus to the area of cotton production research, towards further improving cotton technology, so that we may no longer be as vulnerable to the negative influences of nature—droughts, typhoons, insect pests, and diseases— and that instead we may draw from its positive influences the maximum benefit for the cotton crop.

These issues, taken in conjunction with our shared concern for the stability of cotton prices and the resolution of trade problems, are in our view the factors that will spell the prospects of the world cotton industry in this new decade.

But before I go on, allow me to make an announcement that should be of interest to our farmers, especially our tobacco-growers.

Today, we are constantly made aware by scientists that tobacco is carcinogenous and dangerous to our health. This has raised the moral issue of whether government is in fact protecting public welfare by not only tolerating but also even encouraging the cultivation of tobacco and the production of tobacco products to generate added income for the people as well as for government. In weighing these benefits against the costs, we must ask ourselves whether such advantages are enough to outweigh the hazards to the nation's health since doctors claim a 99-percent certainty about the cancer-causing property of tobacco.

With this in mind, it is high time to consider alternative uses for our tobacco lands. So today, I wish to announce before this meeting that the Philippine Government is now studying ways of converting our tobacco plantations into cotton fields.

We have in this forum both producers and consumers of cotton, large and small. The respective stands presented at this meeting will be expected to vary, because perspectives on our distinct positions in the world cotton community vary. I hope, however, that your deliberations over the next few days will prove fruitful in the quest for balance and harmony within the world cotton industry and beyond balance, growth for the industry.

In closing, let me extend to you once more my best wishes for a fruitful and pleasant meeting in Manila.

It is our hope that you will find our facilities prepared for you sufficient and adequate for your purpose.

To all of you who are helping to develop this country, which may become pivotal in the development of Third World nations that are unable to help themselves, we say, if we may not be able to repay you for your generosity in transferring your technology to the smaller countries, may God make up for such inadequacy on our part.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Speech of President Marcos before the Law Association of Asia and Western Pacific, November 24, 1980

The Law and the Problems of the Modern World

LET ME CONGRATULATE you for meeting once again. LAW ASIA was originally conceived to cover the countries with ECAFE. I understand there used to be eighteen member countries, and at present there are twenty. This makes me wonder whether the world is indeed getting larger.

The study of law, which is our common obsession, is certainly becoming of such significance that no matter how revolutionary changes may get, there is always an instinctive adherence to the rule of law by lawyers and non-lawyers alike. I was reviewing some of the new books that question all of man's institutions, private or government, and I noticed a common denominator: reforms, regardless of how revolutionary, ultimately aim at legality. The revolutionary who, for instance, takes over a government, still has to promulgate a Constitution. And what is that but a concession to legality.

In our case, there have been a number of legal issues that arose from what I would call a certain lack of integrity on the part of our lawmakers, especially those who wrote the Constitution. We are a country that evolved a system of laws which is a mixture of the Spanish and American systems. Written into the Constitution of 1935 is what is known as the Commander-in-Chief provision. Actually, this was lifted completely from the Philippine Bill of 1902 and the Jones Law of 1916 which were approved by the American Congress. These laws authorized the Governor-General to exercise extraordinary powers as a means to consolidate colonial authority. You can find the same provision in the Constitution of Puerto Rico, Alaska and Hawaii, to cite a few examples.

The President or the Governor-General shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and he may call upon the armed forces to prevent or suppress any disorder, riot, rebellion, insurrection, etc. In case of invasion, insurrection and rebellion or the imminent danger thereof when public safety requires it, he may suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* or proclaim martial law throughout the Philippines or any part thereof. This is what is referred to as the Commander-in-Chief provision in fundamental law. This was introduced to strengthen the position of the American Governor-General and was subsequently utilized by American Governors-General. The same provision was engrafted into the Constitution of 1935, a Constitution written by our people and approved by the American President.

This provision, you will note, utilizes the clause "in case of invasion, insurrection, rebellion, or imminent danger thereof when public safety requires it, the President may suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* or proclaim martial law throughout the Philippines or any part thereof." Under the Commander-in-Chief provision, there are only three stages of authority and power:

1. Call out the armed forces to suppress or prevent disorder, riots, rebellion, etc.;
2. Suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*; and
3. Proclaim martial law, partially or in its totality.

There are no intermediate powers and authorities.

We are also aware that the Continental or European concept of martial law is completely different from the American concept. The Continental concept denotes practically a state of siege or of war wherein the military takes over the civilian government. On the other hand, the American concept of martial law has been explained by some authorities as a system in which the civil government is supported by the military in a stronger manner. Essentially, the civilian government continues to function, but the military comes in and supports the police in the enforcement of decisions of the civil government.

In studying the Commander-in-Chief provision, you have thus a strange situation where people have different ideas about the meaning of martial law. And herein lies the controversy. The idea of martial law held by an American who

doesn't know his own jurisprudence or his own law is that martial law means the takeover of authority and power by the military. This is not the concept embodied in the Philippine Constitution. As I have mentioned, the martial law provision in our Constitution was borrowed from American jurisprudence. As a consequence, the interpretation of the term by American courts and American law has been adopted in the Philippines.

When I proclaimed martial law, cases were immediately brought before the Supreme Court questioning the legality or constitutionality of the proclamation. I went through great pains to explain that it was not a military takeover; on the contrary, the civil government was being supported by the military. So now the question arises: Couldn't the framers of the Constitution have adopted a more acceptable and palatable term than martial law? Up to this day, this is a question that is debated by the legalists and the lawyers of our country.

A chief executive may exercise powers which are not necessarily martial law powers, but which are within the spectrum of authority to counteract anarchy. These are not what you would refer to as strictly martial law powers. By what term can you call these various gradations of exercising power? This is a very interesting legal question. Naturally, law is a conservative element of society that makes for greater stability. Still, demands have changed. And you and I follow the Cardoso and Holmes principle that law is not an unchanging thing, for it is an evolving organism. Well, if this be true, then perhaps the Third World countries which belong to ECAFE should meet this problem.

To me, one of the most serious legal questions that have arisen in contemporary history is whether a more ingenious manner of balancing individual rights and governmental authority can be devised. As a Greek writer said 2500 years ago, too much private rights results in anarchy, and too much law or governmental authority results in tyranny. In trying to balance the two, one ends up with legal forms. And what legal forms are acceptable to the legal minds of today? Those that allow government to prevent anarchy and, at the same time, prevent the oppressive rule of a tyrannical government.

Many of the members of the Law Association of Asia and the Western Pacific, I am sure, have faced the same problem in varying degrees. In the Philippines, it is still something that has been studied to a point where there are many proposals to break up the Commander-in-Chief provision into various gradations in the exercise of power; but martial law would remain as the ultimate exercise of governmental authority. Between the call of the Commander-in-Chief to the armed forces to prevent or suppress a rebellion, and the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, for instance, are there any gradations of authority that can be exercised? If so, what do we call them? Between the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* and martial law, there are certain gradations in a spectrum of authority which can be utilized to attain the same purpose without causing conflicts between the individual and government. After reading the decisions of our own Supreme Court, I noticed the fascinating dimensions which have been looked into by the members of the Court I am sure this also happens in your respective jurisdictions, as it does in small developing countries, whether in Asia, South America, or in Africa I am certain that even in the face of a radical revolutionary change not only in government but in the institutions and the social forms that keep society together, there is an instinctive inclination to bring everything within the legally acceptable and palatable terms that unite all people.

Therefore do I commend such a subject to you for study. For, certainly, I do not know of any legal question more urgent now and in the future as more and more the legal and political institutions of every country comes under attack.

I congratulate you for your assiduity in holding this conference regularly. I admire the scholarly, philosophical, objective and dispassionate exchanges that often occur between lawyers.

In our country, we have quite a big number of lawyers. In fact, one man laughingly made the recommendation that among our export priorities, the first should be the exportation of lawyers.

You will note, however, that today among the big corporations, the first man to handle any new proposal of budget is a corporate lawyer; and the last man to handle it after everybody else has approved it, is the corporate lawyer.

Very few people know that I specialized in Corporation Law. Most people think that because I talk so much about the Constitution, I must therefore have specialized in Constitutional Law like Chief Justice Fernando. And all because in my youthful days I defended myself against an unfair and a framed-up case, others are convinced I must be a criminal lawyer.

Actually, when I was still practising law, most of my practice was in Corporation Law. Of course, you know that the multinational and domestic corporations must conform to what is legal, moral and the like. That is what corporate lawyers are hired for: to comply with the law, although the ordinary citizen seems to think that all we do is teach our clients how to circumvent the law.

Tomorrow, I open another conference of lawyers—the ASEAN Law Conference, with representatives coming from the five nations within ASEAN: Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines.

More and more, it appears that the social, legal and political thinkers are trying to catch up with the natural scientists who are certainly way ahead of the social thinkers and social reformers. The natural scientists have made quantum leaps within the last several decades. And it is the feeling of most observers of the contemporary scene that there have been more advances in the natural sciences during this century than throughout the entire history of mankind. But while natural science has moved forward, social and political science has dragged its feet and has not kept pace with natural science. Thus, you have this strange phenomenon of law trying to set up standards for outer space.

There is also the problem of defining the boundaries between nations. Right now, the practice of declaring a 200-mile economic zone is usually tolerated by most countries. There has been no formal agreement on this, but nations exercise mutual tolerance in this regard. But what happens when you don't have 200 miles between you? Then the matter must be settled between the states. For instance, there is no boundary line between the Philippines and Vietnam on the South China Sea, and we face each other between two islands that are so close that they are within artillery range. I suppose Malaysia and the Philippines are in the same situation. The same goes for Indonesia and Malaysia, Singapore and Malaysia. So what happens to the 200-mile limit?

Anyhow, I lay these issues before you because you are the men and women who are supposed to study this, and we certainly would be very glad to hear your suggestions. Decision-makers in every country eagerly look to your conference for guidance, especially on the development of the legal institutions that must face the problems of the modern world.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Speech of President Marcos delivered at the General Assembly of the ASEAN Law Association, November 25, 1980

A Legal System for ASEAN

THERE IS ALWAYS a feeling of tension and high expectations, if not of anxiety and fear, when more than two lawyers get together. It is said that the matter must be critical if it requires the presence of hundreds of lawyers. Today, however, the meeting of ASEAN Law Association here in Manila indicates something felicitous and conducive not to anxiety or fear but perhaps to a feeling of fulfillment and of the greatest and highest appreciation.

Once again, the Philippines has the privilege of hosting this gathering of the representatives of the peoples of our ASEAN community. For our people and our government, playing the part of host to an ASEAN undertaking is an honor we accept with pride. So I would like to begin by expressing to you the appreciation of our people and government for according us this privilege of hosting the General Assembly of the ASEAN Law Association. Let me also thank you for extending me the invitation to address your conference, whose concerns have been for some time now a matter of keen personal interest to me.

As far as I can remember, I have always had a profound fascination with the study of law and for the men who make a profession of it. This deep-seated sentiment led me to pursue law as a life-long career and obsession.

Most of the highpoints of my personal and professional life have invariably had to do with either the championing or the repudiation of some legal issues. Yet, ironically, I have never learned to relax my guard especially in the company of fellow lawyers. And this seems to be quite a wise attitude. If the jest is not readily apparent, then I must apologize for the crudeness of my delivery, for in fact many of my best friends are lawyers. This irony reflects the ambivalence of regard that many men of law encounter in societies such as ours. This, shall I call it, kneejerk of wary recognition, if not cautious reliance, that many developing societies have for lawyers should indicate the vagueness with which the importance of the legal profession is viewed by all and sundry.

Many lawyers in developing societies have been initially instructed on the fundamental concept of law as a conserving social institution; as that system of discipline that defines the limits of human conduct in the attainment of an orderly society. In this view such modes of human conduct are held to be universally and eternally enforceable in a non-changing social milieu; that law is essentially forever and permanent. This view can be best understood when taken as a product of history—of colonialism to which many of our nations have been subjected. And generally the experience traumatized most of our peoples into concluding the law and the legal profession are mere instruments employed by the colonialists and their native surrogates to rationalize and enforce their domination. In fact, even up to now, most of the leading legal minds in our respective nations had been trained in the fashionable law schools of the West. And this only serves, to some, to reinforce their suspicions.

In addition, lawyers in many developing countries are held to be extremely selective in their clientele, probably because their services are more readily available to well-entrenched interests than they are to the disadvantaged classes. We find no populist tradition or precedents in the legal professions as-it is practiced in our part of the world. What recurs more often in the public mind is the image of law and lawyers as perpetrators of basically elitist social relationships—an image that renders law and lawyers less endearing to our people.

To be sure, these views are both extremist and unfair. In many instances lawyers have been at the forefront of both social and national liberation, whether it be in Southeast Asia, Asia in general, Africa or South America or, for that matter, in the Western World. Enlightened legislation has managed to extend long overdue opportunities and safeguards to the less fortunate in our societies. Still, the notion persists—and probably remains, to a certain extent, valid—that the legal profession has been generally aloof to the call for social reform and development.

For such aloofness to exist among lawyers in developing societies is both, to my point of view, dangerous and self-destructive. Going back to Roscoe Pound, we hear him enunciate on the necessity of employing law as a tool for social engineering even as the liberation-driven peoples of developing countries strive to restructure their traditional

societies. Social change and reform is considerably more urgent in developing countries than it is in developed societies where social change, as described by Dr. Mochtar Kasumaatmadja, occur gradually through well established legislative mechanisms and the incremental process of judicial decisions.

It does not take too much intellectual effort to realize that social change as development through means other than law would entail enormous and incalculable social and political costs not only to the nation but to the individual. For without law the only other viable option is development through uninstructed, revolutionary change. If by indifference or by some grievous mistake we should allow this option to be the only alternative for change in our societies, then we would deservedly bring upon ourselves the disintegration not only of law but the annihilation of the legal profession and all the things that we value in our society. In a state of revolutionary flux, law and the legal profession would be considered capricious, obscurantist and even as an impediment to the uncontrolled unfolding of popular sentiment and mob passions. For in a state of anarchy, there is no law. It is the least of commodities wanted in any society. Should we at this time fail to take the initiative of making law and the legal profession serve the cause of reform and development, we would then be playing into the hands of eventual anarchy.

The lawyer in a developing society, therefore, should not only be a man of the law. He needs to master and utilize law as it affects and is affected by other factors that make for social progress and advancement. He must learn to view the legal profession not as the center of the universe, but as a potent and important force that can give direction to the complicated and complex process of radical change. The lawyer must establish in himself a commonality of interests and an identification with the aspirations of his people, while employing his skills and training to temper the possible excesses of popular ambitions, especially the men around him. The lawyer must be convinced of the possibilities of development within his own immediate society even as he realizes that in the world today progress in one developing society can be achieved only if development-oriented efforts in that society are coordinated with and consonant to similar efforts being exerted by other developing countries.

In a situation where the wealth of the world is progressively being carved out and appropriated by contending camps of political and economic superpowers, nations such as ours have no other recourse but to view and act on development and the protection of our respective patrimonies along internalist and regional lines. Regional collective action underlies the increasing respect and recognition that the world bestows on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN. ASEAN's presence is felt not only in Asia but in the rest of the world as well. The nations and peoples of our region have demonstrated by their unity and concerted action on a number of political and economic issues the extremely likely prospect of extending this regional cooperation on a far broader range of concerns and at a more advanced stage of integration.

The declaration of ASEAN accord points out as a task of the member countries the improvement of the ASEAN machinery to strengthen political cooperation. This provision forms part of a wider-ranging call to review the desirability of a new constitutional framework for ASEAN. When read between the lines, this call recognizes that the existing constitutional set-up—which in any case is provisional—would be inadequate for the increasingly demanding role that would be required of ASEAN for regional economic development. What must then be studied immediately is the possibility of creating an alternative, more unified and more potent economic-integration organization with a clearly defined international personality. The objective demands of development in contemporary times would require ASEAN to achieve a more advanced stage of economic integration that would be characterized by the harmonization of intra-regional policies on labor relations, taxation, industrialization and commercial regulation in general, as well as policies on finance and the treatment of foreign investments.

I bring up this particular issue now because of the contributions that would be expected of ASEAN lawyers in studying and possibly creating this vision of a regional economic community. The working mechanism of this integrated economic organization would of necessity have to operate within the legal framework of multilateral arrangements, and agreements. In turn these agreements should express the basic intentions of the countries involved even as they maintain the flexibility required by economic and political exigencies.

In achieving this goal, the ASEAN community would have to be forged by an emergent regional international law as the member countries would be linked by a constituent legal instrument. In which case, ASEAN lawyers would have the central responsibility of systematizing the development, clarification and codification of that law as a condition to the orderly course of social and economic life in the ASEAN community. In addition, perhaps, the ASEAN

lawyers would have to take an important part in the efforts to devise techniques and methods not only of avoiding disputes or providing procedures for their settlement but also of creatively transmuting binding rules into positive channels of decision-making.

In short the general responsibility of ASEAN lawyers from a regional standpoint is their active involvement in the construction, administration and elaboration of the emerging ASEAN legal system. For I have no doubt about it—it is emerging. And rather than let it grow wildly, let us nurture it and guide it.

I therefore recommend to the other ASEAN member governments the establishment of an intergovernmental committee that would on a continuing basis tackle legal matters affecting the region. In addition, I call on the ASEAN Law Association to assist this intergovernmental committee in the realization of its objectives.

In closing, let me wish you all a most pleasant and fruitful meeting here in Manila. Let us all join hands in attaining this noble objective that we hold so dear, and that is the supremacy of the law. No matter what our endeavors, no matter what the climate, whatever the time and whatever the danger, let the law remain supreme.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos before the National Conference for the Development of Children and Youth,
December 10, 1980

Having More in Life and Law

IT IS ONLY fitting and proper that there should be gathered here today so many of the young people of our country. As I see it, all of you are young—if not young in age, young of heart and young in mind. For it is for the young, who constitute the great majority of our people, that we have convened this National Conference. Whatever we of the older generation may conceive and consecrate here towards the development of our children and our youth, none will possibly come to fruition unless the young themselves take up the case of self-advancement.

I know of few occasions that bring so much pleasure to my official duties than the times when I have had the opportunity to join the company of my young countrymen. This is perhaps because our country is quite young in years and our New Society even younger. And thus your President always feels young.

Everytime one refers to the ages zero to 20, I remember my own younger years. I remember the many young men who lied about their ages so they could fight in the last war. I remember the many young men who had many dreams, many illusions, many hopes, and who ended up fertilizing our soil. Perhaps, it is for them that many of us, who belong to the generation which fought the war are rather sentimental and committed to the younger generation. We know how it feels to be young. We know how to feel indestructible and to seek danger openly, bravely, and even casually.

Therefore, I wish, first of all, to congratulate not only the winners of the Presidential Awards which we present to the best non-governmental projects every five years, but also the seventy-four projects which are recognized as the best among the hundreds of non-governmental child-focused projects for the first five years of the Decade of the Filipino Child. These projects should be duplicated in our barangays and held up before our citizenry as practical, workable models of community self-reliance, grassroots participation, and service to our children and youth from ages 0 to 20, who constitute today 58 percent of our national population.

I have come here today to commend these fifty organizations, eight ministries and government offices, and forty-two non-governmental national organizations, which have been presented historical markers by the Presidential Awards Committee headed by Justice Barrera. These markers are symbolic of their cooperation with my call to align our programs and projects with the national program for children. This shows we are all going in the same direction and that our efforts are coordinated and are not wasted. This means that our people are working together.

When I declared the Decade of the Filipino Child for the period 1977 to 1978, it was with the full understanding of the gaps and inadequacies of national policies and programs for the development of our children and youth before the advent of the New Society.

Before we launched our program of national transformation, there was no declared national policy and no comprehensive program explicitly for children which would constitute the legal framework and provide specific directions for government and non-governmental organizations to follow in planning and implementing child-focused services. Services for children were not integrated into the national socio-economic development program. Suffrage was a right exercised, for instance, by citizens of the Philippines not otherwise disqualified by law, who were 21 years old or over. Our youth were not, as a matter of national policy, an integral part of the process and structure of policy determination and program implementation, particularly for development projects affecting the lives and welfare of the citizenry below 21 years old.

Although our country has been a signatory to the United Nations Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Child since 1959, no law or executive order delineated the rights and obligations of the Filipino children so that basic services could be made available to them and greater opportunities would be opened for improving the quality of the lives of children, particularly, the sick, the disabled, the malnourished, the indigent, the disadvantaged, the neglected or the abused.

There was no cabinet-level coordinating body to set policies and strategies, to plan and program projects, and to implement decisions as well as monitor and provide feedback for activities focused on things that were of relevance to children.

There was no efficient network for delivery of basic services.

There was no systematic monitoring or development of projects being planned and implemented by non-governmental organizations.

There was no channel for recognition of the contributions to the delivery of services to children by the private sector.

Despite the results of the 1970 census which showed that children ages 0 to 20, totalled 21.6 million of our population, there were no attempts to monitor the incidence of child-related problems so that solutions to lower this incidence of mortality, morbidity and malnutrition could be planned and implemented. So, we just floated along. There was no national system for monitoring and obtaining accurate feedback on the status of children as these relate to the reduction of incidence of child-related problems.

Baseline data and reliable indicators for development were not readily available for realistic programming and allocation of resources nor were underserved, underdeveloped or the neediest child groups and geographical areas pinpointed for service targeting and delivery.

Now, I am not saying that we have done all of these, but we have certainly started to do all of these.

Several significant steps have been taken since the declaration of the New Society or martial law to insure the future of our country through the proper care and protection of the children and the youth.

On December 10, 1974, let me remind you, I signed Presidential Decree 603, the Child and Youth Welfare Code. Two years after on December 10, 1976 in your presence at a conference such as this, I issued Presidential Proclamation 1604-A declaring the "Decade of the Filipino Child," including the national observance of the International Year of the Child in 1979. On the same occasion, I also promulgated the national plan of action for the development of children and youth.

These two executive directives constitute what probably can be called the legal basis of our national policy on children and the youth today and provide the structure for a comprehensive, integrated program for the survival and total development of children, ages zero to twenty, within a framework of justice, equity, and compassion.

The long-range program for the decade is now part of the current socio-economic development plan of our government.

If we want our nation to develop, we cannot think of the present generation alone. We must transmit not only culture, tradition, and a form of government to the younger generation, but also our own values. And that is why our priorities are first, health and then education which involves character building and the inculcation of the moral and spiritual values necessary for citizenship.

Policies and projects for the Decade of the Filipino Child are evolved, planned, implemented and monitored by the Child and Youth Sector of the Council for the Welfare of Children.

The Child and Youth Welfare Code contains the basic rights and correlative duties of children, ages zero to twenty, and provides for the responsibilities of the home, government, and all social institutions to transform these rights into actual services for the well-being of children, so that the young should have more in law and more in life.

The Decade of the Filipino Child plan of action includes networks and systems for efficient delivery of quality services intended to trans-form rights into operational services and to make social justice a reality in the daily lives of children and the young.

When we spoke of social justice before, we always referred to the older generation. When we talked of social justice before, we meant the tenant, the farmer, the disadvantaged laborer, the poor in general. The truth of the matter is that the most abused members of our population are the young.

Created by P.D. 603 and operational since 1975, the Council for the Welfare of Children under the Office of the President coordinates, plans, programs, implements, and even monitors all child-focused activities of government and non-governmental organizations throughout the entire country. A network for immunization, prevention, child placement, and crisis intervention are now fully operational.

As of this year, eight ministries and government offices, and forty-two non-governmental national organizations have adopted and are implementing the ten-year plan of action aligned with the Decade of the Filipino Child and have contributed significantly to the nationwide observance of the International Year of the Child.

As of this year, too, 100 out of the 350 non-governmental organizations being monitored have submitted seventy-four national child-focused projects which are being recognized as meritorious and exemplary, especially by the Awards Committee headed by Justice Barredo. The 74 projects represent hundreds of volunteers and millions of pesos. They were chosen from more than 1,000 projects in existence today.

Seven out of the 74, as you have seen, have been given Presidential Awards of Merit today for the year 1980 and this award will be given every five years hereafter. These Presidential Awards are symbolic of the true partnership between the government and the private sector in nation-building. This cooperation between citizens of this country for the welfare of children and the youth shows that our people are united in working together for the peace, stability, and continuity of our New Society.

In 1979, the National Economic Development Authority, the NEDA, of which I am the chairman, and the Council for the Welfare of Children, with the assistance of the United Nations Children's Fund, completed the first national study on the situation of children in the Philippines. The study shows that 58 percent of the population or about 26 million in 1980 are below the age of 21, And that about 2 million infants will be born every year. Using the findings of the study, we submitted the country program for UNICEF-Assisted Projects totalling \$13.1 million for 1980-1983.

Gains have been monitored, and among these are the following: under the Ministry of Health from 2 million doses of BCG vaccines in 1977, there are now available 6 million doses of BCG, and Rotary International has donated polio vaccines for 1980-1983 for the 2 million children below 2 years old.

From 4,000 day-care centers in 1972, there are now 5,191 serving more than 700,000 children and being coordinated by the Ministry of Social Services and Development.

The Ministry of Justice along with the Council and the Armed Forces of the Philippines now coordinates a youth offender network for the 5 out of every 100 offenders who are minors. The rate has dropped from 9 out of 100 in 1972 to 5 only out of 100 in 1977, 1978 and 1979.

During the observance of the International Year of the Child, the first national study of 6,000 prisoners in the National Bureau of Prisons was completed. The ratio of youth to adult offenders has been reduced, I repeat, from 9 out of 100 at the beginning of martial law to only 5 out of 100.

Now, I don't know what this means exactly. Could this mean that the offenders are becoming adult? But, anyway, we are keeping our younger people away from the influence of criminals.

From zero in 1977, there are now more than 500 Barangay Councils for the protection of children. Eight cities, 21 municipalities and 17 provinces fully participated in the IYC, where before local government interest in children and child services was minimal. All those provinces and municipalities that are not participating will have to answer to me personally. I will inquire now from them officially why they are not implementing the plan of action that has been approved as a national policy.

While certain elements seek the path of violence and destruction, perhaps murder and assassination of innocent children and youth—this is something which is beyond my comprehension—those of you who are here represent the people who would seek development through peaceful means and are bringing about a democratic revolution and dialogue by raising our children and youth in an atmosphere of law, justice and compassion.

But, still, we must ask ourselves: What more needs to be done?

I believe that the benefits under the national plan of action for the development of children and youth should now be extended during the next seven years to every barangay in our country.

All children below two years should be immunized against tuberculosis and polio. That should be the target of the Ministry of Health. And I mean all children below two years old. I don't see any reason why not. We have the facilities, the means. It is just that in the past years we have neglected it. By the time a Filipino child reaches age seven, he should have had all immunizations available against respiratory and other communicable diseases.

It is noteworthy that our national program for children and youth emphasizes and includes a strategy for mental development covering literature for children. This strategy should be given further emphasis, particularly in the rural areas where the children, understandably, do not have easy access to available literature and other sources of mental and spiritual value.

Day-care centers in barangays should be doubled in number from the 5,000 centers we have at present to at least 10,000 by 1985. Yes— 10,000 by 1985. Pre-school and nursery centers sponsored by the private sector should receive the fullest support of our entire citizenry. To this end I call upon everybody for assistance, I call upon the more affluent members of our society to come out now and help the future of our country. We should recognize that these centers for children ages 3 to 6 are the logical entry points for nutrition, health care, disability prevention, and mental feeding and stimulation for the very young of our citizenry.

While it is important that we provide early and timely intervention for children—0 to 6— to prevent early death, disease, malnutrition and disability, let us not forget that this is also preeminently the time for the learning of values and for education in character.

All the experts now say you can teach almost everything to a child below the age of three; that period from 0 to 6 is very crucial and may very well determine the future of our country.

We need to intensify our efforts to maximize opportunities for our gifted and talented children who will inherit the mantle of leadership in the years to come. This is why I am very happy to see gathered here today all the leaders of youth organizations and the winners of the recent national Quiz Bee and music competitions.

Four years ago when I addressed the First President's Conference for Children and Youth, I said that all our programs in this sphere "will be useless and will not be fulfilled unless the young themselves exert their best efforts to fulfill them. Government can only provide the Constitutional and legal framework, but the people and especially the private sector and the young themselves must participate in the formulation of policies and in the implementation of these programs."

The New Society, from the very beginning, has been geared to giving those who have not participated before more participation in both life and law. The program for the Decade of the Filipino Child ensures that our children and our

youth who have less in life as well as in law will now have more on both counts through the actual delivery of services to the disadvantaged, the unreached, and the underserved.

Through the economic development strides we are taking, despite the energy crisis and inflation, we want to assure our young citizens today that the benefits of development in our country will be more equitably distributed to the greater number and will especially benefit you who are young today, and who are our nation's tomorrow.

It is for you finally, the children and youth of our country, that we strive today to meet every crisis and every challenge, and that we meet every obstacle and overcome it. We do so in your name to attain the full modernization and progress of our nation.

It is for you, the young, who are the greatest assets of our country, that we pledge again the best our nation has to give.

And I close, as always, with the possibility of being repetitious with the saying of Rizal in one of his novels. An old man was asked, "Why are you doing all this—planting the seeds? You are so old, you will never see the seeds grow. You will not be there to sit in the shade of the tree. You will not be there to smell the fragrance of its flowers and you will not eat its fruits." The old man said, "I will not be there, but I have children, sons and daughters who will sit in the shade of the tree, who will smell the fragrance of its flowers, and eat its fruits."

It is with this vision that we, the older generation, take care of the child and the youth.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Speech of President Marcos delivered at the 7th Anniversary of the Philippine National Oil Company, December 11, 1980

Energy and National Survival

YOU KNOW, MORE than seven years ago, I looked around to see where I could pirate an executive for the oil company of our government. And I picked on someone who was, like me, a golfer and a horseman and whose perspective and vision can equal those of the political leadership. We looked into the academe, into the universities and into all oil companies, in fact. But finally, we decided to steal the president and executive officer of DOLE Pineapple in the Philippines—Geronimo Velasco. I promised him he would stay in government only a few years. And when he joined us seven years ago in 1973 he practically wrote his last will and testament. I did mention to him that at the very most he would stay on four years. Well, I don't know what his continuance in government means. It probably means that he is enjoying his stay.

As early as the 1970s it was already being said that in time energy and oil would determine the history of the world. This was ignored by most leaders. But the leader who has taken it upon himself to prepare for the future cannot turn a deaf ear to the reality that oil is a finite resource. Someday it won't be there. Someday it has to be replaced as it is now being replaced in some places. And one of those places where it must be replaced is in the Philippines because up to now we have not discovered enough oil to support our energy requirements. Thus, we went into the development of various nonconventional or innovative sources of energy. In this program, the PNOC, Petrophil, and the Ministry of Energy are working together with the National Power Corporation, the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and the various ministries like the Ministry of Industry, NEDA, the Ministry of Agriculture and, of course, the Ministry of the Budget.

Thus far, we have been able to overcome the obstacles that have come our way. You know, this is a very happy day for all of us. For quite sometime now, we have been concealing the fact that Saudi Arabia had terminated our oil supply. We have been concealing this because we did not want our people to worry needlessly. But Saudi Arabia has notified us that they can now renew the government-to-government agreement to supply us with oil for varied reasons. We will not go into the reasons for this. But this was one of the principal reasons why the First Lady had to leave immediately for the United States. She was ready to go to Saudi Arabia, but we thought it enough that she went to the United States to get in touch with friends who could help us on this problem, especially the representatives of the Saudi Arabian government.

The ambassador of the Saudi Arabian government here in the Philippines has been a great help to us. He has listened to our request. He has positively supported our efforts to restore our standing with the Saudi Arabian government. I would say that he did most of the work of clearing up the misunderstanding which caused the cancellation of our allocation of oil from Saudi Arabia. So today we received this cablegram which says:

“Further to my telex dated November 17 concerning the crude oil supply contract, I am glad to inform you that now we are in a position to renew the Philippine National Oil Company's contract. Please ask your ambassador to get in touch with PETROMIN to complete the formalities and sign the contract on behalf of the Philippine Government.

With kind personal regards,
AHMED ZAKI YAMANI”

Last night and the night before, we were on the telephone with the First Lady. She was in touch with high-ranking officials. Of course, this was a matter that had to be brought to the Royal Family and to the Minister of Oil, Minister Yamani. And we had to answer questions on the Mindanao situation. It had become a political issue. This was why we were thinking that it might be necessary for the First Lady to personally go to Saudi Arabia, otherwise I would have to go myself and explain what was happening in Mindanao. Was it true that the Muslims were being liquidated? That there was genocide? That we were not doing anything for the welfare of our brother Muslims? And that we were not sincere in helping develop the entire Southern Philippines?

Anyway, this short message we received is indicative of the fact that all these efforts were not in vain.

So this is doubly a happy occasion, for today we also celebrate the 7th year of the Philippine National Oil Company. I believe I speak not only for myself but for the nation as a whole when I commend the officers and start of this corporation.

Seven years represent only a brief moment in the life of an institution, but for the PNOC the last seven years have been preeminently a time of challenge, during which it must have often seemed to you, the officials and employees of the company, that it had no time for infancy. Immediately at birth, the PNOC virtually had to confront at once the problems of bigness, of maturity. And such has been its dynamism and growth that today it is ranked as the 264th largest enterprise outside of the United States.

We must look back at the first seven years of the Philippine National Oil Company not merely through the narrow perspectives of its corporate goals and achievements. For the record of the PNOC's growth is in consonance with the national quest for self-reliance in energy.

I remember very well that in 1970 before I proclaimed martial law and after I had been reelected President of the Philippines, I proclaimed that we should develop the geothermal resources of our country. At that time I heard the most outlandish statements being made about my new proposals. The attacks and the charges were so loud and libelous that for a while our entire energy program was imperilled. Many politicians believed at that time that I was some kind of an idiot or a dreamer. How could you harness volcanic steam? They said it was quite all right to talk about it, but to spend hundreds of millions of dollars was something else. Why should we not establish instead thermal fossil-fired units? And so, there was this big debate in 1970.

When we first acquired our oil properties, there was another debate. Filoil was being sold to the government at a certain price, and the opposition said it was scandalously high. There was an overprice.

Anyway, we went ahead and we first bought 40 percent and then another 20 percent of the Bataan Refinery—all at very low prices.

Even after I proclaimed martial law, there were still many complaints and libelous charges against the national leadership on the oil issue. But then came the oil crisis.

You will recall that in 1973—hardly a year after we had put into operation the mechanisms for establishing political stability—our country was once more confronted by an event that gravely endangered our economic life. The worldwide energy crisis gave rise to uncertainties that not only threatened our capacity for further growth but also cast serious doubts on our capability for national survival.

The country had no secure supply of oil. The immediate question centered on whether imported oil was to continue to flow into the country in volumes that would sustain our economic growth. We were rudely jolted by the fact that the vital linkages to our traditional oil supplies were under the control of multinationals.

Again, in 1974, Saudi Arabia notified us that we were stricken off the friendly list. You remember that. And once more, we had to send, first, Minister Romulo; then, the First Lady. In 1974, when not even Minister Romulo could mollify the Saudi Arabian government, the First Lady had to go to England to see the King who was ailing. Then she went to Saudi Arabia and sought out the doctors of the Royal Family. And that was how she got close to the Royal Family.

Until recently, we did not possess a single ocean-going vessel, much less did we have a national oil company. Our government had no real experience in negotiating oil agreements with other nations. In addition, international competition for increasingly limited oil supply was becoming keener as worldwide consumption was growing exponentially. The possibility that the Philippines would be muscled out of this competition was very high. For more and more oil was being consumed by us and by other countries. Aside from uncertainties in oil supplies, we also had

to contend with the ever-increasing price of oil, which rose ten times, from \$3 to \$30 in a period of six years, from 1974 to 1980. Our oil imports used to amount to \$200 million. Now we are importing \$2.5 billion worth of oil. Thus, we were faced with the seemingly inevitable prospect of decelerated production and economic growth.

On the other hand, national survival dictated that we take a positive stance and the required measures to forestall the possibility of zero-growth that an energy-poor situation would predictably bring about. The character of our national response to the energy crisis is best defined, perhaps, by the organization of the PNOC and the formation of the Ministry of Energy.

From the very outset our objective was to achieve self-sufficiency in oil not only in terms of our current requirements. We also had to plot out our targets for levels of energy self-sufficiency that would conform with the broader development goals. We first had to acquire the means for survival; but more than this, we had to ensure that our energy program should fuel our total effort towards full economic progress.

When the government decided to establish a state-owned oil company, it took the first meaningful step towards insulating the country from adverse external developments related to the worldwide energy crisis. From then on we made up our mind that no longer would multinationals be awarded the sole function of acquiring and maintaining the country's oil supply. Nor will exploration, exploitation, and development of domestic oil sources ever again be fully entrusted alone to the private sector without commitments for active development activities. Henceforth, energy development in all its forms must fall directly under the responsibility and jurisdiction of the state, of the government. This explains why we had to cut off our total dependence on the oil majors since the motive that animates our energy development activities is the principle of self-reliance. The task of energy development is too vital, too critical to be entrusted to others. We had to do the job ourselves.

Today, a full seven years later, the PNOC supplies more than 60 percent of the country's total crude oil requirements. The PNOC tanker fleet of ocean-going and interisland vessels has a capacity of carrying our entire oil requirements of about a million tons.

When we started in 1974, we started with nothing. We had no money. We were broke. In 1972 when I asked the Governor of the Central Bank how much we had in the foreign exchange reserves, he said that our reserves were down to zero. In fact, he said, we had a negative level of foreign exchange reserves; our commitments were more than the available dollars. And then we had this problem with oil.

Today, the PNOC tanker fleet and storage capacities allow us to maintain a 120-day oil inventory despite the armed conflict raging in the Middle East. Did you know that we shipped a million barrels the very day before the fighting started? Let us not talk about good luck or ESP. Indeed, the Lord has been overly generous to the Philippines and the Filipino people. He has been very kind and generous to us. And we must thank Him.

But we must also continue to work. Through the Bataan Refining Corporation, the PNOC now has the capability to process crude oil into various products for different needs and purposes. Last year, the BRC exceeded its production goal when it processed 103,000 barrels of crude per calendar day. But now, it has increased its capacity to 150,000. In addition, the PNOC leads the national effort to develop the country's indigenous non-oil energy sources.

That is why we also gave out these awards for energy conservation. We keep talking about producing oil, buying oil, and things like that. Actually, the first solution to the energy problem is conservation. There is too much waste in the use of oil. The big industries must lead in this movement so that they may not only make money but also serve as an example to everybody. So we have today the PNOC supporting our geothermal, coal, and alcogas development programs and spearheading the energy conservation movement which develops and tests methods and processes for the more efficient use of energy from all sources—bio-mass, marsh gas, and alcogas. They even lent me a car that runs on alcohol. What did Minister Aspiras say? "That is a mobile bar," he said. And I told him, "You are not going to touch that bar."

We must, however, avoid the mistake of viewing the PNOC's performance in isolation. All its activities have been determined by and are synchronized with our total energy development program. In brief, this program aims to

reduce our national dependence on oil, manage demand at appropriate levels, and diversify the country's sources of indigenous and renewable fuels. Based on current estimates, the total commercial energy consumption is projected to rise from 97.8 million barrels by 1981 to 133.7 million barrels by 1985. The energy development program has as one of its objectives the reduction of national dependence on imported oil from the present 82 percent to a more manageable level of 51 percent. Considering the performance of the PNOC, I think we can be confident that it will attain this goal. The achievement of this goal entails the harnessing and development of indigenous oil sources and of nontraditional energy sources such as hydroelectric, geothermal, and coal.

Admittedly, the costs of achieving these goals are staggering. You just think of it *at malulula ka talaga. Ako ay nalulula tuwing papipirmahin ako ni Minister Velascowa kinasasangkutan ng* hundreds of millions of dollars. *Saan tayo kukuha niyan? Wala tayong magagawa. Kailangang bayaran ang langis. Hindi naman natin matatanggihan iyan. Ang wika ko, saan tayo kukuha ng pera para diyan?* Well, he said, we get it from the budget and the special funds and from our own corporate fund.

So the power development sector will be the most capital-intensive sector in our energy development program. It will require \$6.3 billion, or 66 percent of the program's entire budget. Energy-resources development will involve a cumulative financing of \$2.3 billion, and downstream facilities will account for \$1 billion of financing.

Since we began implementing the energy program, our initial accomplishments have been encouraging. And we should sustain the momentum. The Philippines today is the second largest geothermal power producer in the world after the United States. Ten geothermal plants are now in operation in various parts of the country. Within the next five years, the country's production of geothermal power is expected to reach 1,726 megawatts.

At the same time, Philippine coal production has multiplied at least seven times since 1973. From January 1980 to the third quarter of the year, a total of 204,000 metric tons of coal were produced in the country.

Some 43 coal-operating contracts have been awarded. By 1985 the contribution of coal to our total energy supply is expected to rise to 13 percent on a significantly scaled-up energy consumption level of 134 million-barrels-of-oil equivalent.

In the area of oil exploration and production, some 96 wells are programmed for drilling in our continental shelves and marine territories from 1981 to 1985. By the middle of the next year, the Cadlao field should be on-stream, and the Matinloc field six months later, I hope. We expect to draw 7.3 million barrels of oil from our own fields by 1981. Subsequently, annual output should grow steadily—adding at least one well a year—peaking at 18.25 million barrels by 1985 or 24 percent of the projected Philippine demand.

After the recent oil shock we felt in August this year, we should decide to accelerate the energy development program. It was originally set for 10 years. We compressed this to five years. Of course, poor Mr. Velasco, what could he say? This means reducing the term of the energy program and increasing the efforts. This also means that the major components of this energy program would have to be rescheduled and completed by 1985. Geothermal and alcohol production, the conversion of the major consumers of oil to coal, the setting up of mini-hydroelectric and dendrothermal plants are among the programs whose timetables have been compressed to shorter periods. Incidentally, all of these are covered by specific programs which are funded either by equity investments from abroad or from outright loans. They are all covered now by specific plans and projects. These are not just visions. These are actual on-going projects.

There are two reasons behind our decision to abbreviate the 10-year period. First, the oil price increases of 1979 have made it clear that the oil-substitution projects—particularly coal and dendrothermal energy—must be immediately undertaken if we are to ease sooner the continued drain of foreign-exchange reserves. You have seen the brownouts. You know that those are warnings to all of us. Second, the political and economic uncertainty hovering over imported crude supplies and prices imply a higher cost for oil imports. Suppose the Iraq-Iran war explodes into a world war? Suppose the oil line from the Middle East stops? What are we going to do?

We have reached that point in our development where we cannot afford even a moment's hesitation. Do you remember that saying, one of my favorite sayings: "On the beach of hesitation bleach the bones of millions who on the day before the dawn of victory hesitated, rested and hesitating, died." This is a day when we cannot hesitate. We either survive or die. And this is a period when the men will have to be separated from the boys. You must assume the worst possible scenario. We cannot expect any favors from anyone. We must depend on ourselves. This is what we must not presume from now on. External events and other developments over which we have little or no control threaten to overtake our resolve and our capacity to undertake positive measures.

It is therefore in this light that we have decided to step up the energy development efforts. And the record of the PNOC and of our entire energy program over the past few years ought to give us that confidence that our objectives will be met, that the job can and will be done. This is why I am here to participate in celebrating this 7th year of the PNOC.

I am confident that under the leadership of Minister Velasco and Mr. del Rosario, as well as the other officers and men here, with your participation, with your dedication, with your proven experience, with your performance in the past seven years, we shall meet our goals. And later, it shall be said that very quietly, the Philippines fought this war, this battle with you as the outstanding soldiers. I wish that I could give medals to all of you. For as you know, medals should be given to those who really fight the critical battles for survival. And you are fighting that critical battle for the survival of the country. The battle for energy. The battle for oil. The battle for coal, geothermal and non-conventional sources.

Once again, let me congratulate the officers and employees of the PNOC, the awardees, and all of you who have participated in the energy program. May you continue to flourish and succeed in all your endeavors.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Address of President Marcos before the U.P. Law Alumni Association, December 12, 1980

he Challenge of Political Change

I GREET THE officers of our Law Alumni Association led by Rollie de la Cuesta, and its vice-presidents. I greet the Dean of the College of Law and the President of the University of the Philippines. It is so easy to substitute one for the other since up to now we are convinced that the College of Law is the University of the Philippines.

When I heard the Chief Justice speak about that book, *The Sexual Profile of the Men in Power*, I noted a tone of envy. You know, I have two favorite sayings. One of them comes from an Oriental philosopher and it goes like this: "Make well of this day. Every day well spent makes every yesterday a dream of happiness and every tomorrow a vision of hope." The other is also the favorite saying of most soldiers who have engaged in combat. It comes from an anonymous military writer way back during the heyday of the Greeks, the time of the ancients: "On the beach of hesitation bleach the bones of millions who, on the dawn before the day of victory hesitated, rested and, hesitating, died." So whatever it is that you are thinking of, Mr. Chief Justice, don't hesitate.

But now, coming to the definition of terms, what do you mean by men in power? Do we mean those in political positions in government or those in the Judiciary? I submit the proposition that ever since the case of Lansang versus Garcia which, in a way, modified the Montenegro and previous cases in relation to the power of the Supreme Court to restudy and reassess the actions of the President even on political matters, the Supreme Court and the Judiciary have become a political power in our country. Ergo, the sexual profiles should equally apply to politicians and members of the Judiciary, especially the Chief Justice.

And so, you see, it is Einstein's theory of relativity all over again.

Actually, though, isn't it an inspiring thought that we who claim this exclusive privilege and power of deciding the destiny of our country—the alumni of the College of Law—can meet together and talk of inconsequential things? For, after all, isn't that the general idea to exercise power with grace? Isn't that the mark of the U.P. law graduates: the exercise of power with grace?

And I can think of no other man who is such an absolute scholar and who can speak with such grace about inconsequential things than the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. You know, whenever he stands up I am on my toes because I know exactly what he thinks. Of course, he is an admirer of beauty from a distance. This is what he always tells me.

Well, all I can say is that, we are in the same boat, Mr. Chief Justice. But, of course, I am very happy that I am properly escorted to this naughty conference and convention. I have with me a bodyguard who will testify to the sanctity of my thoughts and actions, and that is no other than my daughter who threatens to become a lawyer.

Anyway, I am very happy to be with you once again. I have never enjoyed myself so much. I always do enjoy myself whenever I come to these gatherings.

I greet the Speaker and the other members of officialdom, the members of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeals, the members of the Judiciary over whom now hangs the question of reorganization, with the assurance that they should not worry if they have conducted themselves properly. I am sure they have, except for a few, perhaps, who can be counted on the fingers of one hand or two hands.

I am certain that this occasion again symbolizes and emphasizes how the tradition and the culture of our country has so quietly assimilated the rule of law because of the traditions and the examples of the graduates of the College of Law of the University of the Philippines.

If I have not appeared as often before this forum as I have, and if I were not as familiar with the eccentricities and sentiments of this community of lawyers as I am, I could easily be misled by the kind words of the Chief Justice and all the other previous speakers. And your rousing welcome has led me to believe that there cannot be a more genial and more approving forum than this luncheon of the U.P. College of Law Alumni Association.

But I have heard these kind words before and have felt the goodwill and fellowship as well. And I know that behind them all, there is the questioning and the critical eye of the legal community to which you and I belong. And whenever we speak, therefore, I never presume to imagine, or nobody should ever presume, that I will ever get anything more than a lawyer's hearing at this forum.

It helps and means something, of course, to be an alumnus of the U.P. College of Law, but not in the way that one might think. From years of association with the tradition and sense of fellowship of this community, I know of the gravity and seriousness with which you will approach the affairs of national life, even if occasionally you talk about sexual profiles. And I know, too, that when a man of government comes to this forum, he may expect the rigors of its questioning and cross-examination, but then, not before he has said his piece. And this is one thing that we are proud of about the College of Law of the University of the Philippines: they let you say your piece first.

I shall address myself here today to the profound question of our political future, which of late has gravely weighed upon the thoughts of the entire nation. Mainly because of the continuing studies and deliberations being made by the Batasang Pambansa on issues relating to that question, there have been many conjectures as to the possible developments that may take place in our country in the near future.

There has been much talk of elections. There have been intensive discussions of various constitutional amendments. As there have been speculations as to the precise date when martial law will be lifted. And there has been concern as to the state of preparedness of my dedicated opponents as well as critics.

I have already said that in the resolution of these questions, I shall leave it to the Batasang Pambansa, in consultation with our people, to determine the precise course and directions the nation must now take. It has already been announced that in the next few days, the Batasang Pambansa will conduct a number of public hearings in various parts of the country to receive and to ascertain the sentiments of the citizenry in regard to these important issues. I hereby announce that as of today, I have extended the meeting of the constituent assembly into which the Batasang Pambansa has been converted without any termination date.

I therefore urge all our countrymen to participate in these public hearings. I shall state once more that I myself, along with the officialdom of government, will abide by the decisions that will arise out of these public discussions and assembly deliberations.

But it is fitting, nonetheless, without prejudicing the discussion of these issues, that I, not only as the head of state but as head of government, should make known now what is my view which must guide the party in power in reaching a decision on these questions.

First of all, it is of paramount importance that our attention be clearly focused on the real issues and questions that must be met. It is important that our attention not be diverted by the many peripheral issues that inevitably crop up whenever there is something difficult to resolve. The recent speculations and discussions have raised the level of public anxiety, but without doing the same for public understanding. So it will help at once if we try and single out the key questions that we are really trying to answer in all this chatter.

And just what are these issues and questions?

First and foremost, we have reached the point when we must really establish a definite period of transition into a parliamentary system of government. There must also be a definite date for the elections of the members of the Batasang Pambansa and other national government offices. Although we have already set 1984 as the date for the elections for members of the Batasang Pambansa, I think it necessary that this point be submitted once more to the decision of our people or the Batasang Pambansa, even if only to determine whether they would prefer it to be held

sooner, but if possible not later, than 1984. And once such an ascertainment of popular thinking is made, the time-frame for the transition and for the takeover of a parliament should forthwith be inserted into the very text of our Constitution.

This is necessary in order to eliminate once and for all the seeming uncertainty of some as to the earnestness of the crisis government in bringing about an orderly and swift passage to what we have often referred to as political normalization. We must erase once and for all from the public mind any doubts as to our resolve in bringing martial law to an end and to preside over the orderly transition to parliamentary government; any amendment, any proposal which in any way casts doubt as to the form of government must now be discarded definitely. We must adopt the form of government we want once and for all. And let there be no hesitation about this.

But unless this is discussed during public hearings, and if necessary decided through a referendum, we shall not be able to cast aside this sense of anxiety now abroad in the land.

Fixing the transition period will have the salutary effect of crystallizing the many other issues that are involved and of preparing the nation fully for the demands of such a historic passage. And it should hasten us to settle not piecemeal but in totality every question that pertains to the parliamentary elections.

Corollary to this point about parliamentary elections, it is useful to settle the recent question that has been raised about a possible election for the Presidency taking place before the elections of representatives to the National Assembly or the Batasang Pambansa I have already publicly stated that I will willingly submit to such an election if it is so desired by our people, whatever be the date set.

However, we cannot be blind to the fact that immediately after the suggestion was floated, the popular sentiment, including that of the opposition, was that such an election cannot possibly be contested meaningfully by the opposition, given the position that they are in now. And the feeling is shared, too, by members of the party in power that such an election coupled with the possibility that it may not even be contested by the opposition, will do nothing to advance what is after all our central objective: that of easing the problems of transition to full normalization.

I appreciate keenly these sentiments, for I myself would be loathe to run in an election that will only give me the dubious satisfaction of running alone, or of running without a credible opponent.

Now, we have also a problem as to which of the national parties would be accredited and recognized by the COMELEC and the government—KBL, Liberal Party, Nacionalista Party, LABAN, NUL, PUSYON BISAYA, Mindanao Alliance, Bicol Saro. Shall we recognize all of these parties?

I firmly believe that for an election to truly reflect public sentiment and earn public support, the opposition must be given time to build it-self up. It must have the opportunity to strengthen its ranks, and to gather its presently fragmented ranks together in unity.

But as far as I am concerned, neither the party in power nor the government should unilaterally resolve these questions by themselves. I believe that it would be necessary to submit this to public hearings, and perhaps, to a study by all parties concerned: by all political factions and all political parties. We should really ask our people, including the opposition, whether they would want a presidential election prior to the election of representatives to the national assembly or the Batasang Pambansa.

Whatever the decision may be, it must be clear that we must now fix by law the period of transition, which will truly signify our full adoption of the form of government ordained by our Constitution, a parliamentary form of government.

Therefore the elections to the regular assembly should now be set anywhere between next year and 1984. This has to be decided by the Batasang Pambansa.

We must also determine the length of the transition period in manner that will serve best our goal of normalization. Too short a transition may not suffice to produce an opposition party that can do more than tokenly contest the elections. On the other hand, too long a transition—lasting beyond 1984—will unduly set back our program of normalization and perhaps imperil the national capacity for fully democratizing political processes.

Almost as important for public attention and discussion is the matter of succession, which cannot seriously be ignored despite foolish speculations about my health. This is critical because in spite of our having established a law on succession, many questions remain in the public mind, and especially with our friends abroad, about the possible instability that could ensue following the death, God forbid, of the incumbent President. For many of our people it is not enough that we have set by law that the speaker will take over the Presidency in an interim capacity, and that the Batasan will forthwith choose a successor to the Prime Minister in the person of another member of the Batasang Pambansa. There is an evident desire for a formal mechanism that will not merely confirm but will actually give our people a direct hand in the choice of a successor. I believe that this issue must now be clearly settled.

In my view, it would be useful if we tackle the question of succession, not merely with the transition period in mind, but also with the period of political normality firmly in sight. The mechanism we must come up with ought to be applicable to the interim as well as the regular period, and by this we mean that there should be a constitutional provision on the Presidency and the Prime Ministership covering the period from 1980 to 1984 and the years after that.

The virtue in formulating an instrument of succession that will govern both the interim and regular phases is that it will link up national thinking on the issue of succession, and thereby no longer subject our approaches to the difficulty of merely adjusting to an emergency. As it is, we are troubled by the possibility of an interregnum in the event of, God forbid, the death of the President.

The central question that a succession law ought really to settle is how political leadership can be maintained or replaced, without unduly impairing the nation's stability. To attain that, it is important that our attention be beamed not only towards the transition period but to the latter period when we shall have established a fully operational parliamentary government. By this I am saying, that the Batasan ought now to tackle the issue in a new spirit, taking into consideration the suggestion of some who feel that a device for consulting the people must be part of the mechanism, and taking into consideration, too, the obvious need for a swift and orderly transition of power in government.

The decision on this issue must reflect both the advice of our people, and the wisdom of those of us who see decisions of this nature as far-reaching in their effects on the national life in the future.

Personally, I believe that our people should never lose control over who should succeed to the highest office or offices within their gifts whether it is the Presidency or Prime Ministership. The practice of parliamentary systems in leaving parliament to decide who is to be the new Prime Minister is a device for swift and orderly change. But perhaps it is wise to insist and to provide that the successor of the incumbent Prime Minister and President must first submit himself to the people in an election within six months after assuming office.

In considering these amendments to the Constitution, we shall do much to clarify the process of political normalization in our country. We shall remove once and for all the suspicions of those who believe that we are merely concerned today with ceremonial amendments to the Charter. And we clarify once and for all the government's plan that within the near future martial law will indeed come to an end.

I wish to announce—and this I do before my colleagues in the legal community—that since the power remains with the President, it is now incumbent upon the President to make a definite statement as to when martial law can be lifted. It is my intention that immediately after the Supreme Court shall have decided on the cases that are preventing the lifting of martial law, and it is my hope that those cases will be decided before the end of January—we shall lift martial law.

It has been suggested that with the lifting of martial law we should also dismantle all the other institutions or terminate the effects of martial law including the military tribunals, arrests through ASSO, as well as the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Now, there are certain obstacles to the lifting of the suspension of the privilege of *habeas corpus*. One of these is the fact that such leaders of the leftist-rightist rebellion, like Jose Maria Sison, Commander Dante, and the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, are still facing trial. If there were to be a lifting of martial law—and it is my hope that those cases will be decided soon—it may be possible that some of them will be able to obtain bail. And this the military objects to completely. It is therefore necessary that the Batasang Pambansa now restudy all these implications of the lifting of martial law in relation to the normalization process and the transition period up to the year 1984.

I would like to announce in relation to this, that it is my intention before Christmas to release all prisoners who have been charged merely with illegal possession of firearms and have not utilized these firearms for the commission of any crime.

Before you, today, as an earnest of this intention to dismantle the effects of martial law, I order that the two outstanding leaders of the Communist Party, Mr. Leoncio Co, the son-in-law of Luis Taruc, be now released to the latter's custody and to the custody of his wife, and that Mr. Nilo Tayag, formerly the head of the Kabataang Makabayan, be also released to Mr. Taruc who shall be responsible for them. Mr. Leoncio Co is facing trial and Mr. Nilo Tayag has been sentenced to twelve to fourteen years of imprisonment.

I order this as a token of our intention to end the crisis government or martial law.

Anyway, it is not enough to merely think of elections, succession and the lifting of martial law during the time we have remaining. It is also timely and imperative now to examine and give answer to related questions that will inevitably arise with the fixing of the transition period and the parliamentary elections. Among these is the issue of whether the election should be by region or by district for the members of the Batasang Pambansa. The results of census that was ordered by the Batasang Pambansa are already in, and technical difficulties should no longer pose a problem. I believe that this question must also be settled now and not later, so that the whole framework for parliamentary elections may be set in place long before they are held and that we may better prepare for them. By this I mean not only the party in power but most especially the opposition party.

Equally important as a subject for study now is the need for an opposition party or parties to provide an alternative program of government when elections for parliament are finally held. For the danger is there that in a situation where one party is too powerful, and the party in opposition is too fragmented, political normalization will not be sufficient to awaken and vivify political processes in our country.

Strange as it may seem to you, the sad state of the political opposition in our country is a matter of concern, and even embarrassment, to me. For it is made to look as if I have intimidated and coerced them into fragmentation, which is not true. All too often this has opened us to the facile charge that this is so because, under crisis government, the process of ascertaining popular will in elections, plebiscites and referenda is less than democratic, or that we are afraid of going directly to the people because we fear an actual test of political support that will revive old charges and old criticism.

I believe that once we set a definite date for the elections to the regular assembly, we must allow and encourage the opposition to organize themselves. This is not, alas, a very simple matter, for at the moment what we see is a political opposition that is sadly fragmented and divided.

Immediately, we have to face the problem of the accreditation of political parties, of which there are so many in the opposition. How do we settle the question of political accreditation required by our Constitution? What election will be the basis? Let us say, for an election the Presidency, how can you accredit any political party when there has been no previous election for the Presidency except that of 1969? What yardstick should we apply in determining whether this or that party should be accredited in the forthcoming elections?

The constitutional provision is sadly deficient in this regard for it expressly limits accreditation to the top three parties in the last national elections. So, we have to formulate a more realistic approach to the issue that will take into consideration the possibility that the Nacionalista and Liberal Parties will organize themselves by virtue of their long participation in our political life as well as the fact that new opposition parties have already been organized, like the Puyon Bisaya, Mindanao Alliance, the Bicol Saro, the LABAN, the NUL and others. Accrediting them all—meaning, all of those factions—will hardly resolve the obvious weaknesses of the parties in opposition in the event of an election. For they are weaknesses obtaining from a prolonged inability to crystalize their role during the period of crisis government and a pro-longed absence from the mainstream of our political life. For a start, the various positions and interests of the opposition have to converge and efforts to coalesce and organize ought to begin anew. Here lies the path to political survival.

The reason for this sorry state of the opposition is not to be ascribed, however, to any desire on the part of the party in power to obliterate the opposition during the period of crisis government. Indeed, we have sought its voice in the councils of government at the very height of the crisis we faced back in 1972 and throughout the last eight years. I remember that I offered to the opposition party a coalition government in 1972. This was peremptorily rejected by the Liberal Party.

We have never presumed to imagine that the opposition has summarily weakened because of our successes and achievements. At the root of this weakness, it must be said that many in the opposition could only see their preconceived notions of martial law as forthwith severed from whatever meaningful ties they could have had with the government and with our people. Many were unwilling to bring the counsel of their wisdom and criticism within the orbit of national decision-making, preferring to sulk in private. Others sought the path of relentless agitation against the government, leading to their being trapped or deluded into unlawful acts to seize power by those who were organized to do so. You remember how many private armies we had to dismantle in 1972? More than 250. How many criminal syndicates? More than 250. How many arms were surrendered or captured? More than 650,000, included among them were not merely assault rifles but rocket launchers, artillery, armored cars, tanks, and the like. It is only natural that we don't want to go back to such a situation.

Here, let us say now, that while we desire the fullest participation of the opposition in this forthcoming and decisive process, and shall even encourage its ranks to strengthen themselves, we stand fast by the principle that we should deny participation to those who have blithely sought the violent overthrow of government, and up to now continue to work at schemes to bring about revolution and upheaval in our country. For this is the kind of thinking that in the past had repeatedly enfeebled the political process in our country, and in the end led to the crisis of 1972. And we must not be deluded into thinking that in providing the opposition the opportunity to participate in an orderly transition to full political normality, they will cease their assault upon our political life. There are some who continue to do so because they believe in violence.

There is a tradition in our political culture, well exemplified by the U.P. College of Law and its alumni, that law is the supreme guide to the fulfillment of national purposes and ideals. It is in obedience to law that a man seeks to bring his talents to the service of the nation; and it is also in obedience to the spirit of lawful change that he may in association with others seek to bring the law in concert with changing needs and circumstances. He may aspire and seek the highest office within the capacity of our people. But he must seek it within the spirit of our laws and our traditions. And it would be unthinkable for any man or any leader of any stature to think in terms of illegal and unlawful acts like the killing of innocent civilians to attain power.

Within this proud tradition of our alumni association it has always been a fairly easy thing to determine when a political act oversteps the bounds of legality and when it truly reflects the reason in law. If with the powers of martial law, I, for instance, had willingly submitted to the counsel of some that I declare a revolutionary government, perhaps I would have in so doing departed from the tradition of our College of Law and the law itself and would be properly chastised for doing so. But it was my belief that the rule of law must prevail even during the period of emergency. Even at the height of crisis, even when life and honor itself were at stake, the law must prevail and must be upheld. For it is my sincere and passionate belief that such is the only means to achieve the desired-stability and reforms for the nation. This has been the course that we have followed all through the years of crisis government.

But we perceive now within our midst and in some sanctuaries abroad the desperation of those who would reject every counsel of tradition and law simply for the sake of attaining political power. In their pursuit of such, they have not only placed themselves outside the laws of the land and outside our proud traditions as a people, they have also committed the most contemptible assault of all: they have made manifest their willingness to sacrifice innocent lives and to wreak havoc on public welfare by the terrorism and violence they have unleashed upon our people.

In so doing, let me say once more, there should be no hairsplitting on our part, on the part of anyone especially he who believes in the rule of law, about the meaning of these actions against the nation. Let us not be deluded into thinking that by inviting these groups to participate in the political process, in the democratic dialogue, we shall thereby defuse their challenge against the very foundations of our national life. I am afraid that there are some elements who have decided that rebellion, violence, and assassination are the only path to political power. They have terminated the democratic dialogue. They have no right to participate in it. Better that we should remember, and remember well, that as we near the appointed date when martial law will end and the nation shall elect its regular national leadership, the assault upon our political institutions by these groups will heighten as a means to sow confusion and derail the orderly transition to normalcy.

The vitality of democratic processes in our country in the final analysis rests upon the wisdom, the care and the dedication we all bring to it—whether we are part of this party or that party, and however we may specifically differ in our political views. The important question is, do we or don't we uphold the tradition of the law? At root, we have to agree fundamentally and without reservations to reason together in law, and to believe that only by lawful means do the changes we seek become meaningfully beneficial and enduring.

At this moment in our national history, we are into a phase in which we must prepare and formulate what is to be our political future. It will require, yes, a measure of change and reform in the texts of the laws of the land. It will require the introduction of new provisions that reflect the light of recent experience. But in this process of introducing change, the law also provides the mechanism, and only through that mechanism can we be certain that the continuity of our national life and national institutions is maintained.

It is appropriate that we should talk about these things at this luncheon of the Alumni Association of the College of Law, for there are few societies in our country, apart from the bench and the bar, that have devoted themselves so clearly to maintaining and preserving the tradition of law in our country. As a community and as represented by its distinguished alumni in many aspects of our national life, the old college intones one abiding theme as its counsel to all leaders and to all ministers and that is: Do everything you can to realize your mighty conceptions and visions for people and country, but do them within the spirit of the law.

So are we then counselled as we now go forth to face the challenge of political change in our country. And so must we all heed that voice, that counsel, and do everything within the spirit of the law.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Christmas Message of President Marcos, December 23, 1980

In the Imperishable Language of Peace

ON THIS VERY happy feast day of the Christ child, my family and I take this opportunity once again to wish all of you the blessings and the joy of Christmas time.

Since Christmas was first celebrated in our country more than 400 years ago, it has come to mean for us all as the festival of family and home. But it is not solely those nearest and dearest to us that we think of on Christmas Day, for this, too, is preeminently the time when we all think of the bigger home that is our country and the wider family that is our people. And beyond them, the infinitely larger one, that is the family of man, the young and old, the friends and loved ones, the brothers and strangers, the peoples and nations.

We all speak today the imperishable message of peace and goodwill uniquely associated with Christmas. And that message cannot be stilled whether the times be fortunate or not or our lives be visited by travails or blessings. In each of us, Christmas awakens the greatest qualities of human character: courage, charity, perseverance, love, selflessness—qualities that since time immemorial have made for fulfillment in our individual lives and in our fellowship with others.

With the feeling of self-possession and hope that Christmas confers on each of us comes also the profound awareness that we are part of something much bigger than ourselves. This Christian idea ought especially to be glued in times when the cords of brotherhood seem to be most needed, as now at home, when we are in the midst of new undertakings and struggles that demand the fullest measure of national solidarity; as now in the world, when we perceive the fraternal bonds of nations being ruptured by differences and misunderstanding.

On this day, therefore, which reminds us what home and family mean, let it be our common prayer and resolve that the wonder and power of Christmas will again strengthen the loyalties, the affections and the bonds we feel for one and all.

I wish all of you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. *Maligayang Pasko at Manigong Bagong Taon sa inyong lahat!*

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Speech of President Marcos during the termination of Martial Law, January 17, 1981

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the termination of Martial Law

[Released on January 17, 1981]

ENCOUNTER
WITH
DESTINY

History summons us once more to an encounter with destiny.

This is the privileged fate of our generation, yours and mine: that it has been called upon twice by history to serve, to risk life and honor, in the hour of crisis and the hour of need. The first time, of course, was when we had to fight a war, a war not of our making in order to defend our country. The second time was when we had to impose on ourselves, eight years and four days less than four months of a martial discipline in order to save the Republic.

Today, we are privileged once again. We have another encounter with that destiny.

The magnitude of this moment necessarily brings us back to the very first crisis in the life of our people, when nearly a century ago, our forbears—in Pugad Lawin and Tirad Pass, in Kawit and Malolos—offered their lives, happiness and, most valuable of all, their sacred honor to a quest that we pursue to this very day: the great quest for a New Society.

This was and has ever been the Filipino dream, a dream of a new order of national existence, a dream thwarted for close to a century. We have had a hundred years of solitude, a century of alienation from one another, a hundred years of humiliation and distorted values.

And so it was that eight years ago, the consequences fell upon us: a social order in which the privileges of the few were enjoyed over the degradation of the many. In sum, the social indifference of the elites spawned the rebellion which we then called the revolution of the poor, in which legitimate grievances were exploited by conspiracy and subversion to bring about destruction of the Republic of the Philippines—the death of a nation, through violent revolution.

Indeed, the perils which threatened the Republic then were brought about principally by the failure of the elites—the oligarchy—incarnated in a political society which deluded rather than educated the masses of our people in the ways of an authentic democracy. We had a political and social culture that was dominantly populist and opportunistic.

History has shown to us how societies are saved and regenerated in various ways. In the feudal ages, kings curbed the excesses of ruling barons or vice versa; at other times, parliaments checked the abuses of kings; still, in other periods, governments protected the common good against the rapaciousness of the ruling class. An example from recent memory was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's proclamation of the "The New Deal."

Essentially, this was the point of what we have since called, "the Revolution from the Center," which bought time for our people so that they could muster the strength to stem the tide of turmoil and rediscover their solidarity.

The old Constitution, colonial as it was, approved by an alien power as it was, nevertheless provided the legal and peaceful means for this quiet revolution. We were wise to have cherished and protected it.

And now we have a new charter, whose ratification we celebrate today; which we must cherish all the more, for it is our very soul—for it brings together a new system, a new national policy, and the resurgent spirit of a new people.

There are those who would denigrate this Constitution. I am afraid they live in the past of their lost glories, a past when the freedom and the happiness of a few was held up as the freedom and the happiness of the many. It was a long nightmare of a remembered greatness.

I am moved to recall how, sixteen years ago, I appealed for the support of our people with an invitation to greatness. Seven years later, the gravest peril was upon us, menacing our lives and freedom and the lives and freedom of generations yet to come—anarchy, assassination, arson, pillage, destruction, immobilization of the economy, destruction of public buildings, and the proclamation that a new government would take over the Republic of the Philippines. I saw that crisis as the test of Filipino greatness and I was elated that our people shared my vision.

That crisis, my friends and countrymen, is far from over—but we have proven ourselves in the past eight years to be equal to any such crisis.

To be sure, it had been necessary—imperative—to resort to the discipline of martial law, to summon the military to its sworn duty to defend and protect the Republic, but as events showed, contrary to our detractors' cassandric warnings, our armed forces performed honorably and well. In accordance with the noble traditions of their warrior forebears, they upheld the flag of the Republic. But for the civil authority, they shall ever remain as a model, as an example that shall be set up. If in the days to come after this the Republic should ever stumble once again, our people will ask, how did the military of that decade of the 70s, how did these noble warriors and soldiers conduct themselves in those crucial days? And they shall point to you as the heroes whose lives they must emulate.

Yes, we owe them the highest commendation. Words are inadequate to express our gratitude to the men of the military and to the men of the civil government who quietly subordinated themselves in many cases whenever there was actual combat.

The martial discipline has restored the pride and self-confidence of our race, so that now we can look upon ourselves as equal to every vicissitude, every burden, every challenge.

We can now accept, without reservations, the invitation to greatness—the challenges of the modern world.

The cynical and the timorous who would doubt this had better look closely to what has transpired in this country in less than a decade.

In the eight short years of the New Society, we have disarmed the criminal syndicates and significantly defused the dangers of subversion, sedition, rebellion, and secession.

All over the world today, you see the same symptoms spread out among all the Third World countries. Fortunately here in the Philippines, those symptoms have significantly and substantially been reduced.

These were the results of the relentless and determined campaign to reestablish public order: 200 private armies dismantled; 250 criminal syndicates identified and their members apprehended and neutralized; 650 thousand firearms, within a period of 2 or 3 years, of all classes, make and variety, including artillery, machine guns, assault rifles, tanks, armored cars, and the latest models of sophisticated armaments, perhaps ten times more than the arms of the Armed Forces of the Philippines were confiscated or were surrendered to the government. More than 2,000 ordinary criminals long wanted under unserved warrants of arrest before the proclamation of martial law were immediately apprehended and brought before the courts.

The leftists and the rightists joining together in rebellion were successively apprehended, eliminated or neutralized, thus reducing the rebellion into small pockets of resistance in a few places.

The colonial, centuries-old hostilities in Southern Philippines between the Christian and Muslim brothers, which exploded, eight years ago, into formidable secessionist war, in which an estimated 20,000 fully armed men, some of whom were trained outside the Philippines, were set against the small garrisons of the police and the Philippine Constabulary while we were fighting the leftist-rightist bands here in Luzon, have been effectively terminated with the granting of amnesty to more than 37,000 members of the Moro National Liberation Front Movement. This plus the establishment of the two autonomous governments in Regions 9 and 12 effectively terminates that movement.

The Armed Forces of the Philippines and the intelligence agencies have succeeded in apprehending and immobilizing the leaders and the members of the Partido Nagkaisang Sosyalistang Demokratiko ng Pilipinas, or SOCDDEM, which differs from all other socialist parties in that it promotes violence.

And so have the armed forces and the intelligence apprehended the leaders and the members of the Light-a-Fire Movement which seems to be the umbrella organization covering all those involved in terrorism, bombings, kidnapping, arson, blackmail, as well as plots and conspiracies for the assassination of leading personalities in the military and in the civil government.

But more than these, we have transformed the lives of millions of our countrymen. Land reform, the principal cause of the Hukbalahap uprising, because of the repeated failure of a landowner-controlled Congress to redress the grievances of centuries, was instituted.

Some of you who are listening to me now belonged to that rebellion. But you have joined the New Society. I see Assemblyman Luis Taruc. I see many of the rebels from the South attending here. I see Al Caluang, the regional field marshall of the Moro National Liberation Front. I see Commander Ronnie. I see Lucman. I see all these rebels who have raised the flag of intransigence against the Republic of the Philippines now joining hands in order to strengthen this commitment to the Republic for the maintenance of public order all over the land.

And why did the Hukbalahaps join hands with the government? Because large estates were broken up and sold to the actual tillers of the soil. Because we immediately terminated the enslavement of the poor tenant farmer who inherited generations and generations of indebtedness without any possibility of payment whatsoever from his forebears to the landlord. This we immediately redressed with a single stroke of the pen.

A new Labor Code was promulgated providing, among others, the joining together of management and labor with government, a tripartite conference for the settlement of issues, and thus assuring industrial peace to allow economic growth.

Social reforms also included the implementation of a nutrition program. There are now 4,000 day care centers all over the land. Ours is a model, which has been adopted by the United Nations—health program, a family planning program which had long been denied the humblest and the poorest of our countrymen.

Our educational system has been reoriented to meet the needs of social and economic development, with its emphasis on vocational and technical skills in high school so that graduates from high schools would be capable of earning a livelihood and would become self-reliant productive units instead of burdens to society. And in the colleges, science and engineering are emphasized. We have prepared ourselves for modern national existence through scientific research where before there was nothing but rhetoric and charlatanism.

We have instituted the researches. We have created an Institute of Plant Breeding and created exotic varieties of plants that have done well to increase our harvest. And now we have started an Institute of Microbiology which shall utilize the new science of recombinant DNA.

In the administration of justice, which, again, was one of the rebellions of the poor in our old society, we have assured our people expeditious, inexpensive, and democratized justice with the organization of barangay courts. The Interim Batasang Pambansa is in the process of reorganizing the judicial system of government with the participation of the Supreme Court, with the aim-in-view of eliminating delays, bottlenecks and clogged dockets in courts as well as the elimination of its unworthy members, few as they may be.

Our government has succeeded in reorganizing the national prosecution service and creating a nationally pervasive free legal service under the Ministry of Justice. We thus give substance to that constitutional and moral mandate that every man shall be entitled to his day in court.

The political transformation, above all, assures us of a truly democratic system. The organization of the barangays has brought about an explosion of political participation, as evidenced by the militancy of its members and by the participation of 23 million voters, whereas before in 1969 there were only 8 million voters.

I place my fervent hopes on the barangays and on the Sanggunians. They are the testament to, and the vehicle of, popular sovereignty. With the barangay, power, indeed, has been returned to the people. *Mabuhay ang mga barangay.*

The last eight years have also mobilized the energies of the Filipino for the economic health of his society—and, I believe, we have demonstrated our capacities fully.

Let us look at some of the data and statistics, with your permission. The Gross National Product increased from P55,526 million in 1972 to P192,911 million in 1979 at 1972 constant prices or P269,781 million at current prices.

Collection of government from taxes have increased from P5.1 billion in 1972 to P36.16 billion in 1980.

Total exports increased from US\$1,106 billion in 1972 to US \$5,935 billion in 1980.

Showing the stability of currency, notwithstanding the present fluctuations of the dollar, the rate of exchange of the pesos to the US dollar has barely moved from the 1972 6.6710 to the 1979 7.3775.

Savings and time deposits have increased from P5,402 million in 1972 to P49,116 million as of September 1980.

Gross domestic investments have not only doubled but trebled, quadrupled, quintupled.

From P11,573 million in 1972 it was increased to about P78,198 million in 1980, while gross national savings increased from P11,679 million in 1972 to P62,395 million in 1980.

There was a time when the debt service ratio before this administration was more than 40 percent of the dollar earnings the previous year. This has been reduced to 20 percent; and now, as of 1980, reduced to 18.72 percent of foreign exchange earnings in the previous year.

Incidentally, on the question of indebtedness, when I took over as President in 1965, most of the indebtedness were short-term indebtedness payable within one year, two years, three years, and five years. More than 90 percent. All of these were immediately shifted or converted into long-term indebtedness, for some reason or other, because of inefficient management of our affairs. Because of our bad credit worthiness, we could not borrow any money from anywhere. The most that the World Bank could lend us before 1965 was \$40 million. By 1975 and 1976, the World Bank had changed its opinion of the Philippines so much so that it was ready to lend at a single time \$500 million.

But most of these borrowings did not go to the government. They went into productive enterprises. The borrowings of government do not go to pay for salaries or what we, in government, call ordinary or current expenditures—housekeeping, salaries of officers and employees, as well as furniture and equipment. No. On the current budget there is always a surplus. Since 1965 to the present, there has always been a surplus in the current budget of the Republic of the Philippines.

Yes, we have borrowed but only for purposes of productive enterprise. These are the self-paying and the self-regenerating enterprises which we must support. And, incidentally, nobody lends you money if you cannot put up a counterpart fund. The least amount of counterpart fund that is required is about 50 percent of the entire cost of the project.

Now, let us go into international reserves. The international reserves were increased from practically zero in 1965. The statistics say US \$282 million were left in the Central Bank. When I asked the Central Bank, however, I was told that our commitments exceeded US \$300 million. And, therefore, we did not have enough foreign exchange to pay our indebtedness as of 1965. The foreign exchange reserves were practically zero.

And today, how much are the foreign exchange reserves? Today, we have US \$3.1 billion in the Central Bank as the foreign exchange reserves of the Republic of the Philippines.

Finally, we speak of social indicators. How do all these affect the individual man? What is his individual income? The per capita income, if we must talk in terms of all the people, has more than trebled from US\$214 in 1972 to US\$755 in 1980.

And what do these figures mean to our masses, to our people? Some say the rich have grown richer and the poor have grown poorer. Well, we will not say they are blind to the facts. Let us say that they are prone to exaggeration.

It is true, of course, the rich will grow richer because they have the funds and the capital. And we have no intention of confiscating private property. It is not a part of the ideology of the New Society to confiscate private property and private enterprise. *But we shall regulate wealth.*

And we will regulate wealth so it shall not be utilized to brutalize the poor and the weakness of our people. And thus it is that the rich must pay heavier taxes. It is said that we have been easy on the rich with respect to taxes. This is not true. We increased the taxes on luxury goods—the goods that are bought by the rich. They are open only to the more affluent members of our society. Even in the case of oil products, did you notice the difference between diesel fuel and industrial fuel and gasoline? It is a big jump. For it is the purpose of this administration to see to it that, first of all, we shall not only regulate wealth, we shall ask those who are capable and those who participate in harvests, in the rewards of a progressive society to contribute what is just and proper to the maintenance of our Republic.

Yes, I have no doubt about it. The wealthy have been discouraged from exercising the ways of the old oligarchy. But I am prepared to think that even the rich among our people today have developed a social conscience that is growing day by day.

How often have they come to me, to the First Lady, to the members of the Cabinet offering contributions to worthwhile and noble projects. How often have they quietly done their own planning in order to uplift the poor and the degradation of our race and people. Let it not be said that because they are rich they are not patriotic Filipinos. Even the rich and the affluent of our country have acquired a conscience. And this is one of the developments in the New Society.

Now, let us look at the percentages as to the distribution of income. There are some who cannot seem to realize that this is a new world altogether, and that income is now seeping into all classes of people.

In 1972, the percentage of families with incomes of P1,999 and below was 24.3 percent. In 1979, this had been reduced to 11.2 percent, or by more than one-half. Let us go to the top, the families with incomes of P30,000 and more. In 1972, there were only 5 percent of them out of the entire population. Now, today, there are more than twice that. There are 12.8 percent of those who have this high income. And considering that almost all of these families that I speak of live in the rural areas, the New Society certainly has effectively changed the standard of living of the Filipino masses.

Finally, the effective minimum wage has increased from P4.75 in 1972 to P23.30-24.70 in 1980.

Along with these political, economic and social transformations, we must count our newly-won prestige in the family of nations.

Yes, the president of PHILCONSA, Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, referred to the new prestige, to the new standing of our country in the United Nations, in the world fora. We have led in the forums of the Third World and we have normalized relations with the socialist countries.

Before this administration, we closed our eyes to the Soviet Union and even to China, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. We limited ourselves before to a few countries considered to be the pillars of the free world, and thus penalized ourselves and our products for our markets were limited.

The Philippines is now heard in the council of nations because it speaks with its own voice. And independent foreign policy is the hallmark of the Philippine foreign service.

We always speak of political independence but we do not realize that political independence must be won everyday. Every time there is any threat or doubt cast upon that independence, not only the leadership but the citizenry must rise up and protect that independence.

After much agonizing negotiations, the United States of America, in fairness to this ally of ours, recognized what is undeniable and that is, the sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines over all the military bases here in the Philippines, including Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base, against the old Brownell doctrine which indicated that America retains sovereignty over the bases.

Because of our martial interlude, our defense establishment and our armed forces have quietly established a self-reliant defense posture.

As you know, the defense and military establishment is not prone to publicizing its achievements or to bragging about its capabilities, but very quietly, in the past eight years, not only has it trained its personnel to meet any contingency whether internal or external, it has systematically organized not only its own activities but also civil industry to meet most of its requirements.

The government, which itself needed reforms in the crisis of 1972, has been reorganized. How many have we kicked out of government? More than 6,000. In the armed forces, more than 8,800 men. Very few people know this. We kicked out of the civil government 6,000 officers and employees. And many of them are still facing cases and charges before the *Sandigang Bayan* and the *Tanodbayan*. In the Armed Forces of the Philippines we punished 8,800 officers and men over a period of eight years.

Let no man say that we have not exerted the utmost diligence in maintaining discipline in the enforcement of our laws and Constitution under the Republic of the Philippines.

Yes, we have eliminated the undesirable elements and we will continue the campaign against corruption through the establishment of the *Tanodbayan* which, as you know, is the Ombudsman, and the *Sandigang Bayan* which, as you know, is the court for corruption cases. We are now actually engaged in identifying the corrupt government officials and functionaries, prosecuting and punishing them.

Conscious of the hardships ahead, therefore, we have embarked also on an effort to upgrade the civil service.

And now, we have also met head-on this problem—the crisis on energy. We have accelerated the energy program, which includes the intensified search or prospecting for oil and gas and other hydrocarbons within our jurisdiction. We have discovered and are beginning to exploit new coal deposits. In the entire island of Semirara, we discovered coal deposits. In Cagayan Valley, in Bicol, Mindanao and Samar, we have discovered geothermal sources.

Eight geothermal units or geothermal centers of energy are operational. Six are being constructed. We are next to the United States in the volume of electric energy coming from geothermal sources.

Hydroelectric power is moving on. As you know, the biggest in Southeast Asia is being put up in Magat, Isabela.

We have discovered marsh gas or surface gas. We use biomass or dendro-thermal energy. Many of the countries here represented including France, Germany, England and the Scandinavian countries have lent us money for the dendro-thermal projects.

We have discovered exotic plants which produce juices that can burn like gas. Only the other day, the *Hanga* which I know since boyhood, which is a fruit of a vine in Ifugao, was shown to me again. We pressed the fruit and out came the juice, and we lighted it like gas. You go all over the lands, there are many plants from which we can draw gas. There are many conventional, indigenous, and renewable sources of energy which we must develop and we shall develop.

At this point, I must take note of the number of rural households that have access to electricity. In 1972, only 76,000 households had access to rural electricity. Today, there are one billion households that have rural electricity.

We are next to the United States in rural electrification. No other country has developed the way we developed rural electrification. This increase is symbolic of the renaissance of the Filipino.

There has been, of course, a renaissance in our political, economic, and social life in less than a decade of the democratic revolution. It is inevitable that this would be translated in spiritual terms—the renaissance in our culture, the rebirth and growth of the arts, music, painting, dance, film, and literature. And what is the importance of all of these? How often has song, dance, music, literature inflamed the masses to rise up to attain the ends of freedom? How often have our forebears, the propagandists of the last Century utilized literature in order to lay the moral basis for a rebellion that would free our country? Culture, tradition, belief in our past, these are the unifying forces. We look back, and as we trace the roots of our identity, we discovered that there is no reason to be humiliated and to apologize for the Filipino race. We have not only contributed our people's genius to the arts of this century. We have also rediscovered our ancient art forms, our great spiritual heritage. In doing so, we have rediscovered our self—the Filipino.

The Filipino has reclaimed himself. And this is only the beginning.

The last eight years have shown what could be achieved through discipline. This decade, the eighties, will dramatize to us what can be achieved through self or inner-discipline. As a wise man of the last century once said, the essential thing is not to win battles. The essential thing is to win the internal revolution. The revolution within one's heart, one's mind, one's soul. For, in the end, the transformation of a society means the transformation of man, each man.

Thus, from this onwards, we must be conscious and heed the invitation to greatness. National greatness, as we all know, means two things: the militancy of a concerned citizenry and the social commitment of a responsible elite, especially the intellectual elite. Let me repeat that. We shall need two things, the two weapons as we move forward from this day on: the militancy of a concerned and enthusiastic Citizenry and, at the same time, the commitment of motivated elite, especially the intellectual elite of our country.

We have had their support in the past. We need this more than ever now. I call upon all of you, call upon the members of PHILCONSA, the Batasang Pambansa, the local executives, the military men, whose training raised them over and above that of those who have not gone to college. This wide and deep reservoir of professional men—we have the highest percentage of college students all over the world except the United States in relation to population—from this elite, we must draw those who would be the leaders of our country in the next generation.

For the martial necessity has passed; it has served—and served well—the purpose of a once beleaguered people. It cannot go on, for a people must mature and must grow from outer discipline into inner discipline.

And so it is, that as I promised all of you, my countrymen, in that fateful morning of September 23, 1972, when I announced the proclamation of martial law which had been signed by me two days earlier, with your support, placing myself, my life and my family's life and honor, on the judgment of history, that when the time came, when we must end martial law—a time that could not be foreseen then—I would be the first to move and initiate the termination of martial law.

I have listened to you, to our people. I have heard your doubts, your anxieties, nay, outright opposition to the lifting of martial law. And I have prayed to the Almighty for guidance. And it is after deliberate, sober, judgment and soul-searching that I come before you and say, it is now time to terminate martial law.

As you trusted me before, as you have trusted me in many, many a time of crisis, as you trusted me during the war when many of you, many amongst you endangered your lives in order to protect me and the members of our guerilla band, trusting to the word of this man whom you did not know too well then. I ask you now, as you have trusted me before when I proclaimed martial law and said, follow me and I shall bring you to liberation and freedom, I ask you to trust me once again. And I ask you to trust in the judgment of your President as we eliminate this martial law and start a new era and a new day.

This exercise, for me, has been both an emotional and an intellectual adventure. Emotional since, like you, it involved not only my life and dreams and the life and dreams of my family, but our illusions and honor.

It was emotional because from the very start, the stakes were high and the undertaking was hazardous. Failure was often predicted by most of those whom we consulted. In fact, there were some who did not want to have anything to do with us. Only a few of the loyal men dared to sit down with me to plot and deliberate the steps that we must take in order to assure swift and efficient enforcement of martial law.

Characteristically, we were all haunted by the image of the guerrilla fighting—a losing battle in the hills. For that was what many of us who planned it were well aware we might have been. Yet notwithstanding all these doubts, one had to present the stern visage of the leader, the dominating personality of command and, at the same time, resolutely promise to each other that if necessary, we would go back to the tops of the mountains and, if necessary, fight those losing battles with a smile in our lips.

But thanks to the support of the Filipino people, it was not necessary to do that. For by an unusual spontaneous unanimity, upon the proclamation of martial law, one could hear the sigh of relief all over the land, from the North to the South, from the East to the West. I know then that we retained the trust of the entire Filipino people.

And yet, the visage of command had to be tempered with the credentials of legality and constitutionality. In this way was it an intellectual adventure. The Commander-in-Chief provision of the Constitution, of course, was contrived by the alien colonizer as a device to consolidate power over a colonized people. Never had those who drafted the Commander-in-Chief provision ever dreamt that it would be used instead by an abject and weak people to redeem their long lost self-respect, dignity and honor. In the long run, to be quite candid, the intellectual adventure became more exhilarating and inspiring.

Only the acute, legal observer will realize that the tables had been turned and that the legal weapon in the dark past that was used to browbeat our people down to their knees in submission to alien authority had been captured from the enemy, through ingenuity and by some miracle of self-assertion, and use to attain the noble dreams of our people.

And so, as I now sign this, proclamation in full view of our nation and the world at large, I am profoundly conscious of the tasks that, remain, hoping that we shall not lose the momentum of our achievements so that those who shall come after us may carry on the quest of a greater and brighter world, a New Society.

I pray now and I ask you to pray with me, as I prayed eight years ago, that I am doing, that we are doing, the right thing by our people; for the end of martial law does not mean the end of our efforts of our needed reforms, of our struggles, of our sacrifices. The passing of the martial necessity does not carry with it the passing of all the burdens especially the heavy ones. There will be more tests for our capacity, for our resiliency, for our strength as a people.

Together, we must pass these tests and surmount all crises. And, so, as I have said, as I sign this decree in your presence proclaiming the termination of the state of martial law throughout the Philippines, I say, we have just begun.

I will now read the dispositive portion of this decree. “Now, therefore, I, Ferdinand E. Marcos, President-Prime Minister of the Philippines by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution, do hereby revoke Proclamation 1081, proclaiming a state of martial law in the Philippines; and Proclamation 1104, dated January 17, 1973, declaring the continuation of martial law and proclaim the termination of the state of martial law throughout the Philippines; Provided, that the call to the Armed Forces of the Philippines to prevent or suppress lawless violence, insurrection, rebellion and subversion shall continue to be in force and effect. And, Provided that, in the two autonomous regions in Mindanao, upon the request of the residents therein, the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall continue; and in other places the suspension of the privilege of the writ shall also continue with respect to persons at present detained, as well as others who may hereafter be similarly detained for the crimes of insurrection or rebellion, subversion, conspiracy or proposal to commit such crimes, and for all other crimes and offenses committed by them in furtherance or on the occasion thereof or incident thereto or in connection therewith;

“General Order No. 8 is also hereby revoked and the military tribunals created pursuant thereto are hereby dissolved.

..

“Pursuant to Article XVII, Section 3, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution, all proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, acts promulgated, issued and done by the incumbent President, constitute part of the law of the land and shall remain valid, legal, binding and effective even after the lifting of martial law unless modified, revoked, superseded or altered by subsequent proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions or other acts of the incumbent President or unless expressly and explicitly modified or repealed by the regular National Assembly or the Batasang Pambansa.”

In witness hereof, I set my hand and cause the seal of the Republic to be affixed on the 17th day of January, 1981.

Source: National Library of the Philippines

Marcos, F. E., & Philippines. (1981). Encounter with destiny: termination of martial law : speech delivered by President Ferdinand E. Marcos proclaiming the termination of the state of martial law, Heroes Hall, Malacañang, January 17, 1981 : proclamation no. 2045, proclamation no. 1081, proclamation no. 1104 : a new age. [Manila] : NMPC.

Speech of President Marcos during the Labor Day Celebration, May 1, 1981

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the Labor Day Celebration

[Delivered at the PICC, May 1, 1981]

May kasabihan ang mga Romano at ang wika nila'y: Labor omnia vincit improbus. Labor conquers everything. Ako'y lubos na naniniwala ryan. Alam naman ninyo siguro na tayo'y may bisitang Prime Minister ng Sri Lanka na paalis ngayon at maaaring mahuli sa eroplano kung magtagal ako rito. Alam din naman ninyo siguro na ngayon ay anibersaryo namin sa kasal ng Unang Ginang. Kaninang umaga nga, itinanong ko sa unang ginang kung saan niya gustong magcelebrate. E, saan pa daw kundi sa PICC. Baka nalilimutan ko na raw na araw ng mga manggagawa ngayon. Kaya nasabi ko ngang labor truly conquers everything. Karaniwan raw sa mga babae, kung may okasyon na sine-celebrate, ang gusto e, silang dalawa lamang ng kaniyang minamahal ang magkasama. Pero si Mrs. Marcos, ang gusto kasamang lahat ang manggagawa sa Pilipinas.

At hindi ko siya masisisi. Because for me and for my family, joyous occasions are best celebrated with friends. And I will say, without hesitation, that the workers of the Philippines are among my closest friends for they have helped me all these years and this friendship has endured because we have reciprocated each other's trust. I treasure this great, historic bond between you and me.

As you know, I am a candidate again and I'm still searching the horizon for an opponent, if no one comes it is because the other contenders know the workers, the farmers and the Filipino people as a whole still stand firmly behind the president and the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan: the party of social justice, the party of the worker, the peasant and the common man.

Today, we are on the threshold of another era in our history as a nation. Upon assumption of the duly-elected President of the Philippines at noontime of June 30, 1981, the transitory provisions of the constitution will have come to an end and full normalization, a goal which many of our detractors said would not be achieved, will have passed another acid test as government once more fully submits itself to the popular mandate of those who truly govern: the people of the Philippines.

I have repeatedly said that I stand on the record of the Martial Law years. I stand on the things that we have accomplished together. I stand on the things that we are capable of accomplishing further based on the foundations that we have already laid. I stand on the courage of a conviction that what we have, we must preserve that what we have started, we must continue. And that that which we continue will have to be anchored to the theme which you so aptly adopt today: jobs, justice and prosperity for all.

There is no greater paradox in our recent history than this: it took the encouragement of the Martial Law years to raise the social status of the common man—the worker, the farmer, the fisherman, the small entrepreneur or industrialist, the simple and ordinary Filipino.

It took the impetus of the Martial Law years to realize the potentials of the democratic workers' movement. Today two million Filipino workers are organized into unions of their own free choice; before Martial Law there were less than half a million, many of whom belonged to ghost unions. Today our workers, organized or not, fall under a legal umbrella of protection in the form of the Labor Code, which has inspired emulation in some countries of the third world. Today as never before the voice of the workers' movement is heard in the policy-making councils of our government.

Higit na matibay at matatag ang mga unyon ngayon. Ngunit higit na importante ay mayroong bagong pananaw ngayon ang mga unyon at ang unyonismo sa Pilipinas. Hindi tulad ng dati na ang tingin ng mga unyon ay kalaban sila ng lipunan at ng pamahalaan. Ang mga unyon ngayon ay tinitingnan at iginagalang ng gobyerno, ng mga namumuhunan at ng mga manggagawa. The unions today enjoy the respect of government, management and labor's own constituency because they know that the unions are strong and capable, that they are responsive and responsible and that they truly represent the sentiments and aspirations of the workingmen and women of this country.

This is most concretely manifested in two developments: the growth of tripartism and the institutionalization of sectoral representation in policy-making. I think that nowhere in our part of the world will you see the unions represented in so many government boards, councils or commissions. Nowhere in our part of the world are tripartite conferences convened so often and are genuinely operating as free forums for threshing our social and economic policy and operational questions. And certainly, nowhere in the world is labor so consistently represented as in our Sangguniang Bayans at the local levels up to the Batasang Pambansa which is the country's legislative body.

But let us go back to the statistical records.

Before Martial Law, there were only 700 collective bargaining agreements registered, many of which provided no substantial economic gains for the workers. Today, there are 1,800 of these collective agreements covering many of our industrial workers. That is a record jump of almost 250%. But the increase in numbers is overshadowed by the fact that these agreements represent significant improvements in the wages and working conditions of the covered workers.

From 1970-1979, our dispute settlement machinery resolved 187,328 original labor relations cases. From 1973-1979, 183,655 cases were decided which resulted in an aggregate award of P703 million pesos to 634,152 workers. The National Labor Relations commission which took over from the CIR disposed off about 52,000 cases between 1975-1978 resulting in the award of money claims worth P531 million to 208,000 workers.

Statistics are always dull unless they pertain to the vital statistics of women. But underlying them are the drama of law and policy conquering social injustices and promoting economic production through a dynamic industrial peace.

Tingnan natin ang sahod. A nation's concern for its workers starts with a genuine concern for their wages. A just and fair wage reflects the value which society attaches to both the work and the man who does the work. Through eight years of Martial Law, we have always maintained that wages should not only be regarded as monetary reward for work done but should above all be an adequate means by which workers can provide their families with enough of life's necessities in order to maintain a decent standard of living.

It is true that the level of wages in any economy is primarily a function of productivity. There can be no comparison between wages, say, in the US or Japan and wages in the Philippines. The productivity gap is too wide, even unconscionable. But within certain limits government must intervene to defend the workers' right to a just minimum wage.

Between 1974-1981, I have issued ten Presidential Decrees providing for wages or similar benefits, five of these decrees adjusted the minimum wage, six provided for allowances and one instituted the 13th month pay. Recently, I signed a National Wage Order increasing the living allowance by P2. Collectively, these decrees and issuances have raised the money wage from P8 in 1972 to P31.85 in 1981 for the higher brackets of industrial workers in Metro Manila for an increase of 273%. In real terms this is still higher than the wage in 1972. Dapat nating alalahanin na bago mag-Martial Law, ang minimum wage sa Pilipinas ay dalawang beses lamang gumalaw. From the P4 mandated by RA 602 in 1951, the minimum wage became P6 under RA 4180 in 1965 and then became P8 under RA 6129 in 1970. Presently, the value of the minimum wage is P18 exclusive of cost of living allowances.

Natatandaan ko nuong bago mag-Martial Law hihingi lamang kayo ng dalawang piso sa lumang Congreso ay kailangan pa ang magdaos ng malalaking demonstrasyon at kung minsan nais pa ninyong sunugin ang congreso. Ngayon isang lagda lang ni Marcos ay nagkatalo na. Ngunit dapat din nating isaalang-alang ang kakayahan ng industriya at kalakal sapagka't baka naman kung labis ay dumami ang walang hanapbuhay.

There are reports reaching me that the compliance with wage decrees is less than satisfactory: that this is the reason for some of these current strikes. You know of course that many industries are reeling under the impact of the continuing recession, which in the United States had thrown out of work more than ten million workers. An employer knows he cannot negotiate with the OPEC for lower costs of energy; he knows he cannot negotiate with the Central Bank for lower cost of money; he knows he cannot negotiate lower prices for his machinery and spare parts. And so he tries to exert his last-remaining cost flexibility in two areas: taxes and wages.

And yet he is also likely to be caught both ways. If he evades taxes, the BIR sooner or later will still catch him but he can still choose to postpone the pain. But when he evades payment of the workers' rightful wage, he creates unrest in the hearts of his workers, and his production will likely suffer. The government cannot police all labor law violations. There are only about 160 labor inspectors in the whole country and most of them have been grounded by Minister Ople because of complaints about abuses of power. But the workers, because of the new society, today know how to police their own rights.

That is why on this Labor Day I appeal to all employers throughout the land: please comply with your duties under the Labor Laws. This will be the best guarantee for industrial peace based on justice.

Alalahanin din natin ang tunay na kalaban ng manggagawa, hindi lamang dito kundi sa buong daigdig, ay ang pagtaas ng halaga ng bilihin, ang tinatawag nating inflation. Ano ang kabuluhan ng isang omento kung pagkatapos ay papawiin din ito ng isang pagdagsa ng inflation?

Ikinagagalak kong i-report sa inyo na ang inflation sa Pilipinas ay bumaba sa buwan ng Marso mula sa 15 per cent hanggang 12.5 per cent. Ito ay bunga nang ating pagsisikap na mapalago ang ani sa bukid at huwag tulutang lubhang bumaba ang produksiyon sa mga pabrika. Sa buong daigdig ay naglalatang ang inflation na umano ay dahil sa excess money chasing too few goods. Tungkulin nating lahat na labanan ang salot na ito sa pamamagitan ng pagtutulungan upang ang ating pambansang produksiyon ay patuloy na umunlad.

Ang pagpapabuti ng kalagayan ng mga manggagawa ay ipinatutupad natin hindi lamang sa pamamagitan ng pagtataas ng mga sahod at suweldo. To further assist workers in coping with the effects of inflation, various government services have also been made available. The livelihood centers which provide income opportunities through the use of indigenous material abundant in the communities where these centers are located. While production at these levels are at best small scale, the centers are assured of marketing services by the Bliss Marketing Corporation.

Nandiryan rin ang Kadiwa Centers na ngayon ay kalat na sa kalakhang Maynila at nagsimula nang tumawid sa mga lalawigan. Alam nating humigit-kumulang, ang manggagawang Pilipino ay gumagasta ng mga 50% ng kanyang sahod sa pagkain. Sa Kadiwa, nakakabili siya ng pagkaing mura na ay masustansya pa.

Hindi natin dapat kalimutan ang Bliss Housing ng Unang Ginang na ngayon ay marami na rin namang nagtatamasa. While our housing program still has to catch up with the national demand for shelter, the housing gap has considerably narrowed down in the past two years.

Social security benefits have not lagged behind either. PD 1636 increased the the retirement, disability and death benefits for workers. PD 1202 made maternity leaves part of the Social Security Scheme. We have established a workers' rehabilitation center for work and work-related disabilities, which should be operational early next year.

Tingnan naman natin ang tungkol sa employment. Sa mga nakaraang taon, lahat halos ng mga bansa ng daigdig maging ito'y maunlad na o developing pa wika nga, tulad ng Pilipinas, ay nakadama ng paghihigpit ng employment dahil sa tinatawag narecession na kasabay ng inflation. Sa kabila nito, sa Pilipinas ay napanatili natin ang unemployment rate sa pagitan ng 4-5% lamang, na talaga naming kainggit-ingit, lalo na kung iisipin na ang malalaki at mayayamang bansa tulad ng Estados Unidos at Britanya ay nagkaroon ng unemployment level na 7-8%. Sa isang banda, ito ay dahil na rin sa maagap nating pananaw tungkol sa maaaring mangyari sa mundo. Marami sa ating mga manggagawa ngayon ay nagtatrabaho sa may 110 bansa sa buong daigdig. Sa huling bilang yata nina Minister Ople, mahigit nang kalahating milyon na mga manggagawang Pilino ang nakakalat sa iba't ibang bansa. Bukod sa sila'y

nakakatulong sa pagpapabuti ng ating employment levels, ang mga manggagawang ito ay nakapagpapadala rin ng dolyar sa kanilang mga kamag-anak dito sa Pilipinas na nakadaragdag naman sa pambili natin ng langis mula sa ibang bansa. Noong nakaraang taon, ang dollar remittances mula sa overseas employment ay umabot sa \$664 million. Kung isasama natin ang kinita ng mga overseas construction contractors, ang kabuuan ay aabot sa \$1.3 billion.

On top of this, we have other programs that are intended to generate more employment opportunities for our people. There is the cottage industries guarantee fund and the IGLF at DBP which will expand the job market in small and medium scale enterprises. There are the 11 major industrial projects which, through vertical and horizontal linkages, should open up more employment opportunities. There are the livelihood centers I have mentioned earlier. These are meant to show that even under the most difficult and trying times, we shall exert unrelenting efforts so that the income possibilities for our still unemployed countrymen remain open and available.

All these can only indicate the growing dynamism and confidence which Philippine society as a result of our Martial Law experience. But the important thing is to realize that we cannot rest on our achievements, nor should we be content with pursuing the path of the tried, the tested and the comfortable. National rebirth proceeds from a continuing process of creative tension, collective will and political action. Which is why on this occasion, I once more reaffirm our commitment to sustaining the momentum of greatness ensuing from the national transformation of the past years.

In this spirit therefore, I wish to make the following announcements today:

When the Batasang Pambansa reconvenes in mid-June this year, I will officially and personally see to the early passage of Cabinet Bill 45 fully restoring the rights of the workers to concerted actions that will safeguard their social and economic interests. I had earlier hopes to sign in your presence today a law that will signify further our transition to a normalized state of national stability. I yield however to the collective judgment that such law requires a more thorough deliberation and the full concentration which the recently concluded Special Session of the Batasan because of time constraints did not allow us to do. Much as I would wish to, I am unable to decree the passage of such a law because of a covenant I made with the Batasan limiting the exercise of my legislative powers to matters of extreme national emergency. Let me repeat however that I shall put all the persuasive powers of my person and position to secure the early approval of Cabinet Bill 45. On top of this, I now direct the Minister of Labor to undertake a restudy of the entire Book 5 of the Labor Code with the view to rewriting our entire industrial relations system, if need be, to conform to new perceptions and conditions arising out of normalization. This restudy shall of course be conducted in conjunction with the labor movement and the employers group in this country.

While I earnestly believe that the present labor settlement machinery has, within reason, satisfactorily complied with its obligations to its various clients, I also recognize that normalization might exert added pressures on the existing limited resources of the Ministry of Labor and Employment. May I therefore direct the Minister of the Budget to immediately release to the Ministry of Labor and Employment the sum of P2 million pesos to strengthen its labor relations machinery, principally conciliation and arbitration so that the needs of our workers may be better and more effectively served. Incidentally, I expect a report from the labor movement that will say whether the Ministry's services have indeed improved, after the infusion of this amount.

May I also direct the Minister of Labor to initiate immediately the setting up of a foundation of industrial peace to which I pledge a personal contribution of P500,000. I envision this foundation to be a tripartite catalyst for developing alternative methods for settling labor disputes including the strengthening of such existing modes as voluntary arbitration and the use of the grievance machinery.

I will also sign in your presence a letter of instruction converting the Philippine Government Employees Association compound in Quezon City into a labor center and directing NHA Manager General Gaudencio Tobias to work on eliminating the restrictions reflected in the Certificate of Title No. 60969. I also direct the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines to take care of this center and to put up a workers institute, sports and recreation facilities, a spiritual center and administrative offices for its members and those of its affiliated organizations.

Relative to this, I'm also instructing the GSIS and the SSS to extend the possibility of extending concessional loans to the TUCP toward the setting up of the relevant facilities for our Filipino workers.

May I announce here also that last January 16, I signed a decree immediately activating the Overseas Welfare Fund which have the effect of providing better and more services and extending assistance to Filipino workers overseas. I now direct the Minister of Labor to confer with the labor movement as to who their representatives would be to this all-important body.

May I also reiterate my earlier instructions to the Employees Compensation Commission to hasten the setting up of the Worker's Rehabilitation Center at Lungsod Silangan in Antipolo. An initial amount of P50,000,000 have been set aside for this. This is most appropriate for 1981 is the International Year of the Disabled under the UN.

I also sign in your presence the appointments of the Labor Representatives whose names have been nominated to the Board of the PAG-IBIG Fund, the Director of the National Productivity Commission and the Director of the Bureau of Labor Relations.

On this day, let me end my Labor Day message by quoting from David Ricardo's Principles of Political Economy.

The friends of humanity cannot but wish that in all countries the laboring classes have a taste for comforts and enjoyments and that they should be stimulated by all legal means in their exertions to procure them. There cannot be a better security against a superabundant population.

This administration and this President shall indeed exert all legal means so that our laboring classes may continue to receive their just due as a result of the social and economic progress which workers help bring about in the first place. We have made the requisite steps to ensure that the labor movement in this country continues to grow in respect, stature and magnitude because we believe in its capability to help in the national rebirth. We shall continue to keep this faith.

Maligayang araw ng paggawa sa lahat at mabuhay ang manggagawang Filipino.

I have earlier ordered the Minister of Labor and Foreign Affairs to protect our 2,000 workers caught by the escalating war in Lebanon. We demonstrated our capability to extend such protection to overseas Filipinos in the Iran-Iraq war. Our flag and the will to protect our countrymen, no matter how humble, and no matter when in the world they may be found must have the capability.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos to the 46th PAF Anniversary, May 2, 1981

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To the 46th PAF Anniversary

[Delivered on May 2, 1981]

Malugod kong binabati ang Hukbong Panghimpapawid ng Pilipinas ngayong ika-apatnapu't anim na anibersaryo ng inyong pagkakatatag. Though the size of our air force is modest when compared to the air forces of many other countries, the PAF, throughout its 46 years of service to our nation and to our people, has much to be proud of.

What started out as a rag-tag collection of obsolete biplanes manned by young men fresh out of flying school, has evolved and grown into an indispensable force that constitutes one of the main pillars of our country's network of defense and security. The last war witnessed our air force's baptism of fire. Badly equipped and ill-prepared to confront a formidable enemy, the Philippine Air Force nonetheless valiantly rose to engage the invaders, consequently contributing to the critical delay in their timetable of conquest. Though heroic the utter futility of our stand during that tragic chapter in our nation's annals has burned into our minds the need for constant preparedness as well as the inescapable truth that in times of extreme crises we have no one else to rely on but ourselves.

Today, those bitter lessons have not been lost to us. On the grave of our sacred dead we have pledged never to repeat those errors to which they fell victim. Today, we are determinedly resolved to adhere to the principle of self-reliance. We are striving to create the material as well as spiritual conditions to upgrade our capabilities. Though our initial successes in this direction have not been entirely spectacular, we are gradually finding out for ourselves that indeed we can solve our own problems, and that we can create the conditions that will secure our and our children's future. While this effort is being undertaken on a nationwide scale and by virtually every sector of our society, the Philippine Air Force — as well as anybody else — has been consistently demonstrating its determination to pursue this collective goal. The constraints imposed upon us by the limitations of our economy make up the basic premise that has compelled us to adopt no other approach to the resolution of our national predicament. This is also the reason why the PAF, like the other services of our armed forces has been assigned tasks far and beyond its purely military functions.

In other countries, the military establishment is a debilitating, unproductive factor in the economy. The perennial argument on priorities involving guns and butter is but one manifestation of contradictions inherent in societies which have failed to strike a reasonable balance between expenditures for defense and investments for production. The long-running debate has in fact polarized issues where one contending faction tends to lose sight of the significance and the validity of the other's arguments. As a consequence, either national defense is sacrificed for the sake of production, or vice versa leaving that particular society vulnerable to various dangers. We in the Philippines are fortunate to have been able to turn the military into forces that not only compliment but on occasion initiate and sustain production. We have been able to turn a significant portion of the awesome investments we have had to make in building our armed forces, into material and human resources that support our campaign to fortify the economy. We need only to recall that, for example, the Philippine Air Force's rain-making operations have helped alleviate the natural climatic difficulties that from time to time occur in various parts of our country. Certainly, the farmers of Negros, Southern Palawan and Mindanao, have the Philippine Air Force to thank for averting a potentially disastrous drought last year. Again it is during periods of natural calamities that our armed forces have shown their beneficial presence. The participation of the PAF in the massive relief operations in Northeastern Mindanao in the wake of typhoon "Aring" is a noteworthy example. During three weeks of operation, the air force airlifted a total of 351,200 pounds of relief goods and consequently released thousands of our countrymen from the very real spectre of starvation. In previous years and in other similarly disastrous circumstances, the sight of PAF aircraft had been greeted with genuine relief that sustained the people's confidence in the government's ability to safeguard their well-being. For this has always been the essential character of the armed forces, including the air force; our men in the military have always thought of themselves as civilians in uniform entrusted with special tasks.

Because of this essential orientation, no militaristic tradition has ever been able to take permanent root in our society. We have none of the militaristic castes that drove other societies into warmaking, often with catastrophic results. Even in the darkest days of the crisis government, when the military was extended extraordinary prerogatives, our armed forces remained faithful to its pledge to defend the Constitution, uphold the rule of law and render itself subordinate to civilian rule. All this tends to indicate that the democratic instinct is firmly embedded in the psychology of our men in uniform, from the most humble enlistedman to most decorated general officer. What we have been able to create is a military system made up by individuals who perceive themselves first and foremost as citizens. Those who charge our government with encouraging the rise of militarism have failed to consider that in view of this tradition in our armed forces, any militaristic program would be extremely difficult if not altogether impossible to implement. But that does not in any way cast doubt in the ability of the Armed Forces, including the air force, to defend our country from external aggression and internal subversion.

The Filipino fighting man is one of the most highly respected and greatly feared in the world. In many battlefields both within our own country and abroad, the Filipino soldier has more than commendably vindicated himself. He has earned the undying admiration of the fighting men of other nations whom he has in many arenas either fought shoulder to shoulder with or struggled relentlessly against. But courage and will are not enough to emerge victorious especially in modern wars. Even the fiercest and most stouthearted warrior becomes ineffective, if not pathetic, when he is made to confront in a life-and-death struggle a better equipped, fully armed opponent. This, therefore, is the underlying rationale for all our current efforts to beef up the capability and logistics of our armed forces. We have to provide our fightingmen all the support that he needs and which we are capable of giving.

But again let me reiterate and lay further emphasis that all our undertakings to upgrade the technical capabilities and capacities of our armed forces must originate from a posture of self-reliance. For in times of conflict our links with the rest of the world are among the first to suffer. We cannot afford to become dependent on a system of replenishment whose supply lines can be so easily cut off. We have to learn to provide for our own requirements to improvise if we must. For with material self-sufficiency through self-reliance, we lend greater legitimacy to all the claims we have been making about our nation's independence. We remain as free men only for so long as we can defend ourselves; and moreover any system of national defense has to be enduring if our own freedoms are to endure.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 9th National Conference-Workshop of PACTAA, May 4, 1981

Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 9th National Conference-Workshop of PACTAA

[Delivered on May 4, 1981]

I consider it a privilege and a welcome opportunity to join my fellow workers in government for this National Conference-Workshop of your association.

Your association stands high in the consciousness of the public and the government as an organization representing the interests and the concerns of local treasurers and assessors. It is also I feel an organization that underlines the vital importance of your work as civil servants: which is the bedrock of sound fiscal administration in local government.

A vital strategy in our social and economic development plan to upgrade the standard of living and the quality of life of our people is to enlist the active participation of local government units in the attainment of that goal. This means that we have to enhance the capability of local governments in the delivery of essential public services, which implies the need to provide local government units with a sound fiscal system which will effectively rationalize and optimize local resource allocation and utilization.

The series of Decrees on local government finance and fiscal administration which I have promulgated during the last eight years of the new society were precisely intended to fill that need. I am sure that as local treasurers and assessors, you are all very familiar with these decrees. So perhaps, what you would like to know is the rationale of each in relation to their role or function as integral parts of the national masterplan for social progress and economic development.

In looking at these measures, it is important first to bear in mind they are interrelated components of a total system. For one, the decrees on local taxation, the allotment system and those granting national aid to local governments will be more meaningful and logical if studied in relation to the revenue sources and budgetary requirements of the national government. In our desire to give local governments more taxing and revenue-raising powers, we must take care that we do not deplete the resources of the national government and unduly impair its capacity to discharge its mandated functions, even as we subscribe to the strategy of program implementation that when certain functions or services can be performed more effectively by local governments, the same should be decentralized and funds for their prosecution transferred accordingly. On the other hand, we must also consider the taxpayers situation and prevailing economic conditions and thus avoid multiple and competitive local impositions which will overburden taxpayers or create de-stabilizing effects on the economy. Indeed, the ideal state of equilibrium in this particular area of public finance is quite elusive. We have however endeavored to preserve this type of delicate balance throughout the whole range of the fiscal reforms and innovations that we have introduced to improve, update and modernize local government finance and fiscal administration.

Let us briefly review these fiscal reforms and innovation.

REVENUE GENERATION

The following Decrees may be classified under the category of measures designed to directly increase the income of local governments, broaden and expand their revenue-base, and induce them to exercise their taxing and other revenue-raising powers, namely:

A. P.D. 144, revising the internal revenue allotment system effective July 1, 1973, recently amended by P.D. 1741, entitled “governing the computation of national internal revenue allotments to local government units” issued on October 31, 1980;

B. P.D. 320, amending R.A. 917, the revised Philippine Highway Act, which provided, among others, road maintenance funds for national, provincial, city and municipal roads;

C. P.D. 701, further amending R.A. 917 by providing adequate funds for the maintenance of existing and unabandoned feeder or farm-to-market roads, which took effect on march 16, 1975;

D. P.D. 436, which took effect on April 16, 1974, granting to local governments a share in certain specific taxes on petroleum and other products which shall accrue to their respective infrastructure funds;

E. P.D. 558, which took effect on September 21, 1974, amending P.D. 436 by allocating a share of the specific tax allotment for apportionment to the barangays for the construction, improvement and maintenance of barangay roads and bridges;

F. P.D. 231, the local tax code, which took effect on July 1, 1973, as amended by P.D. 426 dated March 30, 1974, P. D. 796 dated September 4, 1975 and P.D. 863 dated December 29, 1975;

G. P.D. 464, the real property tax code, which took effect on June 1, 1974, as amended by P.D. 523 dated July 30, 1974, P.D. 675 dated March 20, 1975, P. D. 794 dated September 4, 1975, P. D. 853 dated December 19, 1975, P. D. 888 dated February 4, 1976, P. D. 939 dated May 29, 1976, P. D. 976 dated August 10, 1976, P.D. 1002 dated September 22, 1976, P. D. 1230 dated November 4, 1977, P. D. 1383 dated May 25, 1978, P. D. 1384 dated May 25, 1978, P. D. 1446 dated June 11, 1978, and P.D. 1621 dated April 19, 1979; and

H. P.D. 752, the decree of local credit financing, which took effect on July 25, 1975.

ON FISCAL ADMINISTRATION, INCLUDING BUDGETING AND LOCAL SUPPLY MANAGEMENT

There are two presidential decrees which basically govern local fiscal administration, including budgeting and local supply management, namely:

A. P.D. 477, the Decree on local fiscal administration, which took effect on June 3, 1974; and

B. P.D. 526, “providing for an improved system of acquisition, utilization, care, custody and disposition of supplies in the local government x x x” which took effect on August 2, 1974;

It goes without saying, of course, that these Presidential Decrees have their respective implementing rules and regulations and, in some cases, letters of instructions to supplement or enforce them effectively.

Our long-range primary objective for enacting the decrees on local taxation was to develop financially viable and self-reliant local government units which will have the actual experience and responsibility of levying and collecting local taxes and generating other forms of revenue for their current operating and developmental expenses. Gradually, these local units of government are expected to become less and less dependent upon national aid or financial assistance. In 1973, however, what was urgently needed was a simple and more equitable allotment or grants-in-aid system. Our answer was P. D. 144, promulgated on March 31, 1973, to take effect on July 1 of the same year. Statistics show that the internal revenue allotment and other national aids have grown from a level of P725-million in 1970 to an estimated P1,856-billion in 1980; yet, in terms of relative percentage to revenue from purely local sources, said allotments have registered a decelerating trend. This is indicative of the gradual attainment of the long-range objective i have mentioned earlier.

To augment local funds and to finance the maintenance, repair and improvement of existing roads and bridges as well as the construction of infrastructure projects, P.D. 436 was issued on April 30, 1974 increasing the specific tax imposed on certain petroleum products with the differential proceeds being distributed to the local units in the form of specific tax allotments, which are released to them simultaneously with their regular internal revenue allotments.

P.D. 320 was promulgated to adjust the system of putting up local counterpart and enable financially depressed local units to avail of their national aids without putting up the usual local counterpart for the maintenance of existing and unabandoned roads and bridges. P.D. 558 allocated a share of the specific tax allotments for apportionment to the barangays for the construction, improvement and maintenance of barangay roads and bridges.

P.D. 701, further amending R.A. 917, provided adequate funds for the maintenance of existing and unabandoned feeder or farm-to-market roads.

LOCAL TAXATION

P.D. 231 as amended, otherwise known as the local tax code, was promulgated on July 1, 1977, pursuant to the 1973 constitution which grants local governments the power to create their own sources of revenue and to levy taxes, subject only to such limitations as may be provided by law.

The Local Tax Code is such a law. It delineated the respective taxing powers of the provinces, cities, municipalities and the barangays. It also specified the extent and limitations of the taxing and other revenue-raising powers of local governments in two ways:

A) Specific Limitations – those that apply to a particular level of local government; and

B) Common Limitations – those that apply to all levels of local governments.

Local taxes imposed under the provisions of the Local Tax Code show a dramatic trend of increases. After the first year of implementation the collections from local taxes increased from P196-M in F.Y. 1973 to P343-M in F.Y. 1974, or an increase of P147-M equivalent to 75%. Local tax collections recorded a progressive yearly increase reaching a high of P504-M at the end of 1977, which is equivalent to an increase of P308-M or 15% from the time the local tax code was implemented in July, 1973. Collections from business taxes for C.Y. 1980 are estimated at P886-M.

The Real Property Tax Code (P.D. 464, as amended), was promulgated in answer to the need of a comprehensive measure that will solve the multifarious problems that beset real property tax administration. These are the major problems then:

1. The widespread practice of underdeclaration of the true and full value of real property in spite of the requirements under C.A. 470 and the various applicable provisions of city charters, for owners to declare the true and full value of their property for purpose of taxation.
2. Inability of provincial and city assessors to undertake an effective revision of real property values as required of them by C.A. No. 470 and the various city charters. While the values of real properties have considerably increased, particularly in urban areas, the schedule of values have not been correspondingly revised or modified.
3. Lack of competent assessment staff and inadequacy of basic assessment tools, particularly tax maps.
4. Low efficiency in the collection of the real property tax.
5. Lack of funds for assessment operations.

Collections from the basic real property taxes which accrue in their entirety to the local governments were more than doubled from P290-M at the end of C.Y. 1974, the year the Real Property Tax Code was enacted, to P586-M at the end of C.Y. 1977. The C.Y. 1980 estimated collection from the realty tax is P1,152-billion.

FINANCIAL AUTONOMY

I understand that the ministry of finance in collaboration with the national tax research center and the University of the Philippines is conducting a research project which includes the study of the effects of the revenue-generation decrees which i have mentioned. I may be second guessing the result of the study, but I think I can reasonably anticipate that the findings will show that one of the factors identified as responsible for more equitable real property tax assessments is the return of the assessment service to the supervisory jurisdiction of the ministry of finance.

Under P.D. 464, provincial and city assessors were once again presidential appointees and the supervisory line of authority from the ministry of finance was clearly re-established. P.D. 464 has thus ensured a strong career and professionalized assessment service.

Another reason that I may also identify is the promulgation of P.D. 1383, amending P.D. 464, where I decided to make mandatory the appointment of deputy provincial and municipal assessors in every municipality in the country. The incumbents of these positions are supposed to be with us today. I am sure they are not falling behind the high expectations that we have, in faithfully enforcing the provisions of the real property tax code especially those pertaining to the principles of uniformity and equity in taxation.

The issuance of P.D. 752 further enhanced the financial autonomy of local governments. This Decree consolidated all credit financial schemes previously available to local governments under separate laws. Aside from domestic loans from local financial institutions, local governments are now allowed to borrow from funds secured by the national government from foreign sources. They may enter into financing contracts with private entities for turn-key projects. Deferred payment financing schemes are also available to them.

P.D. 526 and its implementing regulations Joint Department Order No. 1-75, which by express provisions of the Decree has been adopted as an integral part thereof, has systematized the acquisition, utilization, care, custody and disposition of supplies in local governments. This Decree provides for a built-in mechanism for check and balance in the composition of the committee on awards. Such management tools as the annual procurement program and a handy annualized set of rules and regulations make the system facilitative and expeditious, while protecting the integrity of the supply acquisition and disposal process.

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

Consequent to the expansion of the resource base of local governments, a set of basic rules was formulated to govern the conduct and management of their financial affairs. P.D. 477 was promulgated on June 3, 1974 to strengthen the internal financial control system of local governments. This included provisions reiterating and reinforcing the supervisory powers of the ministry of finance over treasury personnel and the financial affairs of local units. A mechanism to insure fidelity in the collection, handling and custody of public funds was established. The performance budget system adopted by the national government since 1954 was introduced in simplified form and with modifications to suit the specific, if unique requirements, of local governments. Fundamental principles and ground rules for the expenditure, disbursement and accounting of government funds were prescribed, together with a more defined system of accountability.

Auditors and experts in the installation of internal financial control systems will readily agree with me that the system and network of preventive measures consisting of control records and cross-checks installed pursuant to P.D. 477 and later, P. D. 1445, the government Auditing Code of the Philippines, are practically failsafe or virtually impossible for one to violate and remain undiscovered and unpunished.

I am sometimes jolted, therefore, when i read in the papers something like the Mandaluyong case where millions of local funds are lost through defalcation and at first blush attributable to a failure of the internal fiscal control system.

Of course, man is really an ingenious creature and when the element of conspiracy is present, especially if it involves those who are in charge of the check and balance function, then most systems will be rendered ineffective. I am still hoping however that such defalcation cases are not really because of the inherent weakness or a breakdown of the internal fiscal control system but that, on the contrary, the strength of the system accounts for the discovery and punishment of the culprits.

In this connection I am glad to note that Minister Virata has been relentless and uncompromising in his campaign to eliminate graft and corruption and that since 1971 to 1980, 1,137 from the local treasury and assessment services have been administratively punished, most of whom by separation from the service. I feel comfortably assured, therefore, that Minister Virata will be able to preserve the integrity of the local treasury and assessment service.

I also urge you, individually and collectively, through your association, The PACTAA, to police your own ranks and to reduce to the barest minimum, if not entirely eliminate, instances of defalcation and dishonesty. Although confined to a few, such cases can besmirch the integrity and honor of the many who are innocent and faithful to their oaths of office.

In P.D. 477, we have institutionalized and strengthened the local treasury career service and made provisions for professionalism. Under P.D. 1266, regional offices for local government finance have been created in order that the ministry of finance may be able to exercise closer supervision over field personnel and provide support and technical services closer to the people who need them. Minister Virata will thus be able to cut reaction time and significantly improve the delivery of ministry services.

On the subject of careerism and professionalism, I distinctly recall the occasion when you sought my help and intercession against the inclusion of certain provisions in the draft local government code tending to weaken the local treasury service, primarily by transferring the power to appoint provincial, city and municipal treasurers and assessors to their respective local chief executives. I did not hesitate then to take up the cudgels for you, even at the risk of displeasing the proponents, because I believed that your petition was meritorious. Experience has shown that political interference is inimical to sound fiscal management, and local treasurers and assessors should be protected from the pernicious incursions of partisan politics. It behooves each and every member of the PACTAA, therefore, to preserve the integrity, the honor and prestige of the local treasury and assessment services. On my part I shall continue to be resolute in my drive against graft and corruption, against dishonesty, against defalcation and the misapplication of public funds, but be assured that I shall likewise remain equally steadfast in maintaining strong, effective, professional local treasury and assessment career services. The records show that since 1972 I have appointed 124 provincial treasurers, 102 city treasurers, 69 provincial assessors and 71 city assessors and I have consistently observed the career ladder of promotion. Minister Virata assures me that mainly because of the career system where appointments and promotions are made through merit and fitness, we have in the country today an efficient, effective and highly qualified corp of career officials and employees manning our more than 3,000 local assessment offices and treasuries throughout the country.

This is a distinction for which you may very well feel pride I would trust therefore that in the course of this workshop, you will be able to evolve appropriate recommendations for further improvement of local treasury and assessment operations. Fiscal administration while legalistic in origin and orientation, is also dynamic and there is always room for improvement in response to change.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Araw ng Kagitingan, [May 6, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Araw ng Kagitingan**

[Delivered on May 6, 1981]

On this day of homage and commemoration, here within the walls of this fabled fort, we gather once again to do honor to the memory of our country's dead.

In the annals of the nation, there are many dates and many glorious pages that claim from all the living their constant fealty and remembrance—but this is the one day of the year when we call them all to mind, and render the tribute that a people must always make to those who have fought and fallen in their name.

None of us can look without pride upon the glories and victories that Bataan, Corregidor, Bessang Pass and so many other places stand for in our country. Nor we can we, without a sense of joy, behold them here in the light of the people and the nation we are today.

But if there is pride and there is joy, there is even more the lasting shadow of regret that this great sacrifice of lives had to be made in defense of people and country. The memorials we make, the tribute we offer, and the beauty we have brought to this site cannot hide the crosses marking the resting places of the dead. Nor can they soothe our anguish when we behold before us the ineluctable fact that many more may yet die in so many fields of battle, because men and nations today have not yet truly learned to live with one another in peace.

The only attitude in which we the living can truly approach this moment of remembrance is in grateful recognition of the precious inheritance that we have received from those who have died in battle, and in complete acceptance of the charge that this legacy is something to fight for and preserve every day of our waking lives. Unless we feel this umbilical relation between the deeds now recalled to mind, and our own exertions and labors today, then there is for us here only the sad mortality and tragedy of life.

Yet who among us who has followed or experienced the sorrows of war in our land, can fail to see their deep and abiding links to our struggles and labors today?

These martyred dead in their moments of glory stood for something more than just resistance to an alien invader. If they resisted with such nobility, fortitude and gallantry, it was because above all they stood for a living vision of the people we were and the nation we could become. They could not welcome a stranger, however grandiose his offering of peace and co-prosperity in Asia, because they saw in him yet one more obstacle to the Filipino's sovereignty in his own land.

We may say sometimes that the battles of the last war were fought for the glories of the principal combatants of World War II; we may say that we fought the cause of others as bravely as we fought our own—still there is in the story of Bataan, Corregidor, Bessang Pass, and other theaters of battle, the imperishable stamp of a Filipino cause.

And that cause endures.

None of us who fought those battles—most of whom were barely into manhood—saw the war in the terms in which it is now so often remembered: as a contest between democracy and fascism. We saw it rather quite concretely as a struggle for the future of our people and our society, and a struggle for a place for the Philippines in the family of nations. We could not share the initial welcome extended by other peoples of Asia to the Japanese, because in our

case, national independence was already within sight. And we were not blind, from the beginning, to the real face behind Japan's promise of "Asia for the Asians."

In the event, we won national independence in the aftermath of the war, and won our chance to fulfill the dreams and aspirations so dearly cherished by all who fought the war on our shores.

Through the long years between the end of the war and our own time, we would discover to our dismay that it is one thing to secure national independence, it is another thing altogether to possess it and make it the real catalyst for the fulfillment of visions and dreams. We would find ourselves in many a crisis and many a predicament wondering what it was after all we had won. But plodding and struggling, our nation survived. And today, I, would venture to say to our comrades and brothers who have died in battle: "We have not failed the dream. We have survived, we have endured, we have continued the struggle—and the day is surely coming when the dream will be fulfilled."

I look upon our nation today, and I see a people truly coming to their own: facing up to the obstacles of a new time and proving their resilience; seizing the opportunities before them and transforming them into new realities in national life; exploring the blessings that nature has conferred upon their land and making them yield their bounty; and uniting at last for tasks and labors in a way that they had not done through the years of their colonial captivity and their early tests of independence.

Such a society, I would venture, is by no means the completely fulfillment of the vision that flashed upon our men in battle; but such is not unworthy of their sacrifice and their legacy.

And the promise is here now with us—during this historic time of opportunity and challenge in our country—to give life to a nation truly governed by the rule of law, served by institutions that are stable and creative, raised to the pursuit of goals far beyond what our people have ever dreamed of, and nurtured by men and women who care just as much as these departed men had cared in their own time.

This image of the living link between our past, our present and our future commits us surely to labour relentlessly against the shadow of conflict that now hovers upon the world, and to make our nation secure and stable. It commits us surely to pursue resolutely the programs of reform and national transformation that have lifted us from the valley of crisis to the threshold of national unity, stability and progress. It commits us finally to constantly keep faith with all those in our nation's long history who had time and again raised before us the nation we must and could become.

This day is as much consecration as commemoration: so let us then in remembering and honoring our dead in battle, now raise our heads high and consecrate ourselves to the labors and challenges before us.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on launching of Crops Insurance Program, [May 7, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On launching of Crops Insurance Program**

[Delivered on May 7, 1981]

In several other speaking engagements I have had occasion to propound on the theory that typhoons may have helped develop the resiliency of the Filipino. A farmer sees his crops after months of backbreaking toil, destroyed by the single sweep of torrential rains; but when the storm passes, the farmer grim but uncomplaining picks up his tools to salvage what can be saved, and to plant once more to replace that which nature has unexplainedly taken away. Fishermen see their fishponds crumble under the awesome weight of raging floodwaters, washing away precious investments that are the sum of long years of labor and savings; but as soon as the deluge has ebbed, no time is wasted to fretting—the dikes must be rebuilt, new spawn planted without delay.

I said these in the context of a proposition which is as valid now as it was at the beginning of the human race: in the face of a challenge, human beings develop more rapidly. To the same effect, albeit on a larger plane, is Toynbee's observation that civilization have usually flourished in the face of great challenges, but wilted and consequently declined when these challenges disappear.

The key however, is that these challenges must be met collectively especially when they originate from forces over which man has little or no control. The case of typhoons and other natural calamities is starkly descriptive of the risks that agricultural producers in our country face season after season against which individually they are helpless and without any effective recourse.

We have now begun to resolve this age-old predicament, and I would even dare say that changes that will follow in its wake will be nothing less than dramatic. Against the long history of our agricultural producers' helplessness in the face of natural calamities, we have fashioned an instrument for collective protection; and this instrument is a crop insurance scheme—the first of its kind that our nation has ever seen. Crop insurance will cushion the devastating effects of erratic climatic conditions, even as it provides the sense of security conducive to sustaining the momentum of productive growth. Rather than succumb fatalistically to harsh meteorological vagaries, we have chosen to arm ourselves with a potent mechanism that can blunt the capriciousness of nature.

Crop insurance has taken some time in coming, this is true; but schemes such as this one are not born overnight. They are important stages in the lengthy continuum of long-range social engineering that is an essential prerequisite if our total agenda of reforms is to be carried out, and carried out effectively.

Up till the early 70's, our agricultural development programs were an interesting, if tragic, study in contrasts. Well-meaning policies for agricultural growth stood in stark contrast to lacklustre implementation and performance. Against a long recognized and oft-articulated need for an integrated approach is the record of dispersed, irrational and, ultimately, wasteful utilization of resources. There have been sincere attempts to increase production that almost immediately are bedeviled by the absence of provisions for marketing and related supports; a drive to develop production technology without building up the capability of farmers to utilize this technology; pricing incentives meant to prevail throughout the country but with limited actual outreach; and all this against the backdrop of a feudalistic land tenure system.

I have tried to telescope the past in this manner in order to better depict the circumstances under which we vowed early in my administration not merely to neutralize a rebellion but, more radically, to extirpate its causes—the basic inequality and injustices in our social system. A good three-fourths of our people are rural-based and rely on

agriculture for both their sustenance and their livelihood. Two-thirds of our exports are agricultural products, the fruits of the toil of our farmers.

Nonetheless we have had to adopt a two-pronged approach aimed at actual human development and increased agricultural production. You will recall that our very first act under the crisis government was to liberate our farmers from their centuries-long bondage to the soil where before they were only exploited as tillers. Yet we coupled this social vision with the launching of a package of services and technology that pragmatically addressed themselves to the issues of actual material growth. We have extended to the newly liberated farmers massive production credit which went along with production knowhow and vital production inputs; feeder roads and other infrastructure to make farms more accessible to market centers; irrigation that substantially increased cultivable land; and rural electrification that not only made possible the acquisition of a greater range of creature comforts by rural populations, but perhaps more importantly made more feasible the dispersal of industries to the countryside.

The last eight years of these efforts have been an outstanding period of drastic changes, the most spectacular of which has been the very welcome shift from a deficit production economy to a surplus, net-exporting one. Extensive and meaningful as these changes have been in upgrading the livelihood and living conditions in the rural areas, the task that we have taken upon ourselves is far from completed; much has yet to be done. And one of these is the program of crop insurance that we are now launching.

Agricultural producers in the typhoon-prone regions time and again face the prospect of bankruptcy every time destructive winds devastate their crops. Monsoon rains trigger off floods that inundate and destroy vast tracts of farmlands, while prolonged dry spells in other areas give way to drought, not to mention the all too regular outbreak of plant disease and pest infestation.

We have of course, managed to control by some degree a number of these threats; unfortunately we have not yet learned how to master our climate. The yearly toll these disasters take in terms of investments lost is staggering, and available data covering the last 10 years show that these losses have amounted to billions of pesos, all told representing a substantial drain in our economy. It is relatively easy to rattle off the statistics: P2.45 billion lost from 1968 to 1975, and the figure—staggering as it already is—may have increased by 1980. It must be noted that 63 percent of these losses can be traced to the effects of typhoons and floods, while the remainder to drought, plant disease and pest infestation. But statistics and percentages have a queer way of fostering a detached and impersonal perspective which is the least of our intentions. You have only to watch the face of a farmer whose crop has been ravaged by floodwaters to feel a growing sense of despair as his tomorrow becomes uncertain. Removing that uncertainty is the aim and function of crop insurance.

At the outset we shall limit the scheme's coverage to rice farmers and only to the extent of their production inputs—which, however, include even the cost of labor and therefore, when loss occurs makes the recovery of all investments possible. If and when we are able to feel our way better in the implementation of this new concept, we shall widen the insurance coverage, and even expand to other crops. To make this type of social insurance available to all who need it, government is assuming a major portion of the premium. Of the total premium of 11 percent—which is rather sizeable, our government pays 7.5 percent.

Where the insured is a farmer borrowing under the government's supervised credit program, the participating lending agency becomes a twin beneficiary. The fact that all farmers borrowing production loans are automatically covered means that in case of loss from a risk insured against, the individual farmer's loan is repaid by crop insurance to the lending institution. The farmers' credit standing is protected, the risk of the lending institution secured. For this coverage the farmer pays a two percent premium; the lending institution, a mere 1.5 percent. Lest we be misunderstood, protection is available not only to the borrowing farmer but also to the self-financed farmer provided he comes under the supervised production program. Crop insurance is not only meant to extend a mantle of protection from losses, it is also a complementary component of the supervised credit program the main targets of which are increased food production and the maximization of land use by encouraging modern farm practices

The risks insured against are nearly comprehensive: typhoon, flood, earthquake, volcanic eruption and the like; all diseases endemic to plants; as well as all pest, rodent and insect infestations. Available data indicate that a major

percentage of the delinquencies—from which many institutions are now suffering—can be traced to losses resulting from these risks. Crop insurance may well be the answer to the liquidity problems lending institutions face everytime crop failures occur.

It is hardly necessary to state that crop insurance is no panacea for all the ills and problems of agriculture. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that when properly implemented its impact will be felt not only in the farming sector and lending institutions; it will, I am confident, serve as a springboard for faster paced rural development; it will act as a catalyst for greater economic and social change in the countrysides; and over time, it should translate itself into a worthy, and meaningful investment in human resource development.

For the individual farmer himself, toiling as he does under all the uncertainties inherent in agriculture, crop insurance will in all likelihood function as the touchstone of faith to which he can anchor his hopes for a better and more secure future.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 74th Annual Convention of the Philippine Medical Association, [May 13, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 74th Annual Convention of the Philippine Medical Association**

[Delivered on May 13, 1981]

I am delighted to be invited once again to address this annual convention of the Philippine Medical Association; and I welcome the opportunity that this affords me to acknowledge anew the invaluable work that you perform in the service of our people and our nation.

The Philippine Medical Association observes this year its 78th anniversary, and this national convention is the 74th to be convened. Since its founding in 1903, we have seen substantial progress made in fulfilling the aims and objectives enshrined in the Constitution and by-laws of the association, namely, “to federate all medical societies in the Philippines, to promote the art and science of medicine, to improve public health, and to elevate the standards of the medical profession.”

And one of the most meaningful aspects of this record of service has been the intensive tieup of the profession of medicine with government’s own commitment to national health care. This sense of being in the service of a common cause has allowed us many a time to hurdle obstacles in the field of public health, and to override the problems that politics occasionally poses to the cause of medicine.

Your president, Dr. Laya, put it well I think when he said that “medical knowledge is meaningless unless it responds to the needs of our people.”

I know of no objective which more truly describes the nature of our health programs today than the recognition that our supreme aim must be the meeting of needs and the alleviation of human misery

In a developing country like ours, no goal can be more paramount, no service so essential, as the provision of health care to the population. Ill-health is a bitter scar on the lives of people everywhere; in a developing country, where it erodes the vitality of the people, it is a cruel roadblock to the pursuit of development.

In this of course we come face to face with the profound paradox that a nation which needs most quality and range in health care services is oftentimes the one that can least affordit. Every government in the developing world must always undergo a difficult battle for resources in providing for programs necessary to health care.

Of our country and of this government, it will be said, however, that we have always assigned high priority and importance to national health care. We may not always be able to bring in to our country every new development in medical science and technology; we may not be able to readily adapt every major advance in medical research—yet nonetheless we have reason to be proud of the quality of our health care programs, and the state of the medical profession in our country.

Of the state of the medical profession, we need only point out the fact that our medical training has had quite a reputation in the world for sometime now, although sadly this has resulted in the continuing enjoyment by other societies of the doctors and nurses we produce.

Of the thrust of our health programs, we may fairly cite now the high place of health care delivery in our national budget, and the priority we place on basic health services and needs today.

Today, government appropriations for health care is in the vicinity of P1.8 billion. This places the ministry 6th among all ministries of government. For 1982, the requested budget is P3.2 billion; evidently this is because Minister Garcia, who is a member of your association, is determined to bring up the rank of the ministry even higher, and determined to capitalize, on my intent to give even more emphasis to the expansion of health services, especially in the rural areas.

The totality of government commitment to national health care, in terms of institutional support, now comprises 362 hospitals of different categories, 1991 rural health centers and units, 7,099 barangay health stations and various special health service units serving our people. The specific services provided now encompass preventive, curative and rehabilitative medicine. At barangay level, we now provide one midwife for every 5,000 of our population.

I would emphasize before this Assembly the attention we must give to health care in the rural areas and at the level of the village. For I do not mind repeating that it is there—in our rural sector—where the decisive battle in health care must be fought and won. And it cannot be won by government alone, but by you and us in government acting together in the service of programs that can result in relief and amelioration.

In laying at this point the foundations for a more expanded and wide-ranging national health care program, we are giving particular stress today on the primary health care approach which has been developed in conjunction with the World Health Organization. This thrust is designed to involve the entire population to participate actively in health care and disease prevention; to be not just mere receivers of health services, but also codeliverers of basic health services and needs. This approach accentuates the promotion of health, the prevention of diseases, and the practice of self-care and self-help to develop self-reliance as a way of life in our local communities.

We believe that it is worthwhile to invest part of our available resources in institutionalizing this approach to health care, because over the long term this is going to prove decisive in the maintainance of health in our population. We need to try new approaches in our health programs for the very poor and the needy, and for the depressed communities, because it is simply imprudent for our nation to merely concentrate on the rehabilitative and curative aspects of health care. Communities must be encouraged to develop over the long term capabilities to cope and avoid the blight of ill-health.

As we endeavor to install these innovations in our national health care programs, we shall likewise take steps to enhance the overall quality of health care administration and revitalize our ministry of health and the totality of our health care delivery system. Where this can be done from within, this shall be done. Where this will need the assistance of others from outside government, we shall appeal for help.

But fundamentally we are committed to continuous innovation and expansion of our national health care program.

But let us not, I repeat, be in doubt that health care in a country like ours involves the totality of our population, and the totality of capabilities within our midst. Government is only one protagonist on the stage, and we cannot afford to neglect the vital dimension that private medicine and health insurance schemes play in the total health situation in our country.

The role of private medical institutions and private practitioners, let me say now, is an invaluable one. There can be no gainsaying the services that they offer and perform; there can be no quibble about their critical importance in our national life. If we appeal at times for greater social concern and greater selflessness from our private sector, that is not meant in criticism, but in the spirit of promoting a service already vital and widely acknowledged.

Unethical practices and uncompassionate behavior will certainly occur from time to time in a profession and a field where the needs are urgent, and the costs are high. But we all consider these the aberrations of a noble calling dedicated to the service of people.

Here in your association, we have always looked to the protection and preservation of the high ideals of medical practice, and we will continue to do so as we attempt to widen the coverage of our capabilities for caring for our

people. It will require surely from time to time the strengthening of safeguards and the reformulation of the ethics of practice. This, I am certain, your association is aware of.

Similarly, we cannot turn a deaf ear to the stories and charges we have heard recently about dishonesty in health care delivery, and swindles in the sale of so-called fake drugs. Today, I would like to state that this government will definitely not tolerate this blight on national health care. We shall take every measure necessary to correct this blight. And we shall bring before the bar of justice all those who are perpetrating these misdeeds.

For there is simply no way that we can allow these contemptible practices in our midst. In a society where resources for health care are almost always taken from equally important programs, there is no excuse for their being squandered or eroded by graft. In a society where the majority of our population can ill-afford to waste their earnings on medicine, it is criminal for people to foist fake drugs on the public.

The start for action that can result in change and advancement must surely begin with us in government who man the national health care program. But it must reach and touch and involve the rest of the nation, and especially this community of medical practitioners upon whom we pin so much of our hopes for success in national health care.

I shall end with this appeal for your continued support and dedicated service; and I wish you once again a most successful convention.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the KBL Rally, [May 14, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the KBL Rally**

[Delivered on May 14, 1981]

My friends and fellow countrymen:

Once again we come together as one party, one movement and one voice in the quest for the highest office within the gift of our people.

No man could be more proud and grateful than I am today after listening to your warm expressions of support for my candidacy for the Presidency of our Republic; and no one could feel more privileged than I in being granted anew the opportunity to seek the electoral mandate of our people. Yet it is not I alone who seek here today the majesty of that mandate in the coming elections.

We seek it also for a party and a cause which we all believe in.

A man may aspire and dream of attaining the high and lofty office of the Presidency. Yet only in concert with others and in the service of a cause much larger than himself, can he ever hope to win that office; and only with their help and powered by a shared vision of the future can he ever hope to bear its great burdens and discharge them with honor and distinction.

We stand here today as a party and a movement that believes in the justness and rightness of our bid to continue to lead the nation.

We stand here for a record of unparalleled and continued service to people and country, that has already carried the nation past the valley of crisis onto new plateaus of achievement and progress.

And we stand here above all for a cause greater than any one man's or one party's aspiration to lead; we stand here for the cause of stability, progress, and vitality in our national life.

With one voice, we proclaim here today the union of our movement with the hopes and aspirations of our people. And we ask of them nothing more than what is deserved by the record of our stewardship of Government and by the solemn vows we have made to continue the momentum of national achievement.

Others may speak during this campaign about their doubts and uncertainties in this historic time of opportunity in our country. For ourselves we speak of our confidence in the capabilities and genius of our people to meet crisis and to seize the opportunities of the day.

Others may shun the discomforts of an electoral battle, simply because they see little hope of victory at the polls. We on our part fully believe in the need for our people to render their verdict in the elections, and to provide a new mandate to Government.

Others may not now have a coherent vision of their program of Government and the future of the nation. We on our part stand by an authentic program of Government, a clear vision of the future, and a record of leadership that no less than the World Bank has described as "one of the most outstanding in the entire developing world."

I have said before and I will say again that in this campaign and in the coming elections, regardless of the seeming lack of parity in political strength, my leadership and the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan will fully submit themselves to our people for judgment. They shall not avoid the rigors of public scrutiny — in regard to its policies and programs in the past, and in regard to its policies and programs for the future.

For we believe that this is what is supremely needed now: at this point when the nation will elect its first president under the amended Constitution. More important than the determination of victors at the polls, is the prudent and thorough assessment of the future shape and direction of Government.

And this is why I say we shall bring before our people during this campaign the cause which we represent as a party, and the program of Government which we pledge to carry out. We are prepared and we shall undertake to discuss with any group and in any forum every vital question of national life and the specific policy responses of our party to each of them.

If it is discussion that is wanted or needed, we shall discuss. If it is debate, we shall debate. Let no one ever doubt our readiness to present the case for every position, every policy and every program that constitute our total program of Government.

In elections in the past, there never was enough attention given to real issues and policy problems in government. Too much attention was given to the accidents of personalities and the time-worn issues that had been emptied of meaning.

In this campaign, we invite the opposition and the public to inquire with us earnestly into every sector of national life, to examine problems in detail, and to discuss alternative policies to them.

Fundamentally, the KBL Platform of Government stands for continuity with the reforms instituted by the New Society during the period of Martial Law, and for the institutionalization of these reforms under the climate of full political normalization.

We see the surmounting of crisis and the national reconstruction undertaken by crisis government as an essential bridge to the achievement of greater stability and progress for the nation.

In the maintenance of this link, we perceive the nation's confident movement towards full development and modernization.

In the continuation of the process of reform, we see the venue whereby we can attain greater equality and justice among our people.

Specifically, what are the policies we stand for?

In the area of politics and government, we fully support the new framework of Government enshrined in our Constitution and in the amendments recently ratified in the plebiscite. That framework represents for us the assurance of political stability and efficacy in governmental processes.

We support a strong Batasang Pambansa that will be the legislating power in Government.

We support the conjunction of the legislative power with the executive power of Government.

And we support the vigorous development of Government in the local communities, from the regions, down to the provinces, to the municipalities and to the barangays. And we are committed to policies and programs that will strengthen Government at community level.

In the economy, we aim at progressively higher rates of real economic growth sufficient to match the needs of sustained industrialization.

Attention will be given to the development of industries, but the same importance will also be given to agriculture and agri-business enterprise, which today constitute a vital growth sector in the economy.

But we shall ever remember that the material well-being of every member of society is the object of development, and for this purpose we shall vigorously pursue policies towards the optimum sharing of the fruits of production.

The economic enfranchisement of our rural poor shall continue to be a principal objective in our economic programs, both in industry and agriculture.

Export development, as an essential policy to meet payments problems and to generate industrial development, will be pursued, particularly in the area of manufactured goods.

For the purpose of establishing balance in urban and rural development, there will be continuous efforts to spread development projects equitably between the urban centers and the countryside.

For every region, specific regional development programs will be pursued, consonant to the unique resources and needs of each. The specific developmental thrusts for all the regions are specified in the KBL Platform of Government.

Finally, we shall continue to support the position of private enterprise as our most important agent for economic productivity and expansion. Only in sectors where Government intervention is truly needed for lack of entrepreneurs, or for reasons of urgent national interest, will Government move and take on the task of economic effort.

In the area of social development, which basically involves social reform and the sharing of wealth, we shall give stress to the following policies:

First, there shall be representation for every sector in national decision-making; that is to say, for farmers, for workers, for the youth, and for the local barangays.

Second, land reform will continue to be a high priority program of the Government, and we shall pay utmost attention here to expand the benefits and coverage of the Land Reform Program.

Third, labor shall be entitled both to employment and to just and humane terms and conditions of employment. The full exercise of the workers' right to strike shall be reinstated. And Government shall continue to provide protection and assistance to the working class.

Fourth, essential social services such as health, welfare and education shall be a strong focus of expansion and reform, along lines that will increase national self-reliance, dignity, and cultural identity.

Fifth, human settlements which is addressed to the 11 basic needs already identified will be accelerated, and there will be particular emphasis and expansion in the programs for housing, livelihood centers, and community development.

In the area of government administration, we shall squarely face up to the problems of graft and corruption and incompetence in government. In the one, we shall strengthen our systems for discipline and reform in the civil service. On the other, we shall continue to strengthen managerial skills in the government bureaucracy through the training of managers at the Development Academy of the Philippines and other Government institutions.

In the area of national security, we stand fully on the principle that the integrity of the national territory is sacred and cannot be compromised.

For this purpose we believe in the maintenance of a self-reliant and vigilant defence force.

Towards all groups that advocate the armed overthrow of the Government, towards subversion and insurgency, we are committed to pursue programs to meet such threats and to erode their base support.

In Mindanao, we shall continue to pursue our policies of reconciliation and rehabilitation of rebels who return to the fold, and the vigorous implementation of socio-economic development projects. But armed threats in the area will be met as they specifically warrant.

Terrorism, which has lately been perpetrated in our midst, will be met head-on, in such a manner as to banish completely this blight in our national life.

In the area of peace and order, we shall specifically pursue two parallel programs.

First, the upgrading and intensification of our law enforcement program, by such measures as will promote the vitality of our police agencies; and

Second, by the complementary democratization and humanization of the administration of justice. Rehabilitation of prisoners will be of particular concern to us as we move towards greater implementation of our Probation Law and improvements in our penal system.

Finally, in the area of international relations, we subscribe to the philosophy of “development diplomacy,” which recognizes the vital importance of foreign relations in the achievement of national development. The keystones of foreign policy under the New Society will be reinforced, and these are:

1. The establishment of friendly ties with all nations;
2. The promotion of ASEAN cooperation and community;
3. The continued reexamination and advancement of our ties with the United States and Western Europe;
4. Identification with the Third World and with the reform of the international economic order; and
5. The support of the principles and ideals of the United Nations system, and the support of initiatives to reform the U.N. Charter.

With regard to the U.S. military bases in the country, we are committed to the amended Bases Agreement which provides for periodic renegotiation and for Philippine jurisdiction over the bases. We reject the call of those who advocate immediate abrogation of the agreement as foolhardy and impracticable. On the other hand, we believe that the bases are vital to the wider framework of regional balance of power and stability in Asia.

In foreign relations, we have achieved over the last few years many major breakthroughs that have vastly expanded our contacts with the rest of the world and enhanced our position in the family of nations. We believe that in the new dangers rising now in the international scene, the basic thrust of our foreign policy if maintained and intensified provides invaluable inputs into the total strengthening and development of the nation.

These in the main underline the policy directions that our party and our movement stand for. It is a platform to which as leader of the party and as standard bearer in the Presidential Elections, I am fully committed to support. Indeed, I will say that a vital dimension to this platform is the outcome of my own personal beliefs and efforts, which have found support within the party.

In its totality, this platform is no mere recitation of promises to the nation; this is a platform rooted in policy choices and directions. This is a program of Government whose main outlines have been already seen by the nation and has been proven by performance.

What the philosophy of the New Society has already produced in the way of rebirth and renewal in our country, it can now transform into a momentum for national progress that cannot be deterred. Here lies our hope for permanence in the reforms that have been instituted. Here lies the promise of fulfillment for many of our aspirations as a nation.

The historic momentum that has been set must not be allowed to falter. The forward movement must continue.

This is not the vision of one man alone, or even of a party alone. It is rather the vision that for so many years now have gathered our talents and our energies in one common striving for the strengthening of national life.

It is your dream and mine. And I so ask you again, at this historic time of choice in our country, to join your hands once more with mine and pledge with me our undying commitment to the realization of this dream.

Thank you all and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

**Address of President Marcos on the 28th Annual Convention Rural Bankers Association of the Philippines,
May 14, 1981**

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 28th Annual Convention Rural Bankers Association of the Philippines**

[Delivered on May 14, 1981]

Ako'y nalulugod at nasisiyahan na muling makapiling sa ganitong maringal na pagkakataon ang Rural Bankers Association of the Philippines. Malaki ang aking tiwala at mataas ang aking pagtingin sa mga kasapi ng inyong samahan dahil sa mahabang panahon ng ating pagsisikap upang makamit ang kaunlaran, maliwanag na ang Rural Bankers Association of the Philippines ay patuloy na naging matatag at maaasahang kabalikat ng pamahalaan. In all the long years of our collective struggle, to achieve progress, the Rural Bankers both individually and as a group have commendably acquitted themselves as dependable and steadfast partners of our government in the pursuit of countryside development.

By extending your credit facilities to the most crucial areas of productive endeavor, you have made it possible for us to gain substantial headway in our twin programs of food production and agrarian reform. Your response to the needs of the farmers during the devastating floods of 1972 and 1974, your enthusiastic support for our successful Masagana 99 Rice Production Program, among others, deserve the highest praise and abiding gratitude of the government.

The tribute to agricultural credit originates from a number of directions. In several conferences of the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization, international experts have agreed that the key to the success of our food production program was the massive channeling of credit to the countryside. Perennially starved of capital, agriculture in our country had previously stagnated and even retrogressed. With the recent infusion of credit resources, however, our farming communities have been transformed into vast fertile grounds for positive change.

This new approach to development planning has added a new dimension to the role of rural banks in development. The initial success of our food production program is a mere foretaste of a continually evolving challenge, even as it opens up opportunities for expanded financial intervention in the rural sector. Today, more than ever, I am certain that credit is a force that we must patiently nurture and sustain in our long-term thrust toward the future.

I fully appreciate the wisdom of your choice of theme for your 23th annual convention, namely, "the future of rural banking in the Philippines," in view of recent events that have the potential of exerting a critical influence on the course that national development will take in the years to come. The initial effects of these events are already upon us.

First, there is the waning spirit of international detente and the accompanying growth of militarism among the superpowers.

Second, there is the festering issue of Kampuchea which directly confronts the five nations comprising the ASEAN.

Third, there is the energy crisis that continues to fuel inflation, recession and protectionism among nations, big and small. And last — and perhaps more ominous — there is the persistent warning of the F.A.O. on declining food supply, which serves to make more real the prospects of worldwide food shortages and hunger. Taken together all these factors only emphasize the vital importance of agriculture — particularly food production — for the continued survival and sustained growth of our nation.

It would therefore be prudent for us to emulate the strategy of the biblical Joseph by producing and accumulating ample buffer stocks of foodstuffs during periods of plenty as a hedge against the period of scarcity that will surely come. Ample production of basic needs will insulate our economy and our people from the adverse impact of inflation, recession and protectionism coming from abroad, not to mention the debilitating effects of a volatile international market. Adequate supply of basic food items will help moderate any increase in prices, thus keeping these commodities within the reach of the masses.

Perhaps more than any other sector, it is agriculture that is most reassuring and crucial to the attainment of progress and well-being of the nation. The majority of our people live in the countryside; their principal occupation is agriculture. It is in those areas where the problems that agrarian reform seeks to solve are most pronounced, and where the living conditions of many of our countrymen deserve immediate, meaningful and enduring change.

Those of us who inhabit the cities, where the pace of business is frenzied and where expansion is highly visible, are likely to assume that the major source of growth is the urban industrial sector. Yet, the real foundation of the economy is agriculture, which we so often take for granted. The fact is that it was the new productivity of our farms which made agriculture for the first time in many years the acknowledged growth sector of the national economy. It was the rise of rural incomes and consequently the increase of rural purchasing power that enabled city-based manufacturing to continue production despite the declining demand in the urban centers as a result of inflation. In this dramatic transformation of the Philippine countryside, our rural banking system has been a major stimulus for growth.

In partnership with government you have more than contributed your share in changing the face of our rural communities. This partnership is deeply rooted in the basic philosophy, in the socio-economic objectives, in the scope of operations, in the clientele and in the funding of the rural banking system. With the ever widening role that agriculture is expected to play in our thrust towards overall development and modernization, as well as the provision of adequate food security in case of future adversity, we turn to the rural banking system for continued cooperation and support for current and future government-assisted special financing programs. Your strategic location and your extensive network of head offices that are easily accessible to farmers make you the backbone of the rural credit system.

The broad range of agricultural programs — such as Masagana 99, Masaganang Maisan, Gulayan sa Kalusugan, Bakahang Barangay and Biyayang Dagat — are not mere slogans for obtaining agricultural credit. They symbolize, in fact, the totality of the effort required. They represent the means for creating jobs in the rural areas, for increasing production and income, thereby improving the standard of living of all Filipinos. We have come to realize that the participation of rural banks in these government-sponsored financing programs involves great risks, high costs and a relatively low return on investments, due largely to the vagaries of weather and the marginal status of agrarian borrowers. It is also a fact that the rural banks are virtually the only private banking institutions which participate in these costly and high risk credit operations. In view of their singular cooperation and unstinted support to national priority programs, it is but fitting that government should reciprocate their patriotic gesture by sustaining and even enlarging the provision of adequate incentives to rural banks. In addition, these incentives are designed to strengthen the capabilities of the rural banking system.

We are all aware that farmers whose crops are successively destroyed by floods and other natural calamities are unable to repay their loans. As one consequence, a number of rural banks are also unable to meet their obligations with the central bank. I have been made to understand that the central bank, in close coordination with rural bankers, has recently issued a circular implementing an earlier presidential directive to provide a just and lasting solution to the problem of rural bank arrearages. This is possibly a happy medium for compromise between what rural bankers have been asking for and what the central bank is prepared to give. On top of this, I will now direct the ministry of finance to explore the possibility of adopting a cost-sharing scheme whereby the national government, by floating long-term capital bonds, would be able to absorb a portion of rural bank arrearages.

It has also reached my attention that a great number of rural banks declare cash dividends and incur extraneous and unnecessary expenses just to maintain their common paid-in capital at amounts below the tax-exempt ceilings of P1 million to P3 million. It is obvious that the low tax exemption ceilings, instead of serving the intended purpose, have become a great disincentive to a desirable equity capital expansion among rural banks. In resolving this paradox, I

again order the ministry of finance to prepare a Batasang Pambansa Bill or a cabinet bill that will align the tax exemption privileges of. Rural banks with those of private development banks in order that they will continue to enjoy up to 1985 higher exemption ceilings of P10 million to P30 million, depending on their respective classifications.

The other development affecting the rural banking system, which I deliberately reserved for emphasis at this juncture, is the set of banking reforms and innovations introduced into the country's banking system. Basically, these reforms which introduced the concept of universal banking, are designed to remove enforced legal specializations, encourage healthy competition, enhance economies of scale and promote long term investments. It has become a truism that in business, particularly in banking, one has to expand one's capital base to become more competitive. This is because capital is the basis and the yardstick for a bank's overall borrowing and lending capacity. It is also the standard measure for accommodating the credit requirements of individual borrowers.

It has also been the policy of the state to extend government counterpart capital assistance to all rural banks that will match private paid-in capital on a peso-for-peso basis, with the sole condition that government equity capital shall be exclusively utilized in government-assisted special financing programs. In order to make the rural banks more competitive in the rural financing market, I direct the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of the Budget and the Central Bank to collectively find ways and means of increasing the annual appropriation for capital assistance to rural banks from sources authorized under the general appropriations act to fully match their common paid-in capital.

I understand there are still some vestiges of enforced legal specialization in rediscounting policies which place limits on amounts — about P40,000 — and on the percentage — 40 percent — which rural banks may obtain from the central bank. The Rural Bank Act has been so amended as to expand the range of functions and provide greater flexibility in the scope of activities in which rural banks may engage themselves.

One of these changes is to allow rural banks to accommodate bigger borrowers not only to enable them to determine their optimum portfolio mix but, more important, to provide them with additional profit centers which would compensate for their cost and risk centers.

It may, therefore, be necessary for the Central Bank to review its rediscounting policies for the purpose of eliminating enforced legal specializations that could hinder the growth and constrict the profitability of rural banks.

I have been informed that one enducement for long-term lending is the extension by the development bank of the Philippines of rediscounting facility for eligible long-term papers. This will not only strengthen the liquidity position of rural banks and provide them greater flexibility and accuracy in managing their funds, but it will moreover afford them better opportunity for granting term loans most of which will go to priority projects like the acquisition of machinery and equipment, build-up of breeding stocks, transportation, financing of livelihood projects of the ministry of human settlements and perhaps even low-cost housing. It is thus imperative that the DBP set aside and allocate sufficient funds for purposes of rediscounting eligible long-term papers of rural banks.

The National Development Plan is intimately linked to the countryside. Our national policy supports the pursuit of a balanced agro-industrial development, aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in food for both a rapidly growing population and surplus for exports to meet investment requirements of increased growth. To complement the various on-going agricultural projects, we have launched the cottage industry guarantee and loan fund. This mechanism is primarily intended to generate employment and income in the rural areas, specially during the slack period between planting and harvesting. Financing of cottage industries will also encourage the profitable use of local raw materials. More than this the export of cottage industry products will significantly augment our foreign exchange earnings.

Agriculture alone cannot hope to create the new jobs needed to cope with growing rural populations. Agricultural improvement must be accompanied by the development of labor-intensive rural industries engaged in such activities as the fabrication of tools and farm implements, the establishment of maintenance shops for agricultural machinery, and the manufacture of agricultural inputs in the countryside. It is important that more rural banks be allowed to participate in the C. I. G. L. F. program wherein they have experienced a 100 percent collection rate. Considering, however, that the aggregate ceiling on loans that may be granted under the C. I. G. L. F. program will be determined

and limited by the total amount of the available guarantee fund, I hereby direct the ministry of the budget to release P7.7 million to the central bank as administrator of the cottage industry guarantee and loan fund.

This is truly a propitious time for all rural bankers to pursue their quest for greater professionalism and excellence. There is order in the land, the country is at peace, within itself and with its neighbors. Our economy has been exhibiting a respectable measure of health, speculations to the contrary notwithstanding. We have just concluded an orderly plebiscite that has now given us the mandate to launch a new political system with the coming presidential elections. Our people's political maturity has stood the tests of current crises, even as we now feel with greater fervor a sense of national purpose.

Once again allow me to convey my warmest greetings to all the participants of this convention. It is my belief that as long as the rural bankers of our nation remain aware of their responsibility to our people, the effort to move forward in the countryside towards a well-balanced agro-industrial growth, will by all indications succeed. With your help, we have managed to create a miracle in our rural areas; our self-sufficiency in staples is just one of its many manifestations. That we have done so is principally due to the prodigious efforts of the farmers themselves; but without your contributions, without the support of our rural bankers, the fruits of such efforts may have been less spectacular.

I therefore extend to you all my sincere congratulations, and in that same spirit, I express the hope that you will continue the good work.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Farmers' Day, May 15, 1981

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Farmers' Day**

[Delivered on May 15, 1981]

Ako'y nasisiyahan na makapiling muli sa pagkakataong ito ang mga tunay na bayani ng ating bansa, ang mga magsasaka. Marahil ang mga magsasaka'y higit na dakila kaysa sa mga ilang kinikilalang bayani ng ating bayan bagaman sila'y hindi nakikilahok sa larangan ng digmaan o sa pulitika man, araw-araw ibinubuwis ng mga magsasaka ang pawis at dugo, araw-araw silang nakikibaka sa mga pagsubok ng kalikasan, araw-araw nilang itinataya ang kanilang buong pagkatao upang ang ating bansa'y hindi gimbalin ng pagka-gutom.

As a developing country the economy of the Philippines is founded upon agriculture, upon the sweat and toil of the millions of farm workers who constitute the great majority of our people. Some so-called experts point out to the principally agricultural character of our National Economy as one of the major factors for our underdevelopment. Sinasabi ng ilang nagmamamarunong na dalubhasa na dahil pagsasaka ang pangunahing pamantayan ng ating pangkabuhayang pambansa kaya daw atrasado o nahuhuli ang pag-unlad ng ating bansa. These so-called experts formulated their analysis on the basis of a discredited theory of development that views progress in one country only in terms of steel mills, gigantic factories, petrochemical plants and all the other vestiges of industrialization. I say discredited because recent events have shown that in the present era it is not enough for a country to be able to produce so many millions of tons of high-grade steel to ensure the prosperity and well-being of its citizens. Sa kasalukuyang panahon kung kailan ang halos bawat bansa sa daigdig ay nakakaranas ng maghigpit na krisis pang-ekonomiya, maliwanag na nakalalamang ang mga bansang may sapat na kakayahang tugunan ang kanilang mga pangunahing pangangailangan. The severe economic crisis that haunts virtually every nation earth has only served to emphasize the importance of self-sufficiency. We in the Philippines are especially fortunate that we have been endowed by divine providence with a land so rich in natural resources. Ang ating mga bukid, ang ating karagatan, ang ating mga kagubatan ay may taglay na likas na yamang mahirap tumbasan sa buong daigdig. Though we ourselves have been adversely affected by the energy crisis, it is this same crisis that has dramatically demonstrated that many of the most advanced nations, the highly industrialized countries, like the many ancient civilizations that history has cast into oblivion, have feet of clay. Madali namang mapatunayan na mabuwag ang kalagayan ng ilan sa mga tinataguriang mauunlad o industrialisadong bansa: kailangan lang nating tanungin sa kanila kung 'yang bang langis ay makapapawi sa pagka-uhaw? 'Yan bang asero o bakal ay maaaring ulamin? 'Yan mga kemikal o plastic ba'y maaaring gawing panawid-gutom kung hindi ipagpapalit sa pagkain? Maliwanag na hindi. At darating din ang panahon, na tila'y unti-unting napapa-lapit, na muling kikilalanin ang tunay na kahalagahan ng agrikultura sa ekonomiya ng daigdig.

This is the reason why our government has made it a strict policy to lay greater emphasis on food production, an agrarian reform, on the development of our rural areas. For we foresee a future when the very survival of our nation shall depend almost entirely on the ability of our rural communities to feed the rest of the nation, to produce the raw materials required in the manufacture of our people's most basic needs. The story of development in our country has for centuries had its focus in the countrysides. The first urgings of nationhood were most keenly felt by the millions of Filipino peasants who rallied around the banner of independence during the revolution at the turn of the century. Many of the soldiers and freedom fighters who kept alive the spirit of liberty during the dark days of the last war were young farmboys whose instinct for freedom and democracy tolerated no foreign invader. Our own movement for national reform, our new society, was fueled by our desire to redress the age-old injustices that once prevailed in our rural areas. Again, even with agrarian reform, we have been able to draw great pride as a nation from the concrete achievements that have taken place in our agricultural communities. After decades of being a perennial rice importer, the Philippines has become a net exporter of staples. Our various agricultural production programs have succeeded in raising rural incomes, such that during the bleakest periods of the current economic crisis it was the increased purchasing power of our rural populations that primarily helped sustain industrial manufacturing. We need

only to remind ourselves of some of the latest developments in the rural areas to discover the collective confidence we need to face up to the challenges and the opportunities of the coming years.

Our agrarian reform program has liberated hundreds of thousands of former tenants from their bondage to the soil. As of March 1981 495,904 certificates of land transfer—covering 589,649 farmland hectares—have been issued, consequently benefitting 378,789 farmers. Realizing the fact that one of the causes of backwardness in the rural areas was the absence of adequate credit facilities we launched and are presently implementing a number of agricultural credit extension programs, including Masagana 99, Masaganang Maisan, Biyayang Dagat, Bakahan sa Barangay Ang Gulayang Bayan. For the Masagana 99 program alone we have extended loans amounting to P4.5 billion as of 1980. Contrary to what our critics have been claiming, the repayment rate in the Masagana 99 program has reached 80 percent, surpassing even the repayment rate of collateralized industrial loans. With this revolutionary credit system, dependence on non-formal credit sources—meaning usury—in the rural areas has declined from 90 percent in 1961 to 35 percent in 1976. Taking off from the success of Masagana 99, supervised credit has been extended to other areas of agriculture, including corn, vegetables, livestock, fish, export crops and even forest products.

To ensure stable and ever-growing production levels, the government has been subsidizing fertilizer prices for the past seven years in order to shield farmers from spiralling world prices of this important input. As of the end of December 1980, the government has spent P2 billion in fertilizer subsidies for rice and corn farmers. In an effort to provide marketing and price supports to agricultural production the government in 1972 created the national grains authority, now the national food authority, to regulate the procurement and marketing of grains, especially rice. In 1975, the country had only 52 warehouses with a capacity of 3.2 million bags. Today, we have 792 warehouses located in strategic points throughout the land with a combined capacity of 36.2 million bags. As part of this program we have also established an adequately funded price support system for grains that has served to assure our farmers of profitable prices for their produce in case market prices drop during harvest time.

As a means of maximizing productivity in our farmlands, the government has been vigorously pursuing the irrigation program. In 1972, the entire country had only 780,158 hectares of irrigated land. By 1980, a total of 1,322,390 hectares of farmlands have been irrigated, representing an increase of about 70 percent in hectareage covered by irrigation. In the next ten years the government intends to put under irrigation a total of 2.47 million hectares of land, representing 73 percent of the estimated irrigable lands in the country.

In order to stimulate the development of alternative industries in the rural areas, as well as to make available to more agricultural communities the amenities of modern living, the government has set aside P500 million for rural electrification, with an additional assistance of P282,352,000 from USAID, World Bank, OECF and the Federal Republic of Germany. To date, 1,441,000 households in the countryside have been energized through our Rural Electrification Program.

Only recently we promulgated PD 1467 launching the National Crop Insurance Program and creating the Philippine Crop Insurance Corporation which will provide insurance protection for 1.6 million farmers against losses due to natural disasters, plant diseases or pest infestation. the crop insurance program is the first of its kind in the country and it will cover all types of farm products, including the cost of production such as labor, fertilizers, pesticides, the farmer's share of the insurance premium and other items qualified for financing under the government's supervised credit program.

Of course, our efforts at increasing agricultural productivity have not been confined to the areas we have discussed. we are pursuing just as seriously other projects along the lines of agricultural research and education, the transfer or extension of technology, the building up of marketing cooperatives, export generation and import substitution, integrated area development, multiple cropping and dairy development. we are doing all this and we shall do more since we, perhaps, more than anybody else realize the deficiencies of our agricultural economy. If we are to continue adequately feeding our growing population, if we are to generate from the rural areas the capital required to sustain our thrusts toward modernization, if we are to do away with inherited economic and social inequities between the urban centers and the countryside we must continually persist in our current efforts and, more important, devise new approaches to the general goal of countryside and agricultural development.

It is in this spirit that we have decided to announce on this day certain policies and actions that the government will take to insure the sustained growth of our agricultural sector.

For the grains farmers, who because of inflationary pressures have been denied a substantial part of their potential income, I authorize the increase in the price of palay to P1.55 per kilo and the price of corn to P1.30 per kilo to take effect immediately. I am certain that this measure would stimulate greater grains production. As additional support to our grains farmers, the government beginning this day shall launch a grain drying program with an initial fund of P106 million in order to enhance our capabilities in processing these vital staples.

One of the principal objectives of our food production program is to achieve self-reliance, food security and make available to our people high-protein food. There is however one area of food production where we have been unfortunately deficient; I refer specifically to dairy production. In order to correct this situation, in order to save ourselves millions of dollars in foreign exchange used in importing dairy products, in order to provide additional sources of income for our farmers, I formally announce the launching of the dairy development program with the appointment of three private sector representatives who shall complete and thus make fully constituted the board of directors of dairy development corporation.

Over the past few years we have succeeded in converting the Samahang Nayons into full-fledged primary cooperatives that undertake business and economic activities. There are now 21,000 Samahang Nayons throughout the country with a total membership of million farmers. In order to further strengthen this network of rural cooperatives I order the withdrawal of barangay savings fund in accordance with the relaxed requirements of the Central Bank. I also authorize the Land Bank of the Philippines to inject equity into these cooperative rural banks amounting to at least one million pesos per cooperative bank. Finally, I order that the cooperative development loan fund be constituted into a revolving fund in order that it could benefit and extend credit to more agricultural producers.

As additional supports to our efforts at cooperatives building I am authorizing the Ministry of Agriculture to make use of its P2 million savings for the training of field personnel on the organization of cooperatives. In addition, I authorize the National Economic Development Authority to make available an additional amount of P6 million to the Cooperative Foundation of the Philippines as seed capital. In order that the benefits of rural cooperatives be extended even to those who had once been misguided to rebel against duly constituted authority but have now pledged to return to folds of the law and render allegiance to the government. I order that the Amanah Bank be put into full operation in order that it can finance the building of rural cooperatives among rebel returnees.

Finally I order that farmers be given representation in the boards of government agencies dealing with agriculture, namely the Livestock Development Council, the Dairy Development Corporation and the National Wages Council to insure that the best interests of our agricultural producers are safeguarded and advanced in these bodies.

Inaasahan ko na hindi kayo gaanong nalula sa mga sunod-sunod na patakaran at hakbangin na aking ipinahayag. Malapit sa damdamin ng inyong pamahalaan ang kapakanan ng mga magsasaka. Ipinagsisikapan naming ipahatid sa inyong lahat ang mga biyaya pati na din ang mga tulong at alalay na inyong kakailanganin upang mapasulong ang katayuan ng agrikultura sa ating bansa. Maaasahan ninyo na tayo'y hindi hihinto sa ating malawakang pagkilos upang makamit ang kaunlaran, na higit pang mapabuti ang kalagayan ng mga magsasaka sapagkat sa inyong mga balikat, sa inyong lakas naka salalay ang buhay at kinabukasan ng ating bansa.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Farmer's Day (Filipino), [May 15, 1981](#)

**Talumpati
ni
Kagalang-galang na Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa Araw ng Magsasaka**

[Inihayag noong Ika-15 ng Mayo, 1981]

Lubos ang aking kagalakan na muling makapiling sa pagkakataong ito ang mga tunay na bayani ng ating bansa, ang mga magsasaka. Higit na dakilang masasabi ang mga magsasaka kaysa ilang kinikilala nating magiging ng ating bayan. Bagaman hindi sila naki-kilahok sa larangan ng digmaan o pulitika man, araw-araw, ibinububo ng magsasaka ang pawis at dugo... Araw-araw, nakikibaka sila sa pagsubok ng kalikasan... Araw-araw, itinataya nila ang kanilang buong pagkatao upang hindi dumanas ng gutom ang ating bansa.

Pagsasaka ang panulukang bato ng kabuhayang Pilipino. sa pawis ng milyun-milyong magsasakang malaking bahagi ng ating mamayan nakasalalay ang buhay at kapalaran ng ating bayan. Sinasabi ng ilang tinatawag na dalubhasa na atrasado o nahuhuli sa pag-unlad ang ating bayan dahil sa pagsasaka ang inaasahan ng ating kabuhasan. ang kuru-kurong itong mga tinatawag na dalubhasa ay salig sa maling paniwalang ang sukatan ng kaunlaran ay ang naglalakihang pagawaan, mga planta ng asero at iba pang palatandaan ng industriyalisasyon. Sinabi kong maling paniwala sapagka't pinatunayan ng mga pang-yayari sa kasalukuyang panahon na hindi sapat sa isang bansa ang magkaroon ng tone-toneladang asero upang matiyak ang kaunlaran at kasaganaan ng mamamayan ng isang bayan. Sa kasalukuyang panahon na bawa't bansa halos ay nagdaranasa ng krisis sa kabuhasan, maliwanag na nakalamang ang mga bansang may sapat na pagkain para sa kanyang mamamayan. Ang malubhang suliranin ng bawa't bansa ngayon sa daigdig ay nag-papatunay lamang na una sa lahat, kailangan muna ang sapat na pagkain at pangangailangan ng mamamayan. Mapalad tayong mga pilipino sapagka't pinagkalooban tayo ng maykapal ng isang lupaing sagana sa likas na kayamanan. Ang ating mga bukid, ang ating mga karagatan, ang ating mga kagubatan ay may taglay na yamang mahirap tumbasan sa buong daigdig. Bagaman tayo ay may suliranin dahil sa energy crisis, ang krisis na ito ang nagpakilalang ang marami sa maunlad na bansa, ang mga bansang umaasa sa industriya, tulad ng matatandang sibilisasyong ibinaon sa limot ng kasaysayan, ay mayroon din palang putikang mga paa. Madali namang patunayang mabuwag ang katayuan ng ilan sa mga tinataguriang mauunlad o industriyalisadong bansa: kailangan lang nating itanong sa kanila kung iyang langis ba ay makapapawi ng pagkauhaw? Iyan bang asero o bakal ay maaring ulamin? Iyan bang mga kemikal o plastik ay magagawang panawid-gutom kung hindi ipagpapalit ng pagkain? At darating din ang panahon na tila unti-unti nang lumalapit, na muling kikilalanin ang tunay na halaga ng pagsasaka sa kabuhasan ng daigdig.

Ito ang dahilan kaya ang patakaran ng ating pamahalaan ay ukol sa high na produksiyon ng pagkain... Reporma sa sakahan... Kaunlaran ng ating mga nayon. Mangyari nga, nakikita natin ang isang hinaharap na nagsasaad na ang buhay at kaligtasan ng ating bansa ay nakasalig lamang nang lubusan sa kakayahan ng ating mga nayon na dulutan ng pagkain ang ating buong bansa, at sa pag-aani ng mga sangkap na kailanga upang gawin ang mga pangunahing panga-ngailangan ng ating mga mamamayan. Ang kasaysayan ng kaunlaran ng ating bansa sa loob ng maraming dantaon ay nakatuon sa mga nayon. Ang unang sigaw ng, pagnanasa nating magsarili ay higit na nadama ng milyun-milyong Pilipinong magsasakang nagkaisa upang lagutin ang tanikala ng ating pagka-alipin. Marami sa ating mga kawal at tagapagtanggol ng kasarinlan at nanatiling may alab ang diwa ng kalayaan noong madidilim na araw ng nakaraang digmaan ay mga kabataang magsasakang may katutubong giting at pag-ibig sa kalayaan at demokrasya. Ang ating sariling kilusan ukol sa Pambansang Pagbabago, ang ating bagong lipunan, ay iniluwal ng ating matapat na panatang pawiin at ituwid ang kawalang katarungang namayani sa ating mga nayon sa loob ng maraming mga taon. Ipinagmamalaki natin bilang lahi ang mga bantayog ng paglilingkod at pagbabagong naganap sa ating mga bukirin. Pagkaraan ng maraming taon bilang bansang bumibili pa ng bigas, ang Pilipinas ngayon ay siya nang nagbibili ng bigas sa ibang bansa, napalaki natin ang kitaing mga magsasaka. Sa tulong ng iba-ibang programang ating inilunsad sa mga bukirin, matatawid ang; p., inakamalubha mang suliranin sa panahong itong krisis; s. kailangan lamang nating lingunin ang pinakahuling pangyayari sa mga nayon upang matuklasan ang tatag at tiwala sa sariling kailangan natin upang harapin ang mga hamon at suliranin ng mga darating pang taon.

Tinubos ng ating-reporma sa lupa ang milyun-milyong magsasaka sa pagkatanikala nila sa lupa. Hanggang noong Marso, 1981, 495,904 na certificates of land transfer na sumasaklaw sa 589,649 ektaryang bukid ang naipamahagi na natin sa 378,789 magsasaka. Alam nating ang kawalan nang sapat na pasilidad kaya naiiwan ng kaunlaran ang mga nayon. Kaya naman, inilunsad natin ang programa sa pagpapahiram ng pera sa magsasaka, kasama rito ang Masagana 99, ang Masaganang Maisan, Biyaya ng Dagat, Bakahan sa Baranggay at Gulayang Bayan. Sa Masagana 99 lamang ay nakapagpahiram tayo ng P4.5 bilyon hanggang noong 1980. Sa kabila ng kung anu-anong sinasabi ng ating mga kalaban, 80 bahagdan ng nangutang na magsasaka ang nagbayad ng kanilang utang. Ang nagpapautang ng patung-patong ang tubo o five six sa mga bukirin ay bumaba mula sa 90 porsiyento noong 1961 sa 35 bahagdan noong 1976. Dahil sa tagumpay ng Masagana 99, ang pagpapahiram ng pera ay ipinagkaloob din sa maisan, gulayan, bakahan, mangingisda, at maging sa produktong galing sa kagubatan.

Upang matiyak sa lahat ng sandali ang ating Masaganang Ani, sinasagutan ng pamahalaan ang halaga ng pataba. Hanggang noong Disyembre 1930, dalawang bilyon na ang naitutulong ng pamahalaan sa patabang ginagamit sa bukid ng mga magsasaka ng palay at mais. Sa hangarin nating matiyak ang mabuting halaga ng ani ng magbubukid, noong 1972 ay nilikha ng pamahalaan ang National Grains Authority, na siyang binigyan ng tungkuling mamili at magbili ng butil, lalo na ang bigas. Noong 1975, 52 lamang ang tinggalan natin ng palay ukol sa 3.2 milyong kabang palay. Sa kasalukuyan, may 792 ang ating tinggalan ng palay sa iba-ibang dako ng bansa at mailalagay rito ang 36.2 milyong kaban. Bilang bahagi pa rin ng programang ito, itinakda natin ang halaga ng palay upang matiyak na nakikinabang ang magsasaka sa kanilang pinagpaguran sakaling mamura ang palay sa panahon ng ani.

Walang tigil ang pamahalaan sa paglalagay ng patubig sa iba-ibang dako ng bansa. Noong 1972, sa buong pilipinas, 730,158 ektarya lamang ang may patubig. Hanggang noong 1980, 1,322,390 ektarya ang may patubig o kabuuang 70 bahagdan ang bilang ng ektaryang napatutubigan ngayon. Sa loob ng susunod na sampung taon, maglalagay ng patubig ang pamahalaan para sa 2.47 milyong ektaryang lupain na 73 bahagdan ng lupaing maaaring patubigan sa ating bansa.

Naglaan ang ating pamahalaan ng P500 milyon ukol sa koryente sa nayon, bukod pa sa P282,352,000 galing sa USAID, World Bank, OECF at sa Republika ng Alemanya upang madala sa ating mga nayon ang tunay na hudyat ng kaunlaran. Hanggang sa kasalukuyan, 1,441,000 bahay sa mga nayon ay may koryente na ngayon.

Kailan lamang, inilagda ng inyong lingkod ang PD 1467 na naglunsad ng National Crop Insurance Program at lumikha sa Philippine Crop Insurance Corporation na siyang magseseguro ng pananim ng may 1.6 milyong magsasaka sakaling magkaroon ng ano mang kapahamakang bunga ng kalikasan, o magkasakit kaya ang mga pananim dahil sa peste sa halaman. Ang segurong ito ng pananim ang kauna-unahang ganitong uring seguro at saklaw nito ang lahat ng uri ng ani sa bukid, kabilang pati ang nagastos sa pagpapatanim, pataba, gamot, bahagi ng prima sa seguro ng magsasaka at iba pang kailangan sa tulong ng programa ng sinubay-bayang pautang.

Ang ating pagsisikap upang mapaunlad ang ani ay hindi lamang sa mga nabanggit ko na nakatuon. Kasabay nang lahat ng ito ang ating mga proyekto ukol sa pananaliksik, pagpapalitan ng karanasan at kaalaman, pagtatayo ng mga kooperatiba, at pagpapasigla ng pagluluwas ng produkto sa ibang bansa. Ang lahat nang ito ay ginagawa natin sapagka't higit kanino man, tayo ang tunay na nakaalam ng mga kakulangan ng ating kabuhayang nakasalig sa pagsasaka. Upang matugunan natin ang pagkaing kailangan ng ating papalaking populasyon, upang mapalaki ang kita ng mga nasa nayon nang sa gayon ay maging mabilis ang ating pagsulong, upang lubusang mapawi ang kinagisnan nating magkalayong agwat ng nayon at mga kabayanan, kailangang ipagpatuloy natin ang mga ginagawang pagsisikap na mapaunlad ang mga nayon at mapaunlad ang pagsasaka.

Sa liwanag ng mga pangyayaring ito, ipinasiya ng inyong lingkod na ipahayag sa araw na ito ang ilang patakaran at hakbang ng pamahalaan upang tiyakin ang pagsulong ng kabuhayan ng ating mga magsasaka.

Para sa mga magsasaka ng palay at mais na nakararanas ng suliranin sa pagtaas ng halaga ng mga bilihin, ipinahihintulot ko na gawing P1.55 isang kilo ng palay at P1.30 isang kilo naman ng mais. Umaasa ako na magiging higit na masipag ang mga magsasaka na mag-ani ng sagana dahil sa bagay na ito. Upang tulungan pa rin ang ating mga magsasaka, simula sa araw na ito, ang pamahalaan ay maglulunsad ng programa sa patuyuan ng palay sa tulong ng unang pondong P106 milyon.

Ang isa sa pangunahing layunin ng ating programa sa pagkain ang magkaroon tayo nang sapat na pagkaing mabibili ng ating mga kababayan sa lahat ng sandali. Subali't, may isang larangan ng produksiyon ng pagkain na ating nakakaligtaan, at ito ay ang tungkol sa gatas at produkto ng gatas. Upang maayos ang bagay na ito, at upang makatipid din tayo ng dolar na ibinibili natin ng mga produktong ito sa ibang bansa, sa araw na ito, ilulunsad natin ang dairy development program sa pamamagitan ng paghirang ng tatlong kinatawan ng pribadong sektor na siyang bubuo sa lupon ng mga patnugot ng Dairy Development Corporation.

Sa nakaraang ilang taon, matagumpay nating nagawang mga kooperatiba ang ating mga samahang nayon. Sa kasalukuyan, mayroon tayong 21,000 samahang nayon sa buong bansa na binubuo ng milyun-milyong magsasaka. Upang lalo pang mapatatag ang kooperatibang ito ng mga magbubukid, iniuutos ko ang paglalabas ng naimpok na pondo ng baranggay, sang-ayon sa mga tuntunin ng Banko Sentral. Ipinahihintulot ko rin sa Land Bank ang paglalagay ng kaukulang pera sa mga Cooperative Rural Banks. Mga isang milyong piso man lamang bawa't bankong kooperatiba ang ilalagay na salapi. At iniuutos ko rin simula sa araw na ito, na ang Cooperative Development Loan Fund ay gawing umiinog na pondo upang makinabang at inaahiram ng mga magsasaka.

Upang tulungan pa ang ating mga kooperatiba, ipinahihintulot ko sa Ministri ng Pagsasaka na gamitin ang dalawang milyong pisong natipid nito ukol sa pagsasanay ng mga panlarangang tauhang magtatayo ng mga kooperatiba. Bukod dito, binibigyang kapangyarihan ko ang National Economic Development Authority, na maglaan ng karagdagang anim na milyong piso para sa Cooperative Foundation ng pilipinas, bilang simulang puhunan. At upang magtamasa rin ng biyaya ng kooperatiba sa nayon ang ating mga kababayang nailigaw ng landas at ngayon ay nanumbalik na sa kapayapaan at nag-salong ng sandata matapos mangako ng katapatan sa ating bandila, iniutos ko rin na buksang muli ang Amanah Bank upang siyang magtustos ng pondong kailangan ng ating mga kababayang nanlaban sa pamahalaan nguni't ngayon ay bumalik sa ating piling at nakikiisa sa ating mga simulain.

At upang matiyak ang pangangalaga sa kanilang kapakanan at karapatan, simula sa araw na ito, itinatagubilin ko na ang ating mga magsasaka ay magkaroon ng kinatawan sa mga tanggapanang may kinalaman sa pagsasaka, tulad ng Livestock Development Council, Dairy Development Corporation, at National Wages Council.

Inaasahan ko na hindi naman kayo gaanong nabigla at nalula sa mga sunud-sunod na patakaran at hakbang na aking ipinahayag alang-alang sa ating mga magsasaka. Ang magsasaka ang pinaka-malapit sa puso ng inyong pamahalaan. Pinag-sisikapan ng inyong lingkod na mabigay sa inyo ang lahat ng biyaya, tulong at alalay na kailangan upang mapasulong ang agrikultura sa ating bayan. Maasahan ninyo na hindi titigil ang inyong lingkod habang hindi natin nakakamit nang lubusan ang kaunlarang pangarap para sa magsasaka. Hindi maglulubay ang inyong lingkod habang hindi nailalagay sa tugatog ang kalagayan ng magsasaka sapagka't sa inyong mga kamay at balikat, sa inyong lakas, tunay na nakasalalay ang buhay, kapalaran at kinabukasan ng ating bansa.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Inauguration of the New Aqueduct of the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System, [May 21, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Inauguration of the New Aqueduct of the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System**

[Delivered on May 21, 1981]

I do not have to tell you how delighted I am to be here today with the first lady to witness the completion of this new aqueduct of the Greater Manila Waterworks System, and to join the officers and employees of the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System in its inauguration.

The provision of vital and efficient public utilities forms a very high priority of the government, and we are committed not only in Metropolitan Manila and its environs, but in the rest of the country to an intensive and comprehensive utilities development program. Public Utilities Development is a vital part of the process of modernization; in those areas of our country where there are already such facilities, their continued upgrading and improvement is as important as the construction of the same in areas not yet reached by modern electrification and waterworks systems.

What we mark here today, in this inaugural, is an example of redevelopment and expansion of a vital public utility service. And I believe I speak for the many millions of residents in the entire metropolitan Manila area that this new aqueduct and what it connotes in terms of water supply have been long overdue. For some years now we have been experiencing in Metro Manila a serious water backlog arising from the inadequacy of the old water system to meet the needs of a population that has multiplied many times over during the last decade or so.

These were needs that could only be met by a major expansion program of the waterworks system, and it was in this light that the MWSS launched a few years ago its water supply development project which was designed to meet the backlog of the previous decade and the anticipated demand up to the year 1986.

All in all, water demand in the MWSS service area is estimated to be in the vicinity of 450 million gallons per day. Five years ago, it was only 325 mgd. The capacity of our water supply system prior to this innovation was only 345 mgd. In aggregate terms, therefore have been only about 67% of ideal consumption requirements of the present population of 6.7 million in the MWSS service area.

This water supply development project is basically anchored on various inter-related plant expansions that will boost, when completed, the water system's capacity to 660 million gallons per day, from the present capacity of 345 mgd. The total cost of the project was estimated at P3.17 billion, with a foreign exchange component of \$182.3 million financed by loans from the Asian Development Bank of \$100.3 million and the World Bank of \$82 million.

The completion of this new aqueduct represents the first phase of the upgrading and expansion of water supply services. This has mainly involved the upgrading of the existing Balara water treatment plant and the construction of an aqueduct measuring 3.4 meters in diameter and 16 kms. in length from Bigti to the La Mesa Reservoir.

With the operation of this new aqueduct, the water supply and treatment capacity of the present system is increased to about 400 million gallons per day, from the present level of 345 mgd.

This additional capacity comes at a time when the La Mesa Reservoir will be at about its lowest permissible pool elevation. It will therefore enable faster filling up of the reservoir by July and thus prevent a planned long-term cutback in Manila's supply if the rains do not come early this year.

Within the total framework of the total water supply development project, the new aqueduct, however, represents only the initial phase.

By September and October 1981, the new 400 mgd La Mesa Water Treatment Plant will be put into intermediate operation. In October, the first major release of additional water supply will take place with the completion of the new steel transmission main.

Between August and October 1982, several major changes will take place that will enable the utilization of the projected expanded system capacity of 660 million gallons per day: and these are the completion of the new dam at Ipo; the commissioning of the second-half of the La Mesa Water Treatment plant; the completed uprating of the Angat Auxiliary Turbine Works with peak releases of up to 28.6 cubic meters per second; and then finally the full completion of the two major primary mains ringing the MWSS service area.

As these innovations in the plants are being installed, the laying of the distribution system network takes place simultaneously. The construction of this modern distribution system was started in 1979, and this has intensified this year. Most of these new mains will be progressively commissioned between October 1981 up to the end of 1982. And distribution network construction will continue in 1983 to reach new areas whose needs will peak by the middle of the decade.

What I mean to emphasize in citing here today the highlights of the water supply development project for Metro Manila and outlying towns in Rizal and Cavite is that we are undertaking here not just a simple tinkering with our waterworks system. We are putting in place a major innovation in our water system designed to cope with the needs of a growing metropolis. We are talking of present and future needs. And we are dealing with problems over the long term.

In a sense this project is emblematic of our total approach to national development: that we are no longer content to propose partial solutions or answers to problems and needs; rather, we venture aggressively into labors that can truly result in change. Just as in our energy development program, we are not content with conservation work though it is needed but aggressively push on into tapping indigenous energy sources, so in the area of public utilities, we are beaming our attention to full and adequate responses to needs, both those now felt and those anticipated in the future.

I know that there are many among us, and I include myself, who have been impatient about the water supply development project. I know that we have felt for some time the terrible difficulties that have had to be faced both in terms of reorganizing water supply administration, and of financing an obviously costly project.

But today, finally, we see here the opening up of a major phase of the project. We know what is within our capacity to build and to provide in terms of service to our people in the national capital region and other communities near the metropolis.

In closing, I wish to commend all who have labored to make this inauguration possible, and certainly not least, the officers and members of the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System, who certainly have reason to be proud today.

Thank you and good day to all.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

**Address of President Marcos on the CESO Convocation for the launching of Oplan Pagpapaunlad ng Bayan,
May 22, 1981**

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the CESO Convocation for the launching of Oplan Pagpapaunlad ng Bayan**

[Delivered on May 22, 1981]

It is always a pleasure for me to join my fellow workers in government, in occasions such as this which are addressed to the interest of reform and efficiency in the government service.

Many times in the past we have similarly gathered under the aegis of the Career Executive Service Officers Organization, to examine problems affecting the civil service and to improve upon our work as managers in government. And I have welcomed those meetings always in the firm faith that such conferences are productive of better morale and direction in government.

It is not my intent to turn this meeting today into a political meeting, simply because as you know I happen to be a candidate for President. But there is one respect in which the current electoral campaign and the ensuing normalization process that the elections are designed to usher in, impinges significantly upon our work in government. This is the sense in which the coming elections must be viewed as a moment of testing and judging of our work in government.

More than a choice of President is involved in these elections. This is, as I have said, an exercise of judgment upon the record of crisis government and the new society program of government. And for reasons also that are understandable, though sometimes a bit confusing, those who count themselves among the opposition, see the electoral campaign as an occasion to mount a bitter campaign against the administration.

Tests of strength have a way of polarizing issues, of consigning individuals into clearly differentiated, black-and-white positions. When the test involves political interests, the ensuing combat generally tends to throw out the window all widely held codes of polite, civil and even moral behavior.

At this early stage of the campaign for the presidential elections, this tendency has already begun to surface. character assassination, the outright and blatant distortion of facts, mudslinging, muckraking and irrelevant sloganeering mark the recent attempts to discredit the government. What all those who have chosen to range themselves against our administration so conveniently ignore is the undeniable record of palpable achievements that this government has been able to accomplish over the past years.

With the creation of the New Society we had hoped to establish a mode of public conduct consonant to the lofty aspirations, of our national reform movement. We had sought to rid out society not only of the social and economic ills that had plagued it for decades, even centuries; but also of the chicanery that for so long had characterized our political life. But in all the political exercises when we had encouraged the involvement of the opposition, the bickerings, the machinations, the prevarications have re-emerged. We were perhaps somewhat naive to expect those who have chosen never to understand our goals to behave in a manner that our people expect of them. Instead they continue to make regrettable spectacles of themselves with their petty intrigue. Their recalcitrance obviously explains their continuing inability to mobilize the people's support for their ambitions. They have failed to detect the growing political maturity of our people; they fail to grasp the fact that our people are no longer excited by mere oratorical bombast. The quality and temper of government they have experienced over the past eight years have led them to view political issues, actions and leadership not on the basis of vague promises or lame excuses, but rather on the basis of actual accomplishments, concrete achievements.

This Assembly of the country's Career Executive Service Officers is a welcome occasion for us to bring before our people the substantive reforms instituted in the government service and to set the records straight on what the government has been doing all along, while others merely cavil and talk.

All of you occupy strategic positions in the civil service. Each of you is charged with a mission to implement some facet of our total program for national development. You therefore, provide an important link between the "government and the people, with whom we are all expected to be in close touch. While we have often declared that the ultimate attainment of our national objectives rests on the people's own willingness to participate in our development-oriented endeavors, such efforts would nevertheless become less efficient and less effective without the fundamental direction that civil servants such as you provide. In fact the entire approach of the Career Executive Service concerns itself with harnessing the talents and dedication of special individuals in the government service, of continually upgrading their capabilities, and thereafter of assigning them to posts where their abilities can be put into best use in the service of the nation. More than just streamlining the operations of government, the Career Executive Service has as one of its primary goals the further development of the leadership qualities of an extraordinary cadre of civil servants, in order that they be made more ready to assume greater responsibilities.

We who are now at the helm have placed great hope in you, and we foresee that from your own ranks will rise the men and women who will eventually comprise the future leadership of our nation. And we are similarly confident that this emerging generation of career executives in government will carry on the work we have begun; perhaps it is they who will finally benefit from the fruits of development. If you see yourselves as belonging to this coming generation of leaders; if you intend to bring your service to our people to even greater heights, then it is necessary for all of you to come together and forestall any attempts to frustrate and abort our thrusts towards National development.

The recent pronouncements of the opposition make only too clear that they intend to divert from the current direction of national advancement. They have publicly declared that they will dismantle those very same mechanisms that have helped to shield our people and our country from the potentially devastating effects of the global economic crisis. They would deny from our people the newly established institutions that have enfranchised the masses within our political system. Publicly, they have vowed to reinstate long discarded practices that in the past contributed to political and social anarchy. In short, they would return our nation to chaos. And frankly the advances they have been able to gain over the past few months, though still minimal to be considered as a real threat, are disturbing.

Though the government recognizes the basic wisdom of the people, it would be foolhardy for any of us to assume that they would immediately sympathize with all our efforts, no matter how well-intentioned. If with nothing else, public service must always be accompanied with a great deal of patience, because for too long the people have labored under past social and political systems, and their collective forbearance has worn thin. On the other hand, arrogance and a seeming aloofness for the day-to-day cares of the masses would in the long run negate even our grandest schemes for progress. From the government, our people demand not only farsighted planning and direction but just as important, sensitivity and compassion. Alongside the construction of infrastructure and the delivery of social services, the government and its men must be able to manifest a genuine concern for the predicaments of the people.

Our inability to adequately sense the real pulse of the masses may, in part, explain the limited success that the opposition has been able to garner in certain sections of the country, albeit isolated. During the last plebiscite a number of our citizenry rejected the amendments we had proposed for the Constitution.

While the motives for the rejection may be varied, I would like to think that it is a clear manifestation of the dissatisfaction some of our people may have for government action or agency, or both. In each "no" vote I see a black mark in the generally commendable record of our government; nevertheless they should indicate to us the areas where a reevaluation of our policies and actions is badly needed. The implications of these instances of rejection in our ability to continue with the work of development are far ranging. Its effects on the maintenance of the security of the state are obvious. It requires that the problems must be viewed not only from the standpoint of the national leadership but also down to the level of career executive service officials, inasmuch as they are part of the structure of government who are in closest contact with the people. We have to determine where government

services have failed or have not been sufficiently delivered. We have to reexamine those areas where the residents perceive government neglect for their plight; we have to clarify misconceptions about certain policy decisions; we have to assuage misgivings about the health of our economy; we have to check and penalize acts of official abuse; we have to redouble our efforts at informing the masses on the true intentions of government.

Clearly, the solution to these problems would require the interlinking of a number of government agencies. Even with the best intention of government to produce a better quality of life of our people, there are those who had been left out in the process of establishing priorities. You of the career executive service have the individual and collective resources, particularly the manpower and the expertise, to expedite the work of nation-building, as well as to correct some of the shortcomings our government may have somehow committed.

I, therefore, would like to congratulate the Career Executive Service for having voluntarily assessed the current political situation and for having drawn up a plan addressed towards the rectification of certain inadequacies in the operations of government.

On the basis of the recommendations as formulated in Oplan “Pagpapaunlad ng Bayan” of the Career Executive Service Development Program Alumni Association, I have issued Letter of Instructions no. 1128 addressed to all heads of government offices and agencies, to all governors, city mayors and barangay captains, and to all others concerned to take immediate steps to further improve, maximize and expedite efforts in the prosecution of government programs, projects and activities in the areas of economic development and infrastructure projects; extension services and livelihood projects; medical services, public assistance and other outreach programs; information dissemination and the gathering of feedback on the sentiments and reactions of the people towards government policies and programs and their effectiveness; individual and team performance, dedication and commitment to the public service, morality and integrity; and efficient and effective public service in general in order to bring the government closer to the people. I have directed all officials and employees of the government to take part in this nationwide campaign to upgrade government performance and operations. It will also receive the necessary assistance and support of all heads of offices, governors, city and municipal mayors and barangay captains.

We can do no less than succeed in this effort to improve the quality and effectiveness of government service; we must succeed if we are to earn the continued faith and confidence of the people in the government and in the national leadership. For it is only with this faith and confidence that we can carry on with our program of development.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on Executives Congress, [May 23, 1981](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Executives Congress**

[Delivered in Baguio City, May 23, 1981]

THE LEADER AS EDUCATOR

To speak from day to day before groups of political partisans, and then one morning to address an assembly of education executives, is a journey between two worlds. One travels from a milieu of partisan conflict and enters the ambience of tranquility; the vocabulary of particular interest gives way to the language of reason.

Nevertheless, education has an authentic excitement and fascination of its own, for it is the most ancient of the humanist profession, and it is the youngest of the modern arts.

The family is the oldest school in the world, the parents the first teachers. The word education came from the word Latin “Ducere”: meaning to rear, to teach, to lead.

In modern societies, where so much of the national welfare depends on effective leadership, the role of leader is not fully developed until it is graced by the role of educator. Some people mistakenly believe that leadership is leading a herd of carabaos or a flock of sheep. In fact, in a human society as in all human organizations, the leader cannot lead well unless his behavior, his policies and values, his life, are an education to his people.

A president inevitably preaches to the people, for that is part of his role as leader, but if his words do not inform, inspire, enlighten or elevate, he is essentially a nagger, even if a good orator, because then he will fail to educate the citizenry.

A word that is related to education is “Educe”. It means to draw forth, to evoke, to bring out. The leader, as educator or teacher to society, educes or brings forth from his people the best and noblest in themselves.

The cultivation of the best and the noblest in people makes them become more and more like the men and women that they ought to be. Their contributions to society are richer and enhanced. In consequence, society is the better and human society, and the freedom, safety, justice, prosperity and happiness that the good society affords to the people in return are the certain fruit of what the people gave to it in the first place; my friends, although I address you in the midst of an election campaign, I speak to you in the vocabulary of conventional values. There are those, notably in the opposition, who regard an election as a mere contest for political power. They think of politics as who gets what, when and how. They are casualties in the pervasive erosion of moral and ethical values in the modern world.

For it is not only species of Flora and Fauna that are dying out from the relentless pressure of massive populations and ecological imbalance. Speeches of traditional behavior, such as those showing respect to elders, are all but extinct. Many of the sounds and music of our childhood are gone. Species of lifestyles that we fondly remember are abandoned. Many of the conventions and much of the traditional civility of but a generation ago have disappeared — debris of an ecology of cynicism and moral imbalance.

And so, for some people in the opposition, an election is now simply war without values — without national purpose or personal ideals, without the sense of duty and sacrifice, without heroism, nobility, obligation, even without

romance — in short, an election stripped bare of the ideals and values that are at the heart of a human community and a democratic society.

If I were merely a creature and an addict of power, desirous only of staying in the presidency regardless of the people's will; if I were not moved by decency, constitutional duty, and by an elemental respect for the sentiments of the sovereign people, I should not subject myself to election.

The constitution of 1935 lapsed into history in 1973. None of its provisions, not any of its articles, is enforced today, except where expressly stipulated otherwise or embodied in the present constitution. Articles 17, section 3 of the constitution of 1973 provides that I continue to exercise the powers and prerogatives of the presidency under the 1935 constitution, as well as those vested in the president and prime minister under the 1973 constitution.

The present constitution does not provide for a termination date of my tenure as president. It merely states that I continue as such until I call upon the interim legislature to elect an interim president. In this case, the constitution provides that the president shall be elected from among the members of the legislature by majority vote of all its members. Now, I am the head of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, and we hold more than 160 seats out of the total 180. Under these circumstances no opposition candidate has the tiniest chance of winning the presidency.

And so, had I wished merely to continue in my position, vested with the powers and prerogatives of the presidency, all for an indefinite period, I should have deferred the lifting of martial law, I should have vetoed the amending of the constitution subjecting me to an election and fixing a date for the termination of my tenure.

But an election is not simply a contest to determine who shall hold authority. For there is a basic value which all who hold political and governmental power should always respect and defend, should nurture and never allow to die out. This is the value of accountability or answerability. In other vocations, such as education, it is essential that integrity be paramount. But in politics, specially in democratic politics, accountability is vital.

The vesting of power by the people upon an officer or upon a leader is a covenant. A reciprocal undertaking. In the act of vesting power, the people manifest that they recognize the leaders exercise of that power and accept its consequences upon the nation. The leader exercises that power as a matter of course. But if this were all to the contract, it is an unfair and an unlawful agreement because it is a contradiction in terms — a one-sided contract.

What redeems the political contract, that which legitimizes the grant of political authority, is the leader's accountability to the people.

Insubmitting myself to the suffrage of the people, therefore, I and the people warrant that the grant of power to me was, and is, a valid and legitimate contract, not only a legal but also a lawful covenant, and the people now exercise their right and duty to affirm that my use of power was licit and proper or to condemn it as unwise and undeserving of renewal.

This covenant between the people and their public officers is called a contract of political obligation. It is essential to democracy and republican government.

Let no man scoff at this covenant by rejecting the right of duty and suffrage. Let no one confound his personal offense to the constitution by preaching to others to withdraw from this contract of political obligation. Enfranchised citizens are bound by this contract to cast their vote for democracy by voting, according to their conscience, either for or against this or that candidate.

The key to this obligation of suffrage in the constitution is conscience, that moral and ethical sensitivity in each of us which tells us what is right and wrong, what is better and which is worse to society to deny this voice of individual conscience to the collective will or judgment of the community is to place oneself beyond the pale of the community's law, and the citizen guilty of this renegade path is in danger of forever losing the privilege of holding public office in our republic.

The individual's moral and ethical sensitivity to the community's well-being is sometimes called by the social scientists "socialization." A better word is "civic conscience". It is manifested gloriously and dramatically as patriotism, often heroism, in defense of the motherland against its enemies.

Yet it is just as necessary, although much less romanticized in the day-to-day ordinary life of a community at peace. We all recognize that the evocation of nobility and sacrifice is much more difficult in time of peace. Because there is no state of siege, and survival does not seem at stake.

This is the reason why societies seek to imbue their citizens with civic values in a sustained and systematic manner over many years, through the educational system. Viewed in this light, the inter-generational process of education makes it unlikely that radically new shapes and forms of education often emerge, as the theme of your congress seems to call for.

The education of this generation is generally a legacy received from the earlier one. This legacy is transmitted by present experience and in turn conveyed as a legacy to the next generation. And so we are prone to adopt the medium dictated by our own circumstances, our own experience and employ the shapes and forms of education that are familiar to us or at least those that fit our perceptions of what are worthwhile and feasible.

Indeed, the more substantive innovations in education derive and spring from contempt rather than from form or shape. A society that has undergone a revolutionary experience of one that faces radically new challenges, is more likely to adopt significant innovations than a society leading an undisturbed life.

I urge you to reflect upon our recent civic experience, when we snapped the chains that bound us to oligarchy and warlordism, when we dissolved the myth of our smallness and inferiority in the family of nations, when we rejected the fiction that democracy is an excuse for impotence and inefficiency.

I invite you to contemplate the task that challenge us ahead — to provide for more than one million new Filipinos every year into the next century, to produce enough to rebuild old facilities and to establish new modern institutions for our future, to reduce to the utter minimum the stubborn inequities and deprivation that hound and oppress our poor, to build a new society that truly expresses our love for liberty, our need for safety, our right to prosperity, our instinct of creativity and our Filipino craving for gaiety and light-hearted joy.

And I now ask you to respond to this concern, not merely in a reactive sense, but to embrace and own them as our shared and common concern, to deliberately build them into the content and form of our educational system.

I am neither an instant curriculum expert, nor an educationist like you, and so I will not embarrass you or myself by making detailed curricular suggestions.

We will reshape our elementary school system to provide good basic education which must be available to all children irrespective of family income or place of residence.

We will improve secondary schooling, to make the general education stream prepare the youth for advance studies and for training in the professions; the vocational stream must provide young people with productive and employable skills.

We must regard elementary and secondary education as the formal educational experience that will shape the Filipino citizenry and the labor force in the last generation of our twentieth century. This experience must be the best we can offer, to celebrate the nation's entry into the year 2000.

We will defend the academic freedom of tertiary institutions. The education bill will be passed by the Batasan soon after it resumes its sessions this coming July. It terminates many regulatory powers of the ministry of education and culture on academic matters in private colleges and universities. The state institutions will continue to be academically autonomous.

We can all enhance the value of academic freedom by understanding and exercising it properly. Those who exercise it must still be responsible, for it is only infants and imbeciles who are immune from the consequences of their actions. And the state, in protecting academic freedom as a right, has a role in divining that right which it is its duty to protect.

We will assign a high priority to technical education, with its own bureau to modernize the Filipino labor force, which must compete with the labor forces of other countries. Likewise, we will take advantage of the valuable learning, experiences outside of the structure of school programs, by making non-formal or continuing education and integral part of the nation's educational system.

The review of education that we are undertaking in the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan and in the government focuses on teacher's welfare, democratic expansion of educational opportunities, the complex field of public contributions to education in the private sector, and management capability of public school executives.

We are working towards a one thousand peso monthly salary for teachers, consistent with the nation's resources. We are studying the prospects of implementing the constitutional provision on free secondary education perhaps before the next decade.

We are building up a one hundred million peso fund in the fund for assistance to private education expanding the number of scholarships for students who go to private institutions and exploring new forms of state contributions that should be available by the mid-1980s. We are, finally, designing a program of management development for public school executives, especially for school superintendents.

My friends, the rapport and civility that mark your assembly do not indicate the adventure and the challenge that characterize your mission. Our country is on the move. In sector after sector of national growth and development, we have posted success and progress.

The Philippines has been cited by the World Bank as one of the only two other countries, aside from Japan, that will become an industrialized country by the year 2000. In the forthcoming summit meeting of 20 of the world's leaders to be convened in Mexico, only one leader from a developing country was invited, and this honor was accorded to the president of the Philippines.

The education sector, which may be viewed as the biggest industry in the Philippines, is and will continue to be, a lead sector in our national growth. You will make your contributions as one, for in this decade, the traditional distinctions between public and private will disappear — we will guarantee and respect a significant role for private institutions, but you have a common product: education, good education, for the Filipinos.

We must lead and we must educate.

Finally, it occurs to me that the ministry of education and culture is the most aptly named ministry in our government. For education is a vocation, a calling, a true ministry. I salute you.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos before the FEU Law Alumni Association, [May 23, 1981](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the FEU Law Alumni Association**

[Drafted on May 23, 1981]

The Philippine Democratic Way of Life*

I have always said that if I had not been in politics, I would have been in the academe. Earlier in life, my ambition was to deliver lectures in class, rather than campaign speeches in political rallies. Once upon a time the utmost fulfillment of my ultimate goals was to be President of a university rather than President of the country. Let me then impose upon your patience this evening as I give vent to the frustrated dreams of a law professor “that never was”, and please allow me to give you a short review lecture on the basic concepts of “democracy”.

The Basic Concepts

In the international political vocabulary, probably the most emotional implications are associated with the word “democracy”. To us lawyers it is apparent that the term is used in many different senses. It is virtually impossible to define it in a manner which would assure general agreement. But the definitions may possibly be grouped into two major ideas: to one school of thought, democracy simply means a particular form of government in which “the people” or “the many” exercise political control; to the other school, democracy is a philosophy of life in human society, motivating and guiding the members of that society in their political, economic, social and cultural relations.

The etymology being of Greek origin, “democracy connotes “rule by the multitude”. From the sum total of these basic concepts, the logical conclusion is that a truly democratic nation must constantly strive towards “the good life” for all the people, must aim at the maximum of individual liberty consistent with the general security, order, and welfare, must provide the widest possible opportunities for all, to the end that men may become as nearly perfect in their human personality, and must provide for the active participation of the largest number of citizens in the processes of government.

The predicates, the assumptions, and the postulates of the central idea of democracy, are that the people are capable of governing themselves as reasonable, intelligent, and civilized human beings in a regime of liberty and equality.

The Basic Assumptions

There are certain propositions which political scientists have spelled out as the core of the democratic goals of life.

The first of democracy’s most basic assumptions is that man is a rational being, capable of solving his problems and improving his lot by the application of reason. The essence of the democratic process is government by consent, resulting from free, temperate and enlightened discussion. Only reasonable men can participate in the kind of discussion from which emerges the truth they stand for. The decisions of democracy as distinguished from “mobocracy” are reasonable and responsible decisions made by right thinking and rational men.

A second closely connected assumption of the democratic theory is that man is a moral being, considerate of the rights of others, and able to balance the social good against his own personal interest. This postulate implies that man’s action must be based upon standards rising above the level of pure selfishness and of gross materialism.

The third proposition assumes human equality, which means political equality but not the actual equality of human beings with respect to physical and intellectual endowments. Democracy does not seek a dead-level system of equality wherein every man is to be equal in all respects to every other man. The emphasis is on equality in certain fields, equality before the law, equality in voting, equality in opportunity, and equality in dignity.

The Basic Consequences

The basic consequences that spring from all these postulates is that if there be human rationality, morality, and equality, then man has within himself the mechanisms of self-improvement not only individually but also socially. It follows that social change does not have to be violent. It can be painless. As man becomes more rational, he is better able to control and guide the technological and ideological factors of social change which would produce the society and government he ideally desires. The control and guidance of these factors are in accord with policies democratically formulated through free and rational discussion. The will of the majority embodies a considered and reasoned decision. By its reasonableness, the consent of all the citizens is won, and all will then cooperate in carrying out the decision.

In this perspective, democracy is not revolutionary but fundamentally evolutionary. Its philosophy abhors violence, and to advocate it is to confess that man is not rational. The true democrat believes that evolutionary gains are won by stages and by persuasion. Ancient and modern history has shown that the convulsive results of revolution are frequently negated by counterrevolution and reaction. Progress is lasting when it is peaceful rather than coercive.

A second conclusion is that the best way to decide major issues of public policy is to put forward such questions to the entire people or to as predominantly large a portion of them as possible. Democracy involves majority decision-making either by the voters themselves directly or by their elected representatives indirectly.

In the modern democratic state, instruments of self-government can be availed of which express the people's will indirectly. Thus, legislators, executives and administrators can make decisions in the name of the voters to whom they are responsible for their public acts. The principle of self-government through majority decisions does not always require consultation of the electorate on every minor question. But in momentous issues which affect the destiny of a nation, modern democracies avail of the reasonable use of the referendum to establish basic fundamental questions of policy intended to guide not only the present but the future generations. Self-government means government by consent. Obviously consent cannot always be absolutely unanimous, but the more popular is the mandate then the more democratic is the society that results from that mandate. The major task of democratic leaders is to derive a formula whereby the essence of popular government is preserved by reserving for the citizen's direct determination matters both vital and basic, and delegating to their representatives matters either too trivial or too complex.

The third extremely important consequence of democracy which concerns liberty is predicated upon the concept of the freedom of an individual or group from external restraint or restrictive conditions imposed by other individuals, groups, government, or society. But liberty in organized society is relative and not absolute. The individual in that organized society cannot be absolutely free to exactly as wishes at all times and in all circumstances. Such absolute liberty will produce anarchy which is the complete opposite of genuine freedom. Liberty implies restraint. In democracy, this means social self-restraint exercised whenever necessary for the security, safety and welfare of the community. It is liberty in accordance with the will of the majority and based upon personal and group responsibility.

A major problem of every democracy is the reconciliation of liberty with authority. The never-ending task of democracy is always to strike balances between liberty and authority, which balances are ever new and ever changing, depending upon the problems that confront us at every given time.

The ultimate purpose of democracy is the advancement of man, the vindication of human dignity. The State is not an end in itself but only a means towards the realization of the potentialities of man. Since man has mind, body and soul, individual fulfillment must be intellectual, material and spiritual. In pursuing its ends, democracy must always use democratic methods. In the pursuit of democratic ends, government must use democratic means. Methods, ends,

and means are inseparable since the most basic concepts of democracy – liberty, equality and popular sovereignty – are means in themselves as well as ends.

We cannot save democracy by destroying it. There must be frequent re-examination of the fundamental articles of democratic faith. We cannot identify democracy only with institutions, we always identify it with concepts. Democratic institutions alone and by themselves do not guarantee democracy. Nations must develop democratic traditions based upon their own experiences in self-government and in the creation of their own governmental machineries. But development is a process of evolution. When slow outmoded procedures which may have been eminently satisfactory in the past are no longer adequate to answer the demands of the present generation, when they fall out of step with modern times, they must give way to effective and expeditious techniques without abandoning the essentials of the democratic processes.

The Tests and Measurements

On the basis of these fundamental concepts, what has the New Society accomplished in the realm of the theory and the reality of democracy as a form of government and as a philosophy of life?

Have we established a system of government wherein decisions are predicated upon reasonable discussion and popular consent?

Have we established an equitable balance between liberty and authority?

Have we established necessary and meaningful changes by peaceful evolution?

The record shows that to all these questions we emphatically answer in the affirmative.

Our people have shown themselves intellectually, physically and spiritually capable of self-government, capable of participating in free, temperate, and enlightened discussion. Decisions on vital and fundamental issues have been made directly by the entire people in three plebiscites for the adoption of constitutional amendments. The referendum has been extensively used as means of discovering public thought and sentiment on basic public issues. The effectiveness of the interaction between the Batasang Pambansa, the President and the Cabinet in the formulation and implementation of basic national policies has demonstrated the palpable reality of representative democracy in the Philippines. The local affairs of the people are decided by popular consent in the deliberative forums of the barangay councils, and the “sanggunians” of our towns, cities and provinces.

The responsiveness of government to the voice of the people is effectively maintained in the latest charter amendments with the means to have the Prime Minister and the Cabinet replaced, and the resolution of fundamental issues by the people through the dissolution of the Batasang Pambansa.

Freedom and equality have been preserved, recognized and vindicated not only as human rights but as social obligations. Liberty has flourished in this country, and was undimmed and undiminished even under Martial Law. Hence, whilst we welcome with profound gratitude the recent U.S. Congressional Resolution commending us for the lifting of Martial Law, we hasten to stress that the people never at any time lost the freedoms guaranteed by our constitution.

We did take steps to balance liberty with authority – and the equipoise was always relevant to the problems that confronted our people.

By the judicious use of the commander-in-chief provisions the 1935 as well as the 1973 Constitution, constitutional authoritarianism was conceived and developed as a valid and effective mode for a crisis government, consistent with the supremacy of civilian over military authority, in an atmosphere of peace rather than violence. Juridical concepts have been so developed in this Philippine experiment that our experience has shown the efficacy of administering

and dispensing Justice by the concurrent action of military and civil courts to effectively overcome the threats to national security and public order.

Under the New Society, meaningful thrusts have been made in the democratization and humanization of justice. Mechanisms for free legal aid to the poor have been organized, systematized, and coordinated through the Citizens Legal Assistance Office of the Ministry of Justice, legal agencies of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform and the Ministry of Labor, and the various chapters of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines. The grassroots level of dispensing justice through the conciliation system in the barangay courts has considerably eased the dockets of our trial courts. The Probation System has kept out of penitentiaries some 8,000 convicted law violators who would have otherwise suffered the consequences of incarceration, and who have instead continued to live in our communities under the care and guidance of highly trained probation officers and social workers. In fine, all the members of the legal profession in the Philippines, acting in concert and in mutual cooperation, have helped establish in the Philippines a legal culture faithfully reflective of our democratic traditions and development. Acting in unison, the Filipino lawyers have set-up effective and working safeguards against extreme activism, the excesses of radical communism, and exaggerated liberalism. Filipino lawyers have helped realize the dream of a regime of political stability, which will now henceforth find healthy growth in the new parliamentary participatory democracy under a strong President as adopted by the latest amendments to the Philippines Constitution. Filipino lawyers have channeled the minds of our people into ideological orientations peculiar to Philippine custom, tradition, philosophy, theory, system and culture. Filipino lawyers have successfully created the atmosphere conducive to the rule of law in the forums of advocacy and adjudication. At the vanguard of all these innovations and developments have been the alumni of the FEU Institute of Law, many of whom occupy positions of eminence in practically all the high echelons of government. Tonight I pay tribute to these alumni upon whom I have depended and who have stood at my side during all these years of my incumbency as the nation's highest official. Into our collective hands our people have entrusted their hopes and their dreams, their present and their future. And these same hands we now join in prayer that we shall never, never fail them.

*(Draft of the President's Speech before the FEU Law Alumni Association)

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Memorial Day Services for America's War Dead, [May 24, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Memorial Day Services for America's War Dead**

[Delivered on May 24, 1981]

In a world kept tense by the persistent thump of conflict and turmoil, the moments when we gather in this way to honor the dead of war are precious and fleeting. Yet brief though these moments are, they tell as much not only of what we must remember, but also of what we must look to in the future.

All humanity, it is said, come as mourners before the graves of the dead in battle. Men and nations may for a time stand at opposite sides in the theater of conflict; yet when they come in homage before the crosses of the dead, they are all the same in the veneration of what is noble and heroic.

Even more so do they stand together, when they have known, as we Filipinos and Americans have known what it means to fight a war together and to struggle for a cause which they both believed in.

In the monuments that we raise in honor of our war dead, in the crosses that we plant upon the graves of the nameless and the fallen, in the memory we keep alive of all who fought and died in battle—are enshrined our gratitude for their selflessness and their heroism. We say often that we shall never forget their noble sacrifice: the sacrifice that makes it possible for us, the living, to enjoy the fruits of freedom, of independence, of life itself. They continue to fortify our faith in remembering them, we acknowledge how those values and institutions for which they laid down their lives. In commemorations such as this, we affirm and proclaim a precious facet of our humanity.

The veneration of heroes is a universal practice of every kind of society, whether civilized or otherwise. In the earliest communities, the sacrifices of individuals to the cause of communal life have sustained social cohesiveness and formed one of the most important factors for the perpetuation of a particular society. Again and again personal heroism rises on the human stage, larger than life as we say, to preserve and conserve the life of a community. Without demeaning the nobility of the sacrifices of heroes, it may even be said that the laying down of one's life for the survival of the many is present also in the animal world. It is an instinctual reaction to any danger that threatens all societies whether human or animal.

But as men we see in these sacrifices a far more sublime meaning and purpose. With us it is a conscious act; an act that an individual undertakes only after having calculated the personal loss against the collective gain. It is also a conscious choice, and only with courage and fortitude are we able to brave the tides of battle, to hazard life and comfort for a cause greater than ourselves.

In war as in all other forms of human conflict, momentous decisions must be made; decisions that spell the difference between survival and disintegration not only for individuals but also for entire nations. Be it in the heat of combat or in the sober respites between battles, those to whom we now pay homage came upon the crucial choice that one man's life is far less important than the continuation of a cause, of a people. It is this decision that determined their heroism.

History shows us that the impulse to lay down one's life for the benefit of the community, whether global or national, is strongest among the more conscious developers of human values. In wars and other struggles it has always been the cream of our societies who have been the most willing to pay the price for the survival of the race, or the advancement of a cause.

One of the greatest of America's generals, Gen. Douglas MacArthur once said, "The soldier, above all other people, prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and the scars of war."

There is a profound and disturbing paradox in this, because despite the sacrifices, the labors, that men have committed to the field of battle, peace continues to elude the dreams of mankind.

Even as we pause to pay this yearly tribute, we are conscious at this moment of the churning waters of contemporary times, we are aware of the perils and the dangers that evoke new presentiments of conflict, and especially presentiments of a global war that may bring humanity to the portals of another dark age.

And because of this, individual courage and collective resolve must be invoked once more.

Humanity's survival in the face of this threatening cloud cannot be attained where fears are larger than aims, where efforts falter before the forces that threaten, those fundamental values that keep our world together, where initiatives are wanting in keeping peoples and nations free to pursue their destinies. Peace as we knew before, and must realize once again, cannot be attained or maintained in capitulation and surrender to the forces of discord and division.

Again and again we have seen in the pages of history that if the world has not broken apart in the face of the forces of war and aggression, this has been because many nations have stood their ground in the name not only of nationality and flag, but in the name of human civilization itself.

Such I think has been the meaning in America's historic role in global affairs. Such is what we see when we sift through the occasional vacillations and mistakes, and consider America's efforts to lead and point the way to stability and peace in the world.

Standing upon the hallowed ground, no one can forget how often America has sacrificed hundreds of thousands of her people in far-flung battlefields throughout the world in defense of fundamental values. Many a time, she has come under criticism in her global role—alienated sometimes from the peoples who otherwise should follow her lead—but fundamentally I think there is much in this vision that enjoys the support of many peoples and nations.

We Filipinos—though we may disagree at times with our allies—are basically aware of the historic consequences of America's own sacrifices. We share the basic beliefs and fundamental philosophies about the development of man and his society. We value the same freedoms and have time and again been just as willing to take on part of the burden for safeguarding them. So it is in this spirit that we participate today in these memorial services in honor of America's heroic dead. We honor your dead, as you honor them. And we stand one with you and with them in the hope for peace and stability in our world.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Keynote Address of President Marcos on the opening of the International Association for Educational Assessment World Congress, May 25, 1981

Keynote Address of the President
Opening of the International Association
for Educational Assessment World Congress
May 25, 1981

That you honor my country and my people by choosing Manila as the first venue in Asia for your annual convention is a distinct privilege. That you have invited me to keynote it is a personal honor.

So I shall begin by expressing to you our deep appreciation and gratitude.

It is always a learning experience for all of us to participate in a conference of distinguished leaders in a particular field, such as this Congress. You come from distant lands all over the world to share your experiences and insights on the crucial issue of educational assessment as a tool for the broadening of opportunities in education. This too is a major concern of my country.

There is no need to present here the case for constant evaluation in the field of education. No other field touches so deeply and so critically the lives of peoples and nations than the cause of learning and training. None forms so important a priority in a nation's quest of its destiny and its future.

In a developing country like the Philippines where we fundamentally recognize that education is the most effective means for social mobility and change and the most potent means for enhancing national development; assessment becomes not only imperative but truly urgent. For like any other human enterprise, there is continuing need to monitor and assess the performance of the educational system if it is to fully and effectively contribute to the overall development goals of the country.

This is why, when the crisis government was established on 21 September 1972, one of the first Proclamation I made was Presidential Decree No. 146, promulgated on March 9, 1973. In this Decree, I directed the development and implementation of the National College Entrance Examination for all high school graduates from both the public and private schools who aspire for tertiary level degree programs. This was designed to upgrade the quality of education and to maintain a healthy and viable balance in the manpower stock of the country. Two years after the promulgation of PD 146, I directed the reorganization of the educational system of which the promotion of research, assessment, and evaluation was an integral component. To implement this, we established the National Educational Testing Center of the Ministry of Education and Culture to perform the lead role in the testing, research and evaluation efforts of the country.

Results of studies have shown that the rationalization of enrolment and the redirection of educational programs are today major assets of our educational system and to the country. NCEE data have been extensively used in educational policy making. And the records show that there are better quality students now being attracted to universities. More students are now being retained in tertiary level programs. First year pass-rates can now be increased by as much as 3 percent without lowering standards. Furthermore, the failure rates have stabilized and so larger proportions of students proceed into the second and higher years. This has resulted in substantial financial benefits for the nation as a whole and also for the student's families.

The concern for periodic evaluation assessment has guided policy decisions in other ways, also. We fully share your conviction that in a democratic society the principle of equal educational opportunity cannot simply mean that everybody should be encouraged to pursue a university career. A democratic educational system has to open its educational opportunities to everybody but it should not just leave everybody at the open door. A democratic educational system needs an admissions service to enable our young to rationalize career choices.

One of the objectives of educational development is to shift the locus of planning and effective control of the student's educational and life choices to the students themselves. It is, therefore, imperative that guidance and counselling services be strengthened. Since the Ministry of Education and Culture has an office like the National Educational Testing Center, equipped with a vast information gathered from the National Testing Programs it handles, we have recently directed the Ministry of Education and Culture to expand the service component of the National Educational Testing Center to allow it to monitor guidance programs on a national scope. Our students need to be allowed to participate in the decision to be made about their future on the basis of information gathered from researches and testing programs.

Sometime; in 1976, I required our premier state university, the University of the Philippines, to adopt the democratization of its admissions system, to take cognizance of the disadvantages of freshmen from poor families who failed the tests, and to provide them with a variety of compensatory educational activities without lowering standards. Academic excellence is not incompatible with democratic open admissions. With some effort and goodwill, systems can be developed to democratize access to university education without sacrificing standards.

And beyond the formal educational system, we believe with you that learning must go on outside its sheltered environs. It is now fashionable to talk of "lifelong education" as an integral part of educational goals. A good number of students drop out of schools every year but we know that their learning does not cease. It is therefore possible to develop a system of recognizing this learning and to integrate these so-called "drop-outs" into the formal education system. Thus can we convert educational wastage into a new promise of educated manpower.

In 1977, we in the Philippines began the implementation of a program through the National Educational Testing Center for the accreditation of learning acquired outside the formal education system. This was later formalized as the Accreditation and Equivalency Program, the first of its kind in Asia. It is noteworthy that during its first year of operation, the NETC was able to serve 10,000 out-of-school youths who dropped out of school due to poverty and placed them in their proper grades. There were 22,000 who availed of this program in its second year of implementation.

The clientele still to be served is estimated at about 50,000 every year. In line with this, we intend to further expand the Accreditation and Equivalency Program. Considering the present educational thrust in our country to improve the quality of educational output especially in the grade schools, I am happy to note the announcement of Minister Onofre D. Corpuz that the testing efforts of the National Educational Testing Center will be expanded to include the elementary grades.

We believe that testing is a very delicate and complicated matter which affects the very lives and futures of people. We would therefore want to bring the best minds of our country to cooperate in addressing these issues. For the sake of economy and efficiency, I would like to consider the possibility of integrating now the testing efforts of the country.

My friends, I am not a dyed-in the wool educator. I can only speak straight from the heart on basic convictions that I believe are primordial considerations in a world which we are all trying to make more human and humane. We are educating our youth for a society in the making that is forging new landmarks and challenging us with new dimensions and perspectives. Our concept of education reflects our concept of the good life, the good man, and the good society. Invariably, we seek a people-oriented social order.

Your role as noted world leaders in the field of assessment, evaluation and research is very vital and crucial. Your work and your conference relate deeply to the hopes of two-thirds of the world's population who seek to benefit from expanding opportunities and services in the field of education. Beyond the simplicity or sophistication of your designs and assessment procedures are young promising futures from all walks of life which you have the privilege to shape and re-direct.

I once said that we have grieved at the death of many of our dreams. But the aspiration that all of you together have envisioned in this convention we can not allow to die.

And so, I close with my best wishes for the success of your convention, knowing that its success will be ours to share in.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Keynote Address of President Marcos at the International Association for Educational Assessment of World Congress, May 25, 1981

**PHILOSOPHY OF
EDUCATION**

That you honor my country and my people by choosing Manila as the first venue in Asia for your annual congress is a distinct privilege. Considering the fact that you are gathered here at this particular time is a significant flourish of this peculiar period in our history. As many of you are aware, we are engaged once more in re-examination, or to enlist the words of Thomas Jefferson in another context revision.

I was about to say that I have interrupted my presidential campaign in order to be with you today. But since the election that I am facing involves, in the final analysis, an assessment of my government's performance, it is but proper that I should face an audience composed of expert evaluators, indeed, men and women with trained critical minds. The propensity to criticize now is, of course, a common facility, but the ability to criticize, that is a rare faculty. Everybody criticizes this. But can they criticize? That ability does not assume anything as sacrosanct: it is not impressed by authority when it has no basis or by tradition when it has merely become accustomed habit. Wisdom consists in knowing the difference, for in knowing the difference lies the failure and success of every human enterprise.

It has been said that the end of learning is not knowledge but action. I would venture that this would be the ultimate purpose of all education, provided, of course, that we do not fall into the popular misconception that action is opposed to thought, rather than a consequence of it. Still, for all the simplicity of the statement, this should provoke some arguments, for even now, there are a number of respectable scholars who ask whether a philosophy of education is possible. The reason, perhaps, is that philosophizing about education demands a certain precision that the subject may not be willing to yield. A philosophy of education invites a theory of values, and, above all, a theory of knowledge, so that when we consider education as the transmission of knowledge and values, we are confronted with various epistemologies. But in spite of the fact that societies with different ideologies necessarily impart different epistemologies through education, we are still able to compare one educational system against the other. How are we able to do this? By measuring objectives and their achievements, whatever the objectives may be, or, in short, by effectiveness? In this manner, we count the schools and the number of students pursuing different studies, and, however much we profess ourselves against materialism, by their contribution to the prosperity of society. We imply, by this very measure, that, say, the purposes of education in American democracy, as stated in 1938, which are, if I remember right, self-realization, human relationship, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility—are not merely so important as the rising GNP.

This seems to be the focal point of all educational systems, for self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility, are abstractions concretely different from the American, the Russian, the South African, South American and for the Asian. We come once again to the matter of values. Perhaps, we can go deeper than this. The seventeenth century scholar, John Amos Comenius, coming across reports of human infants, having been reared by animals, developing life-patterns closer to that of animals, argued that the true task of education is to lend form to the human potentialities with which we are born, in order for us to be men. But, again these human potentialities depend on our thoughts concerning value, reality, and knowledge.

When, therefore, these thoughts on values, reality, and knowledge, are embodied in a system or form of education, which is transplanted from one society and culture to another, particularly as a consequence of conquest, we encounter the phenomenon we have learned to call cultural colonialism. Thus educators and scholars of the Third World speak of cultural imperialism, while a few would point to the West as the manipulator of "captive minds" in former colonies. The logical conclusion is that to have an education is to acquire a western or westernized view of reality, which may or may not be effective in the Third World country that one lives in.

I am not sufficiently expert to say whether this is true of science and technology, is part of the modernizing of traditional societies, it may also be necessary condition of cultural colonialism.

These thoughts come to my mind in our reflections on Philippine history. For in some ways, the last eight years of our national life have been a meditation of history and, necessarily, on colonialism. Before the colonial conquest, we had, of course, no educational system nationwide to speak of. It was the Spaniards for four hundred years and the Americans for less than a century which introduced education to the Filipinos—quite successfully, it must be added, for the Filipinos have since valued the acquisition of an education as the highest good. When you look around us, you see all kinds of families both affluent, middle class and lower class, are ready to sacrifice everything in order to send their children to school. The lower classes sell their last carabao, their last piece of land for their eldest son can go to college. We should now correct the impression that the Americans were more serious about educating the natives than the Spaniards; the latter were simply inept, or rather they were merely following a colonial policy. But not so inept as not to produce the likes of say, Rizal, the great Malayan, the man who wrote those books that established a moral basis for our great revolution of 1869. And Mabini, Luna. General Luna, whose brother the painter became recognized as the greatest painter from Asia and the Far East exposition of 1870. American education can count more, considerably more exemplars. Educators, scholars, writers, painters, sculptors, and architects are recognized by the western world. However, let us note that it was the rebellion of Rizal, Mabini, Luna, Lopez, Jaena, and Del Pilar which made them educated Filipinos.

This statement needs elucidation. Colonial education imparted such values as discipline, hard work, punctuality, and a regard for truth. But in the social context, to be disciplined was to be like a Spaniard and to be punctual was to be punctual as an American. There was no sense that this native was a disciplined Filipino and that one was a punctual Filipino, rather than “being like” his colonial master. You would call this “a loss of identity” through education, which is terrible for the individual and disastrous for the nation.

I say this without denigrating all the skills and facilities that we have acquired through the educational system of our recent colonial past. I say this with objectivity and without bitterness. But it does appear that the skills, the facilities and the institutions were exercised and enjoyed without that consciousness which makes a man truly free, and if freedom is also a value in education—and we know it is—colonial education simply produced more efficient, more knowledgeable, shall we call them, slaves.

We have not the time to go into the question of whether it was society which influenced the education or the other way around. We can say, however, that in the interaction between society and the educational system, there was established in the Philippines an essentially feudal society maintained by an oligarchy in which democratic thoughts and institutions were not only the class privilege of only a few but also the means for its perpetuation of the elite.

Through wealth and the power that it commanded—and the education that it could buy—a small group of Filipinos colonized the rest of their countrymen. This small group, this oligarchic class, was strengthened by the approval of richer nations for their “democratic beliefs,” in spite of the puzzling fact that in a country with so many democratically-oriented and educated citizens, the society was immersed in poverty, ignorance, and disease. No one looked into the structure until crisis after crisis occurred and till finally the great crisis exploded and threatened the very existence of our Republic.

It was only through the exercise of political will that we were able to save ourselves from being victims of our—to use the word, advisedly—education.

We arrive at education therefore, as a “psychological event” in the life of an individual and the life of a people, the colonial fact inexorably characterizes the education of a population parenthetically. I might add that the legal profession is somewhat free of this influence, for the lawyer knows he cannot automatically practise his profession in another country. Let us recall too that it was Mabini, a lawyer, who became the “brains” of the Philippine revolution. But take the doctor, the nurse, even the social scientist—the native anthropologist unconscious that he is the continuing subject of his study—imbibes alien values, except that he is not alien to them but to his own people. Somehow, in the course of colonial education, the colonized mind accepts the notion that it is the other country—not his own—which offers fuller rewards for his long years of study.

The social consequences are immeasurable. There, in that psychological conditioning, one may trace the roots of political atomism, the seeds of national alienation. Western thinkers would blame tribalism, they would say that

decades of tutelage have not united the tribes, when, in another sense, education has, in fact, subdivided the race and maintain the differences between tribes, and is it not after all the primary strategy of colonialism is to “divide and conquer?”

It should come as no surprise to you, therefore, that our reformation of the Philippine educational system would be focused on access, on the one hand, and content, on the other. We are in the process of redefining our values, rediscovering and claiming ourselves, and that re-orientation is a general and all-embracing process with the educational system as the core and the center. So far, we have made structural changes in the system, notable among which is the national educational testing center, whose services we have decided to expand. But this, along with the democratization of admissions in the university of the Philippines, is but a first step in instituting a Filipino education for Filipinos.

Lest anyone regard this as (merely) chauvinistic, let it be just pointed out that the social, economic, political, and cultural achievements of the last eight years were made possible by the accepted proposition that we, Filipinos, were making sacrifices not for everybody else but for each other and for one another. Nationalism in action, in other words. Necessarily, there was opposition to our having discarded “democratic” but properly translated, alien values for the national endeavor. But the record is clear. What has been done in eight years had not been done in the previous twenty-two years of exciting and freewheeling democracy of the few or for that matter for the many centuries before that.

Now that we have lifted martial law and called for elections, the same so-called democratic voices are heard once again and re-echoed in their favorite forums, the foreign media, which for most of our lives have been our education about the world and ourselves. The media are, indeed an educational problem with all of us—as they are, I think, with each and everyone of you. Fallacies which cannot pass an elementary class in logic, unsupported assertions and fabricated facts which will outrace a history teacher, become testaments to the truth when printed in media. It has been said that the amount of book-reading in a society is inversely proportional to the gullibility about media, but would depend on the quality of book-reading. Most bestsellers—certainly not all—and media are one and the same in their miniscule contribution to the knowledge and understanding about the world we live in.

But of course, we know that media are most valuable—and, indeed, generally function honestly,—in the societies that sustain them. However, they are not so fastidious and sensitive about other societies especially the society of the Third World. This is probably more of a cultural fact than a result of malice, except that we tend to be more malicious about societies and cultures alien to ours. The intellectual level and integrity of media is an educational concern of all humanity, of all society, most particularly, of course, of the Third World society, where the masses have yet to have access to books. And their only source of information is the media. No professional would use the method of media of arriving at the truths of his profession, but for most of us, it is not the method but the arresting phrase, the headline, the exciting distortion, the glittering generality, the exaggeration which makes media most appealing. Indeed, education for media is, I think, another topic for educational assessment. I think you should take into account such a study in your present convention. For certainly, we can neither dismiss nor ignore this modern phenomenon, this powerful means of influencing the ordinary mind, the popular mind.

Media have learned to make news rather than merely report news, “celebrities” or persons known for their well-knownness, ultimately present us with facts that we cannot and do not verify that we do not understand, but they are accepted for facts because they come from celebrities and they come from the welfare-media. The nightmare of educators is a media-educated population and that nightmare is occurring right now in the Third World as well as in the Western World.

Imagine the nightmare of the political leader, particularly that of a Third World country, balancing the actual capacity of a nation against the expectations of a people prodded by a kibitzing mischievous media. I have no quarrel about media militancy over cruelties of some governments committed against their people. I support human rights. We support the sensibility about individual rights that are enshrined in our respective Constitution. But I am most disturbed as many Third World leaders are disturbed, about facile assertions that things should be economically better in societies which cannot develop to the point of exploiting its people. Economists know the difficulties—and impossibilities—but media, most of the time, disguise dreams as probabilities and fanciful wishes as tangible objects. And worst of all, the people in foreign media are not as belligerent to their societies as they are

those in a Third World. And thus suggesting that they come to the Third World countries not as objective observers but superior judges of our civilization.

Who elected them? To whom are they responsible?

These questions are being asked not just by the Third World countries.

They are asked in the western countries. Private powers and private authority without responsibility to anyone is irresponsibility of the highest degree.

I am reminded of Plato's proposal in the *Republic* of taking children out of the corrupt society in which they were born and educating them in another place in the ways of the ideal society. Education would include expurgated literature; I imagine Plato had in mind the media of his own day.

Now that ideal society has been mentioned, we arrive at the crux of our political education. It is true, of course, that our political contentions are couched in rhetoric which unrealistically suggests that the antagonists can bring about the ideal society. In this manner, peoples are aroused and disappointed. There is a need, therefore of imbuing educational values with a deep sense of realism, which incidentally, does not negate a sense of idealism; the only thing to guard against is dogma, intolerance the final word on everything on earth. A keen appreciation of limits and possibilities, notably in collective life must be the primary mission of modern education, for the lack of appreciation is at the bottom of our social discontents. The specific consequences are the difficulties thrown in the way of the democratization of wealth. As we have learned, distribution is obstructed by the fact that the wealthy would not have less while the poor had need of more; surely, any reasonable man can understand why the cult of abundance has to give way to the demand for the alleviation of the poor. But society, it seems has yet to learn to be reasonable. This fundamental difficulty—a psychological obsession with consumption—also holds the answer to the question of the restructuring the international economic order. Materialism has made some countries prosper and most countries remain in poverty.

And so it is that we, the whole of humanity, are now at the threshold of crisis graver than we have ever known before. It seems that the entirety of education in another age has not prepared us collectively for this current crisis. Do we have time for a quick study, do we have time for an accelerated education? Do you have time to objectively, dispassionately determine the options, and alternatives that are available to us? Do we have time in the resources for the confrontation with this unprecedented situation? I leave that question to you while I go back to my people in search of their own particular judgment on me.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Address of President Marcos to the FEU Law Alumni Association, [May 27, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the FEU Law Alumni Association**

[Delivered on May 27, 1981]

It is a welcome respite for me to take time out from the demands of a political campaign, and join this convocation of my fellow members of the bar, and pay homage to the College of Law of the Far Eastern University and its alumni.

It is not easy of course to dissociate the profession of law from the concerns of politics and government, for indeed it has been well said that “law is reason in the art of government.”

Still there is a view of the law that stands apart from the passing passions of a political campaign, that goes beneath the clash of personalities and parties in an electoral contest to discover the power and vitality of ideas relating to the organization and governance of human society. And it is to this that it should like to address myself this evening in paying homage to the traditions of the FEU College of Law.

My remarks will invite you to undertake a short review and analysis of the elusive ideal of “democracy”, which in the political and legal traditions of our Country are fundamental to the future of national life, and then to examine this ideal as it relates to reality and aspiration in our country.

A MANY-SIDED CONCEPT

There are few things in the world of politics so overlaid with many meanings and emotional connotations as the word “democracy” many schools and systems, as different we say as night and day, claim it as descriptive of their goals. Contradictory realities all too often pass for the word “democracy” in our world today.

To us lawyers, it is all too apparent that democracy in this contest of ideas is being used in many different senses. And it does not necessarily mean that the idea of democracy is simply being appropriated for political ends.

Our ideas and definitions of democracy can probably be grouped into two major concepts. On the one hand there is the school of thought which views democracy as simply meaning a particular form of government in which the people are the source of political power, in which they exercise that power through their duly elected representatives in government. On the other, there is the school of thought which views democracy as a philosophy of life in human society, motivating and guiding the members of that society in their political, economic, social and cultural affairs. The first would identify democracy as principally residing in the form of government and the character of political life. The other sees it as virtually a way of life describing the entire society and the relationships of men in that society.

The first thing that must be acknowledged is that these dominant concepts in modern-day thinking about “democracy” derive from a common fount of ideas in the Greek City states of the ancients.

“Democracy” is a word that is Greek in lineage, and to the Greeks it meant the “rule by the multitude.” At the heart of the concept is the belief that a truly democratic nation must constantly strive towards “the good life” for all the people, must aim at the maximum of individual liberty consistent with the general security, order, and welfare, must provide the widest possible opportunities for all, to the end that men may become nearly perfect in their human

personality, and must provide for the active participation of the largest number of citizens in the processes of government.

The predicates, the assumptions, and the postulates of the central idea of democracy, are that the people are capable of governing themselves as reasonable, intelligent, and civilized human beings under a regime of liberty and equality.

THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

There are certain propositions which political scientists have spelled out as lying at the core of the democratic goals of life.

The first of these basic assumptions is that man is a rational being, capable of solving his problems and improving his lot by the application of reason. The essence of the democratic process is government by consent, resulting from free, temperate and enlightened discussion. Only reasonable men can participate in the kind of discussion from which emerges the truth they stand for. The decisions of democracy as distinguished from “monocracy,” are reasonable and responsible decisions made by right thinking and rational men.

A second closely connected assumption of the democratic theory is that man is a moral being, considerate of the rights of others, and able to balance the social good against his own personal interest. This postulate implies that man’s action must be based upon standards rising above the level of pure selfishness and of gross materialism.

The third proposition assumes human equality, which means political equality, but not the actual equality of human beings with respect to physical and intellectual endowments. Democracy does not aspire to an impossible and hardly attractive idea of equality wherein every man is equal in all respects to every other man. The emphasis is on equality in certain fields, equality before the law, equality in voting, equality in opportunity, and equality in dignity.

THE DEMOCRATIC THESIS

From these premises springs the singular democratic thesis that where men are rational, moral, and equal, man will find the means not only to self-improvement but also the means to create a vital and progressive society of human beings. It follows in the democratic thesis that social change does not have to be violent. It can be painless. As man becomes more rational, he is better able to control and guide the technological and ideological factors of social change which would produce the society and government he desires. The control and guidance of these factors are in accord with policies democratically formulated through free and rational discussion. The will of the majority embodies a considered and reasoned decision. By its reasonableness, the consent of all the citizens is won, and all will then cooperate in carrying out the decision.

In this perspective, democracy is not revolutionary but fundamentally evolutionary. Its philosophy abhors violence, and to advocate it is to confess that man is not rational. The true democrat believes that evolutionary gains are won by stages and by persuasion. Ancient and modern history has shown that the convulsive results of revolution are frequently negated by counter-revolution and reaction. Progress is lasting when it is peaceful rather than coercive.

RULES BY THE MAJORITY

It follows also from this basic thesis that the best way to decide major issues of public policy is to put forward such questions to the people for decision. Since men can never be expected to endorse one particular policy or program of action, democracy involves majority decision-making either by the voters themselves directly or by their elected representatives indirectly.

In the modern democratic state, instruments of self-government can be availed of which express the people’s will indirectly. Thus, legislators, executives and administrators can make decisions in the name of the voters to whom they are responsible for their public acts. The principle of self-government through majority decisions does not

always require consultation of the electorate on every minor question. But in momentous issues which affect the destiny of a nation, modern democracies avail of the reasonable use of the referendum to establish basic fundamental questions of policy intended to guide not only the present but the future generations.

Self-government means government by consent. Obviously consent cannot always be absolutely unanimous, but the more popular the mandate then the more democratic is the society that results from that mandate.

The major task of democratic leaders is to establish a formula whereby the essence of popular government is preserved by reserving for the citizen's direct determination matters both vital and basic, and delegating to their representatives matters either too trivial or too complex.

THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN PERSON

Thirdly, the democratic idea of rule by the many recognizes as basic to its fulfillment and practice the freedom of an individual or group from external restraint or restrictive conditions imposed by other individuals, groups, government, or society. Liberty, however, in a democratic society is relative and not absolute. Because human beings have to be organized to become a society, the individual in society is not absolutely free to do exactly as he wishes at all times and in all circumstances. Absolute liberty will produce anarchy which is the complete opposite of genuine freedom. Liberty implies restraint. In a democracy, this means social self-restraint exercised whenever necessary for the security, safety and welfare of the community. It is liberty in accordance with the will of the majority and based upon personal and group responsibility.

From this derives what must be considered the major problem of every democracy: the reconciliation of liberty with authority. The never-ending task of democracy is always to strike a balance between liberty and authority, and such a balance is ever new and ever changing, depending upon the problems and circumstances that confront us at any given time.

The ultimate purpose of democracy is the advancement of man, the vindication of human dignity. The state is not an end in itself but only a means towards the realization of the potentialities of man. Since man has mind, body and soul, individual fulfillment must be intellectual, material and spiritual. In pursuing its ends, democracy must always use democratic methods. In the pursuit of democratic ends, government must use democratic means. Methods, ends, and means are inseparable since the most basic concepts of democracy—liberty, equality and popular sovereignty—are means in themselves as well as ends.

We cannot save democracy by destroying it. There must be frequent re-examination of the fundamental articles of democratic faith. We cannot identify democracy only with institutions, we must always identify it with concepts. Democratic institutions alone and by themselves do not guarantee democracy. Nations must develop democratic traditions based upon their own experiences in self-government and in the creation of their own governmental machineries. And development is a process of evolution.

When slow outmoded procedures which may have been eminently satisfactory in the past are no longer adequate to answer the demands of the present, when they fall out of step with modern times, they must give way to effective and expeditious techniques without abandoning the essentials of the democratic processes.

The logic of democratic theory does not lie here in the creation of a monolithic structure for all societies aspiring to be democratic. It does not destroy what is peculiar and singular to a people. It simply provides a pattern by which men may organize themselves, and a fund of concepts whereby they can fulfill themselves.

DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW SOCIETY

On the basis of the fundamental concepts I have compared, it is material to ask what the new society has accomplished in the realm of the theory and the reality of democracy as a form of government and as a philosophy of life.

Have we established a system of government where decisions are predicated upon reasonable discussion and popular consent?

Have we established an equitable balance between liberty and authority?

Have we established necessary and meaningful changes by peaceful evolution?

To all these questions we emphatically answer in the affirmative. And we say look at the record.

Our people have shown themselves intellectually, physically and spiritually capable of self-government, capable of participating in free, temperate, and enlightened discussion. Decisions on vital and fundamental issues have been made directly by the entire people in three plebiscites for the adoption of constitutional amendments. The referendum has been extensively used as means of discovering public thought and sentiment on basic public issues. The effectiveness of the interaction between the Batasang Pambansa, the president and the cabinet in the formulation and implementation of basic national policies has demonstrated the palpable reality of representative democracy in the Philippines. The local affairs of the people are decided by popular consent in the deliberative forums of the Barangay Councils, and the “Sanggunians” of our towns, cities and provinces.

The responsiveness of government to the voice of the people is effectively maintained in the latest charter amendments, which provide for change in government by a prime minister and a cabinet, and for the resolution of fundamental issues by the people through the dissolution of the Batasang Pambansa.

Freedom and equality have been preserved, recognized and vindicated not only as human rights but as social obligations. Liberty has flourished in this country, and was undimmed and undiminished even under martial law. Hence, while we welcome the recent U.S. Congressional resolution commending us for the lifting of martial law, we hasten to stress that the people never at any time lost the freedoms guaranteed by our constitution.

We did take steps to balance liberty with authority—and the balance was always the result of the problems that confronted our people.

By the judicious use of the Commander-in-Chief provisions of the 1935 as well as the 1973 Constitution, constitutional authoritarianism was conceived and developed as a valid and effective mode for a crisis government, consistent with the supremacy of civilian over military authority, in an atmosphere of peace rather than violence. Juridical concepts have been so developed in this political experiment that our experience has shown the efficacy of administering and dispensing justice by the concurrent action of military and civil courts to effectively overcome the threats to national security and public order.

Under the new society, meaningful thrusts have been made towards the democratization and humanization of justice. Mechanisms for free legal aid to the poor have been organized, systematized, and coordinated through the Citizens Legal Assistance Office of the Ministry of Justice, the legal agencies of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform and the Ministry of Labor, and the various chapters of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines. The grassroots level of dispensing justice through the conciliation system in the Barangay Courts has considerably eased the dockets of our trial courts. The probation system has kept out of penitentiaries some 8,000 convicted law violators who would have otherwise suffered the consequences of incarceration and who have instead continued to live in our communities under the care and guidance of highly trained probation officers and social workers.

And I will say finally that in this effort to preserve the reality of democratic processes during the period of Martial Law, and to advance and promote them in our present transition to full Parliamentary Democracy, the legal profession in our country has been an indispensable partner of orderly change and growth.

We make no claims of perfection in our democratic institutions and in what we have won in the political sphere. But we do say that if our society today is to be judged by the tests and measurements of the democratic ideal, we have not only kept faith with the basic faith of democracy, we have succeeded in giving it life and roots in our lives.

The dawning presidential elections form a crucial part of the National Movement towards full Parliamentary Democracy. It crowns the period of our struggle to finally give reality and substance to the forms of democratic government that have for so long held up illusions to our people and failed them. It will open for us a new stage for democracy in our country.

DEMOCRACY AS A DYNAMIC IDEAL

One final note before I close. Democracy as form of government and as a political philosophy is a dynamic idea. It is not to be imagined that its reality is to be found merely in the character of political institutions, though institutions are fundamental. It is not to be purely equated with concepts, though concepts are essential.

It must find its life in the realities and circumstances of a society claiming to be democratic, find itself in the currents of life in a society, and be realized as in the Christian Ethic, “by its fruits.” in this way do we truly separate societies that only invoke its name, and those that truly live its truths.

It is in the very dynamism of life, in the flux of events, that we must ever be ready to affirm and sustain the vitality and creativity of our democratic institutions. Inert, befuddled, democratic ideals wither faster than we know. Only in active exercise and maintenance of democratic process as a means to the fulfillment of social goals, can we really say that democracy is not only a form of government in our country, but in fact a philosophy and way of life.

On this point, I will emphasize the importance of the profession of law in creating and strengthening the democratic culture in our country. Just as it has been a fact that the legal profession—the bench and the bar—have been a vital factor in the observance of democratic practices and processes during the period of martial law as well as in the building of stability in our government, so must it serve us now as a creative agent for strengthening and widening the horizons of democracy in our land.

The function of the law is not agitation but the establishment of reason and order. It has been well said that we should never be too hasty in despairing about “the slowness of the law, its massive impersonality, its insistence upon proceeding according to settled rules.” for in these inhere its service as an institution in human society.

But once the times change, once needs and realities adjust in society, and men at last decipher the directions in which they must move, the law also changes. And in changing, it then given permanence and majesty to the new in human life. This is the time-honored way whereby law enable men in community to process the sense of the unity of their past, their present, and their future.

By training and tradition, our men of the law have always known this. They have channeled the minds of our people into ideological orientations peculiar to Philippine custom tradition, philosophy, theory, system and culture. They have successfully fostered the climate conducive to the rule of law in the forums of advocacy and adjudication. And it is well known that in this twin process of conserving and innovating the alumni of the FEU College of Law have contributed much, both in service within government and outside it.

Tonight I am truly please to be able pay tribute to your community for your help and counsel during all these years of my presidency. But in expressing my gratitude, allow me also to ask once more for your support—to join your hands with mine in establishing a democracy worthy of our dreams as a people.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Campaign Speech of President Marcos at the Cebu Rally, [June 6, 1981](#)

**Campaign Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Cebu Rally**

[Delivered on June 6, 1981]

History, Geography, and Culture have conferred upon the province and city of Cebu a unique place in our national life as the second capital of the Philippines, after Manila. Cebu is a formidable center of national affairs in her own right, gathering together great forces and concerns in our country, and dispensing as well the lights of commerce and culture to the neighboring regions of the Visayas and Mindanao.

Of her importance, I have always been aware both as a man of government, and as a seeker of the political support of our people. If today I have come here in the course of my campaign for the presidency, I shall not, I hope be accused by my brother Cebuanos, that I have remembered to come here only because of politics. For this is certainly not the first time, nor will this be the last, that I shall be the guest of this city, this province and this region.

It has been suggested that in this presidential campaign, I really should not exert myself too much because there is little opposition to my candidacy. It has been suggested that since my re-election appears to be fated by the political situation prevailing in the country, I could put my time to better use by preparing myself instead for the work ahead.

The confidence of my supporters and my critics is warming and comforting. But I have always believed that there is more to these elections than winning, and that behind this political exercise, we are in fact not only electing a president, but deciding upon our future as a nation.

We need to raise our sights in this campaign high above the personalities of the men aspiring for the presidency, and touch the strands and paths of future national endeavors. For only the candidate and the party that truly address these themes, and persuade us as to the rightness of their dreams for the nation, deserve the mandate of our people. And only a mandate indicative of national directions will truly suffice as a platform with which the future administration can begin its work.

I have often said in this campaign, and I will repeat it here, that it is our mission today — of all of us within the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, and of you and I belonging to the generation living now — to recover the dignity of the Filipino, and to stop once and for all the exploitation of our race by our own people.

We do not stand here in order to advance selfish, personal, or even party interest. The Kilusang Bagong Lipunan is not just a political party. The Kilusang Bagong Lipunan is not just a group of men seeking political power or political position. No, it is much more than these.

To be worthy of its aspirations to direct and govern the affairs of the nation in this exciting time of ferment and challenge, it must ever stand, as I believe it has always stood, as a movement to redirect the course of our history as a people, to redeem the promises that have been failed so often and to put people and country on the road to its true destiny.

For four centuries we were colonized—for 377 years under the Spaniards and another 48 years under the Americans. During this period, no group of Filipinos succeeded in changing the trend of our history. And what was that trend? Exploitation and colonization. We were colonized by strangers. But they used Filipinos, too, in colonizing us. Let me ask you. When we speak of Diego Silang, the question that arises is, who killed Diego Silang? Filipinos. Who pointed to the hiding place of Gabriela Silang in Abra? Filipinos. Who killed Andres Bonifacio? Filipinos. Who

killed Luna? Filipinos. Who brought the Americans to capture Aguinaldo in Palanan? Filipinos. All throughout the revolutionary period, there always appeared to be a quarrel among ourselves diffusing our struggle against oppressors. Even among the politicians of 1902 and 1907, when the Philippine Assembly was established; even in 1916 when the Philippine Senate was organized; and even in the 1920s when Filipino parliamentary representation in the American colonial government became fact — we, our leaders, were prey to the politics of faction. Osmeña and Quezon fought almost throughout the period of American tutelage. What were they fighting about? Powers. And then came the Commonwealth, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, the Tydings McDuffie Law. After the Commonwealth came the declaration of independence. Commissioner McNutt brought down the American flag, and we raised the Philippine flag. Then came the fight between Osmeña and Roxas. The liberal party was created. What was its platform? Was it to change our society? Emphatically no! And yet by that time it was quite clear that the exploitation and colonization of our people were not being done by aliens alone but by Filipinos also, Filipinos who had acquired alien faces, Filipinos who were privileged to participate in the exercise of political authority as early as 1902 and who exercised that political authority not for the good and welfare of the entire Filipino people but for the attainment of their personal and perhaps party interests.

This is what this present presidential campaign and the elections must not leave unresolved.

At the very least, it must be asked of the candidates and the parties seeking the people's mandate how they stand on this indelible theme in our history, and how they might decisively transform it.

It would indeed be very sad if during this campaign our people will look at the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, our party, as one standing for nothing but selfish political partisan interests. For this is declaratively not the case. our party is more than just a political party.

Throughout our history, we have been the captives of a historical trend bearing us irreversibly towards division and failure. All throughout, we have been the prisoners of a generation of leaders professing service but in fact only substituting for the colonizers who had left.

It is humiliating for us to own to these weaknesses and deficiencies. But we must face up to reality. Political parties have from the beginning been convenient instruments not for the public welfare, not for change, but only for the attainment of political power and public office for selfish ends. This is the truth borne to us by a study of our past.

The Kilusang Bagong Lipunan stands before our people today as a movement to reverse the currents and the trends of this sad story. The Kilusang Bagong Lipunan stands before the Filipino people with this pledge: that it shall utilize whatever power shall be delegated to it, not to advance the personal and partisan selfish interest of a few leaders, or of an elite in our society, but to redeem the Filipino, especially the Filipino common man, from colonization and exploitation by his own people.

This is the core of our philosophy and our program of government. This is the reason why we are so adamant, so resolute.

Our movement stands contrasted to those other parties bidding for our people's support, which because of their poverty of vision, can only cavil about the work of others, and can only replay once more the discredited politics of the past.

It is incidental, my friends, that I lead this movement today. The fundamental and important point is that it is not one person who seeks your mandate, but a party and a program for change. I, as President, can give way to others, provided that the essential directions for change is kept intact. Provided that government energetically addresses itself to changing the course of our history. And provided too that out of these labors, we shall in fact recover and enrich the dignity of our people in our own land and in the world.

If the public official is honest, if the public official patiently and diligently works at his job and performs his task of serving the people, if a public official goes out as an agricultural extension worker and increases the production of a poor tenant-farmer and helps him obtain credit without collateral and, at the same time, improves upon his irrigation

system, these, as much as the actions of the president, form part of the battles that we fight in time of peace to change the trend of our history. If we show concern, if we show care for our weak and oppressed, if we show that we are capable of granting justice where justice is due, then the tide of change begins to turn in favor of our future as a nation.

And this is why we stand before our people today — because we believe that in establishing the new society, we have made an important beginning in altering the course of our national history. And because we believe that the work must continue at an unrelenting pace.

And this is why we have come here to Cebu today — to bring the message to our countrymen as we did in other places in the course of our campaign.

For we shall not be content with less than an emphatic mandate from our people for the new course that we have laid. Without our people's understanding and endorsement of the KBL's platform of government, these presidential elections would be no more than a futile and sterile exercise. Sa tagal ng panahong ipinaglingkod ko sa ating pamahalaan ay nakararamdam na rin naman ako ng pagkahapo. Apatnapung taon na. Nguni't ang tungkuling nakaatang sa aking mga balikat ay hindi ko basta matatalikuran. At iyan ay sinimulan natin noong 1972. We cannot just stop it and say, I am tired; I would like to rest, I would like to enjoy the company of my family now before my children make their own families.

The truth is, my friends, I am deeply anxious that the present political exercise may turn out to be just another political campaign. I fear that our people do not realize yet the critical and historical significance of the things that we are doing today.

If it is true, and I do believe it is, that one of the responsibilities of leadership is to articulate the vague and groping yearnings of the people, to give them shape, dimension, color and purpose, then it is my obligation to do so in this campaign. It is my responsibility. I must draw from each and every thought and mind, from every heart and every spirit of every Filipino those ideals, those thoughts, those dreams and those visions that make the entire body of Filipino ideology and turn them into matters that can be understood and, therefore, can be worked for, fought for and, if necessary, die for. This is the work of men who understand the purpose of their lives. This is the work of those who offer their very lives and thoughts for our people. And this is our responsibility today.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 36th Anniversary of the Battle of Ipo Dam, [June 6, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 36th Anniversary of the Battle of Ipo Dam**

[Delivered on June 6, 1981]

I am so glad that so many of our comrades-in-arms are able to join us today to commemorate one of the most glorious campaigns in the military annals of our nation. I am sure that the fires of your youthful heroism, that so effectively served the cause of our people in the last war, are still burning among all of you, and are being channeled to the more immediate pursuits of the present era. Heroism once accomplished, they say, becomes a burden; for after one heroic act you are thereafter judged; your every word and deed is measured on the basis of that past accomplishment. It may be an honorable burden, but it is a burden just the same that must be borne for the rest of your life. That ironically is the price of heroism.

Over the years many veterans of the last war have tried to live up to the expectations of their people, despite the great personal difficulty it posed. Some of us have had to pass up certain material opportunities simply because as veterans, it was not expected of us to avail of them, as though we had become invulnerable and immune to all the hungers, aspirations and ambitions that beset other human beings. But not surprisingly, many of us have managed to live up to our people's expectations. The heroism that pulled us through countless bloody encounters with the enemy is the same spirit that sustains us today, in our day-to-day existence.

As we commemorate the 36th Anniversary of the Battle of Ipo Dam we invoke once more that spirit, not only for ourselves but also for the sake of those who are not fortunate enough to be with us today. I refer especially to those comrades of ours who in the flower of their youth made the ultimate sacrifice. As in previous occasions such as this, we recall their bravery not merely to pay them their due homage, but also to make their sacrifices serve as a durable inspiration and a permanent reminder to us all.

For certainly, we miss their capacity for selflessness in this age when even some of our former comrades have chosen to demean the memory of our sacred dead in order to fulfill their own personal ambitions. They have chosen to act the blind, the deaf and the mute to the appeals of millions of our countrymen who are crying out for liberation from poverty, from ignorance, from disease and from exploitation by their own countrymen. They have lost that sense of unqualified service to the people. They have instead allowed themselves to become mere pawns of other forces still operating in our society who are dedicated to demolishing the gains and achievements that not only the government, but all of us, the entire citizenry, have been able to accomplish over the past few years. They have chosen to set themselves as impediments, hindering the advance of progress and development. But on this day I serve them fair warning: our people, having grown disgusted over the centuries of social, political and economic oppression to which they had been victims, will not stand or tolerate any attempt to snatch away from them the fruits of their efforts under a government that has constantly stood by them and for once has been upholding their interests.

I must confess a certain distaste for some of their tactics during the current campaign. As gentlemen and veterans, I had expected everybody conduct themselves in a manner worthy of proven patriots. But over the past few weeks they have been conducting themselves in a fashion that sometimes makes me question their sense of honor and decency. One has become a tool, a puppet—if I must say so—mouthing the pronouncements fed to him by others. He has been waging his campaign not on the basis of the clear and valid issues that, I admit, must be brought out and discussed by all concerned. He has instead resorted to disparaging the character not only of the president, but also of those who are dear to him and those who have been serving the people with him. He has been made to say things that I believe he does not fully comprehend. He has portrayed the problems facing our nation—for certainly, there

are many of them—in a manner designed not to help solve them, but to instigate outright popular rejection of the normal workings of government.

Our other opponent stands on a platform that I cannot help but call ridiculous. He has publicly declared that should he be able to assume the highest office of the land, he shall deliver our people and our country to a foreign power. He has depicted this power as an omnipotent benefactor who would endow upon this nation the overrated blessings of its development. I cannot help but personally feel that his declared intentions is a form of treachery. Treachery to the millions of Filipinos who in numerous struggles, such as the Battle of Ipo Dam, laid down their lives so that our country can gain independence and the respect as an equal of other sovereign nations. Treachery to the cause of nationhood that has sustained us and continues to guide us despite the many tribulations that accompany the awesome task of nation-building. Treachery to future generations of Filipinos who, if he were to have his way, would be robbed of their identity and would be denied their legacy and right to a bountiful land.

But more pernicious than these are other elements who have publicly declared their desire to once more reinstate in our land a political system that for many years, as we have painfully witnessed, bred only chaos, anarchy and underdevelopment. Their arrogance knows no bounds. Their objective of remaining aloof from one of the most crucial political exercises in our history, should indicate their indifference to the plight of our people. Childishly they seem to believe that striking a pose of puerile defiance would earn them the right to national prominence and leadership. Again, I must warn these few individuals that their announced plans run counter to certain provisions enshrined in our Constitution, which also provides penalties for acts of civil disobedience. I have no plans of playing lenient nor of playing magnanimous once the elections are over. I shall have to allow the law to run its full course if only to demonstrate that the government, having surmounted far more perilous threats to its integrity, will not now countenance any attempts to endanger its stability.

We owe this much to our people, who have long suffered under the yoke of exploitation by some of their own countrymen. We owe this much to memories of our fallen comrades whose sacrifices were made not for the sake of personal glory, but for the establishment of a nation worthy of the talents and of the dreams of our people.

We face at this moment in our national history nothing less than a crucial choice of the path we will take towards the future. More than a choice of the leader who will lead the nation into the turbulent and uncertain waters of the future, the coming elections is a choice of alternative visions of tomorrow. Some of us who aspire to the presidency may be only dimly aware of this need to provide vision; the fact remains that when one opts to side with them, he stands with them for something that bears gravely upon the life of the nation tomorrow. Some may only be in this election to sabotage and impugn the integrity of the balloting, the fact remains that if one opts to side with them, he also makes a choice for the future.

It is not for nothing, my friends, that we look upon the Office of the Presidency as nothing less than the incarnation of what we are and what we aspire to be as a people and as a nation. In that lofty office are vested not the personal dreams of one man, but the dreams of an entire people, and that is why we say too that while any man can justly aspire for the office, only a very few are found to be deserving.

To run for the presidency is a matter of honor and dignity, so that even in defeat, one must bring to the pursuit of this precious gift the best of one's hopes and aspirations. To win that office and then to serve it is a matter of the highest purposes and ideals, for only in high idealism and purpose can a man hope to bring the light of leadership to bear on the course of people and country.

It is in the light of these momentous questions that I have insisted throughout this campaign that we in the KBL must lift our sights above the din of partisan confusion and defeatism to bring before our people the great significance and import of this historical period we are passing through. We must live and work in full awareness that at this moment we are making history—and history will salute and bless our aspirations only to the extent that we guide and direct the great currents pulling our nation into the future.

Our task I say now, as I have said before, and as we said in the many battlefields of the last war, is to build the nation not only for our generation, but for the generations to come. We cannot avoid facing the overpowering pull of

historical forces, which have repeatedly entrapped us in courses unwanted and uncertain, because of the infirmities of leadership and the poverty of vision. We must change, I say, the very trends of our national story, from the pervasive one of vacillation and weakness, to the resolute course that will provide for growth and unity in our national life.

The opportunity is in our hands to do this now—to declare to ourselves and before the world that this is where we are going, this is what we aspire to be, and this is what we are resolved to build upon our land.

It is an opportunity, for which many dear sons and daughters of our motherland have braved the agony and vicissitude of battles to win. It is an opportunity won at the price of heroism in war and heroism in peace. It should not happen, and I believe it will not happen, that in this crucial moment in our national history, we who live today—heirs to the proud tradition of our heroes—will fail to take the cup of opportunity and challenge that has passed into our hands. For I do believe that we are not the same nation that we were a decade ago when we almost went under the tides of crisis. We are in fact a new nation and a new society convinced and aware as never before that dreams no matter how lofty can be made real and enduring. Thank you all and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Assembly of Lawyers' Association of the Philippines, [June 9, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Assembly of Lawyers' Association of the Philippines**

[Delivered on June 9, 1981]

The declaration which this assembly has written and proclaimed is a testament of faith of men of the law in the law of the land, and it is one which I wholly share as a member of the legal profession and as the privileged servant of the highest office in our country.

Nothing that is said in this declaration sanctifies or endorses the position of any party or candidate in the current political campaign or the election. It rather seeks to clarify and give voice to a fundamental provision in our constitution that relates to the right and the duty of suffrage. It speaks to the fundamental exercise of choice in our democratic society as the solitary principle for the determination of authority and power in our country. For without this, as the declaration makes very clear, the active consent of the governed so essential in democratic politics and government would not be possible.

You have been concerned to develop a position arising from what is specifically enshrined in law and in the constitution. And there can be no doubt that in the context of our constitution: it is, indeed, "The obligation of every citizen qualified to vote to register and cast his vote." Suffrage is not a mere privilege, it is an obligation. So it is written in the law of the land. So it will remain as long as the provision stays in the constitution. And so the point, as you well say, is "unarguable."

As lawyers we are not disposed to discuss at length what is not written in the law, for this is not as we say "relevant" to the adjudication of disputes; we pay our greatest attention to the construction and interpretation of the meaning of statutes. But as citizens, it is obviously important that we ever inquire and understand not only the meaning of the law, but its reason, its justice, its necessity.

And this is what I would like to do in the brief time allotted to me here this morning.

Suffrage is so much a part of our lives today that we tend sometimes to forget the price that people in many ages have had to pay in the winning of this right. We assume it as a necessary adjunct to citizenship, and yet if we but pause briefly to reflect, it is a cherished possession that had to be fought for, often under pain of oppression, sometimes at the sacrifice of life.

It is surely revealing to note for instance, that as late as a few decades ago, men were still fighting for suffrage not only in the less developed parts of the world, but even in societies as advanced as those in Europe and America. The principle of one man, one vote for instance did not fully come to life in Great Britain — that land so often regarded as the mother of democracy — until 1948, when a law granting favored sectors of society the privilege to vote twice in an election was struck down. And we all know, of course, what the blacks in America have had to struggle with in order to effect passage as late as the sixties of their rights as voters in American political life.

But then it is fair to ask why has suffrage been so important an issue in political life?

The answer is to be found in the very postulates of democratic theory and government; in the basic perception that democracy is not possible, democracy is an illusion, where there is no mechanism for the expression of consent by the governed.

Other systems may devise different ways to organize political power and authority, but in any society that aspires to be democratic, it is principally the vote which is the instrument of political power.

In various forms, suffrage existed in earlier human societies — in the Greek City-States, in the pre-democratic societies of the middle ages, in semi-autocratic communities — but it was principally during the accelerated development of democratic theory in the age of enlightenment that it began to emerge as a principle flowing from both political and moral considerations.

As men and governors began to crystallize the democratic idea, so did they also come to recognize that suffrage is the principal instrument of governance in democratic society, and that as such it must be seen as both “a private right” and “a public duty.”

Just as men have claimed the right of vote as a right flowing not only from political considerations, but from moral ideas of the basic equality and dignity of men; so also did it become a duty deriving not only from legal considerations but from the moral view of human society.

The source of this moral dimension to suffrage may be briefly traced to the decisive change in human perspectives that occurred in the great transition from the middle ages to the modern age. As many of us will remember in the middle ages, there was what is called a “holistic” conception of representation in human society. The human individual was not the unit of society, but groups, classes and interests. On this basis the initial development of suffrage resulted in the representation of a few privileged classes, and the exclusion of others deemed undeserving of the right.

With the enlightenment, and the light it cast on the human affairs, we begin to see the enthronement of the individual as the basic unit to be counted in human society. We begin to perceive the individualistic conception of representation.

For all the advances achieved, however, in political theory, practice would take time to give everyone access to this fundamental right of suffrage. Legally imposed exclusions prevented many from voting, mainly the underprivileged in society, largely through the ruse of invoking all kinds of qualifications for suffrage, and principally for the purpose of maintaining the position of the ruling classes.

Only by an appeal on moral grounds — on the principle of the basic equality of men in regard to their rights and their right to dignity and self-respect — and only by active and militant struggle, did universal adult suffrage finally become the right that we know today in almost every society that claims or aspires to be democratic.

We often fought the concept of law, law as being the collective will of a community, independent of the individual will of its members and enforced by acknowledged authority. More simply stated, it is the body of rules governing the conduct of persons living in association with others, under the guaranty of social compulsion. In the examination of what is the meaning of a right, as we lawyers know, we found that it is the power to exact from other individuals the observance of a certain act or behaviour, which power is recognized and enforced by state authority. On the other hand, a duty is the juridical necessity to observe a certain demeanor or conduct sanctioned by law. Right and duty are therefore reciprocal, correlative and inseparable, being the opposite aspects of the same relation.

There is also one fundamental rule on jurisprudence: when the law is clear, there is no room for any further interpretation. As the Latins put it, from the law there is no departure. *A verbis legis non est recedendum*.

The test of any principle is its application to its extreme, if we were to push the extreme principle of refusal to vote to a complete boycott to its ultimate conclusion so that no one would vote than we would have no public officials. We would have no government; there would be no society. It is as simple as illogical and as ridiculous as that.

However, when I look at the exponents of the boycott, I see that it is not just boycott that they are working for; what they want is to bring down the republic by whatever means, including violence and bloodshed.

We lawyers have saying that external actions show internal secrets. “Acta exteriora indicant interiora secreta”. If we were truly convinced that those who advocate boycott are prompted by conscientious reasoning and a sincere belief in its validity as a political theory, I would treat the matter with more extreme thought, but I happen to be personally informed as to why some of these proponents of boycott have invoked this mode of. These proponents who were formerly members of the KBL demanded of me and the party certain political and even commercial concessions which we could not grant. Sullen and sulking from the rejection of their demands, their financial and political aspirations thus shattered. They have assumed the posture not only of civil disobedience but criminal disobedience.

Citizenship is not a compartmentalized concept –it is an indivisible reality. One cannot be half-Filipino and half-alien at one’s choice. One cannot invoke Filipino citizenship to enjoy advantages and act as an alien to escape inconveniences.

Ang obligasyong bumoto ay hindi lamang isang obligasyong legal. Ito ay isa ring obligasyong moral. Ipahintulot ninyong basahin ko sa inyo ang isang aklat na ginagamit ng maraming paaralang publiko, ang “Government and Politics of the Republic of the Philippines” na sinulat nina Gregorio F. Zaide at ni Sonia M. Zaide. Sa pahina 146, item No. 4 ng paksang “Pananagutan ng mga Mamayan” ay isinasaad ang sumusunod:

Sa pagboto nang tapat at buong katalinuhan. Ang mga mamamayang Pilipino ay kailangang lumahok sa halalan. Sila ay kailangang magtungo sa mga presinto sa araw ng halalan upang bumoto sapagkat ang “Pagboto ay isang sandata ng mamamayan upang pangalagaan ang kanyang kalayaan.” Ang sinumang mamamayan na kusa at sadyang tatanging bumoto ay nakagagawa ng kasalanang hindi lamang laban sa demokrasya kundi isang kasalanang mortal. Tulad ng sinabi ni Pope Pius XII: “Isang obligasyon ng sinumang may karapatang bumoto, lalaki man o babae, ang paglahok sa mga halalan. Ang sinumang hindi bumoto laluna kung ito ay dahil sa katamaran o kaduwagan, ay nakagagawa ng isang malubhang kasalanan — isang kasalanang mortal.”

The obligation to vote is not merely a legal obligation, it is also a moral obligation. Let me go direct to the point and read you a textbook which is used in most of the catholic schools, Government and Politics of the Republic of the Philippines Authored by Gregorio F. Zaide and Sonia M. Zaide. Page 146, item No. 4 of the topic “Duties of the Citizens”:

4. To vote honestly and intelligently. Filipino citizens are duty-bound to participate in elections. They must go to the polls on election day and cast their ballots for “a vote is man’s weapon to protect his freedom.” Any citizen who voluntarily and willfully refuses to vote commits not only an offense against democracy, but also a mortal sin. As Pope Pius XII said: “It is strictly obligatory for whoever has the right to vote, man or woman, to take part in the elections. He who abstains, particularly through indolence or from cowardice, commits thereby a grave sin, a mortal offense.”

The same book refers to the joint pastoral letter of the catholic hierarchy of the Philippines on elections, dated September 12, 1953. Again I read that part to you:

The Duty to Vote

The vote, however, is not merely a right to be protected — it is a duty to be fulfilled. Every qualified citizen of a democratic republic has a duty to vote, and to vote for those candidates who would in his honest opinion best discharge of the duties of the office to which he is elected. This duty can be a grave duty, that is, one which must be performed under pain of mortal sin, when there is danger of evil men obtaining control of the government unless they are decisively voted down.”

Under the heading statement of principles, the pastoral letter of the catholic hierarchy states:

“Experience has shown, however, that when the republic is a nation consisting of millions of people inhabiting an extensive territory, the citizens cannot effectively and efficiently exercise their authority themselves, but must communicate it to certain representatives of their own choosing who will administer that authority in their behalf.

These representatives of the people and executives of their authority are not chosen permanently but for a term of years defined in the fundamental law or constitution of the republic; at the end of which the citizens are given a fresh opportunity, through the holding of elections, to decide whether they wish to retain their former representatives in office, or to replace them with new ones.

It is clear therefore from all these statements that it is both a legal and moral duty for the Filipino citizen to register and to vote.

I THANK and commend the lawyers of our country for staging this rally for the rule of law. You deserve the accolade of our people for according them intractable, ineluctable, and inexorable guides, norms, and attitudes towards the correct and reasonable application of the law, for you do so with patriotism, prudence and wisdom — true to the traditions bequested to us by Solon, the statesman and lawgiver, who lived long before the dawn of Christianity, and who during his lifetime (638 to 559 B.C.) framed the democratic laws of Athens. These democratic traditions he founded have survived to this day. Solon-like in your espousal of the rule of law, you vindicate the stability of law. Law ever seeks stability. And it is stable because it is the law. Exceptions can neither be justified nor countenanced by imagined wrongs, by selfish motives, by personal ambitions. While there are men like you the future of the Philippines is safe.

CONCLUSION

You deserve the accolade of our people for according them intractable, ineluctable, and inexorable guides, norms, and attitudes towards the correct and reasonable application of the law. For you do so with patriotism, prudence and wisdom — true to the traditions bequeathed to us by Solon, the statesman.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos before the Assembly of Lawyers, [June 9, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Assembly of Lawyers**

[Delivered on June 9, 1981]

The Undertones of Criminal Disobedience*

One cannot speak before lawyers without first establishing basic premises. As is usual among lawyers these premises are those already known and widely accepted – yet sometimes forgotten. Let me then begin with a brief review of the concept of law. In its most fundamental concept, law is the system of rules of external conduct expressing directly or indirectly the collective will of a community, independent of the individual will of its members and enforced by acknowledged authority (Ennecerus). More simply stated, it is the body of rules governing the conduct of persons living in association with others, under the guaranty of social compulsion (De Page). There are, to be sure, innumerable classifications of law. But the most relevant in our exchange of ideas this morning is the classification of law according to scope, into Public Law which governs the relations of the individual with the sovereign or the community as a whole, and Private Law which regulates the relations of the members of a community among themselves.

Law defines the rights and obligations of the individual upon whom it operates. Hence, this classification must in turn classify the rights and duties that flow therefrom. Accordingly, public rights and duties arise from Public Law, and private rights and duties similarly arise from Private Law.

In its broadest connotation, a right is the power to exact from other individuals the observance of a certain act or behaviour, which power is recognized and enforced by state authority as conforming to the general interest. A duty is the juridical necessity to observe a certain demeanor or conduct sanctioned by law. Right and duty are therefore reciprocal, correlative, and inseparable, being the opposite aspects of the same relation. Where the right and duty are private in nature they may refer to different persons as distinct subjects in that what is one's right is, in effect, another's duty. But when the right and duty are public in character, the right and duty may be merged into one identical reality, inhering in the same subject. Stated more simply, the act or behaviour prescribed by public law may itself – singly, indivisibly and identically – be both a right and a duty. Of this peculiar kind is the right of suffrage – which is both a right and a duty.

If I seem to be dwelling on concepts much too axiomatic to belabour, it is because the experience of the recent campaign for the coming presidential election has shown that many lawyers of the opposition, heretofore highly respected for their legal acumen, seem to have lost their bearings on these basic concepts of law, and of right and duty.

“No man is an island.” As a social being, he is a member of the community, a part of the nation, a citizen of the State. As such, he receives protection and benefits from the Republic, and, in turn, he has certain obligations to the State. These obligations are as essential in times of peace, as they are necessary in times of war.

The most fundamental of these obligations involves the citizen's loyalty to the country, obedience to its laws, and his commitment to protect the existence of the State. In virtue thereof, the citizen has the duty to participate in the processes of government and to vote in elections in time of peace, and to fight and die for his country if need be in time of war.

When there is danger, socio-economic or political, where there is peril short of war, the remedy lies in the choice of leadership. This choice is effected by the use of the ballot. In time of armed aggression against our territorial

integrity and national existence, then must we stake our very lives to defend our people. These are not only rights but also duties – sacred, personal, and inalienable. The legal truism that one cannot refuse to vote, is founded upon the same principle that one cannot refuse to fight and refuse to die for his country. Those who advocate the abandonment of these duties should not be allowed to hold public office, for they are guilty of treachery to the people whom they thus betray. For this reason I am in solemn duty bound to enforce the law against those who abandon the public right and duty of suffrage. The Constitution forbids a boycott of elections, and the law punishes it. From the words of the law there is no departure. (“A verbis legis non est recedendum”). For this same reason I view with candid cynicism and even genuine amusement the sudden outbreak of an epidemic in the affluent residences of the metropolitan areas on April 7, 1981, and its disappearance, just as sudden, on the very next day. For the same reason I am struck with admiration at the civic spirit of the poor who, struggling for the minimum essentials of bare existence, seem to value the right and duty of suffrage more than those who enjoy the bountiful luxuries of an abundant life.

In truth, the issues that confront us during the coming election are indeed simple. My cause – and your cause – consists in the crystallization of the changes that our people have decided upon in the last plebiscite of April 7, to restructure our government along the patterns of a parliamentary participatory democracy. Our people overwhelmingly resolved to discard the purely ceremonial figurehead of the original 1953 Constitution, and to entrust the affairs of state and of government into the hands of a strong President directly deriving his mandate from the people themselves. At the same time we have steered clear of the impractical checks and balances – more properly described as “checks and imbalances” – of the presidential system by ensuring the implementation of national policies and programs of government through the joint action and interaction of the Batasang Pambansa, the President, the Prime Minister, and the Cabinet working together hand in hand. Preserved and institutionalized are the badges of parliamentarism, consisting in the prerogative of the President to dissolve parliament, and the power of parliament to adopt a vote of censure against the Prime Minister as the “alter ego” of the President in the administration of government.

The alternatives offered are of retrogression in various stages, a retreat back into the past from which our people emerged victorious, “bloody but unbowed.” One group advocates the forfeiture of our very freedom and independence, the unabashed delivery of our country to the sovereign rule of a foreign power. Another group advocates our return to the outmoded, outdated, and discarded presidential system of government which our people found grossly ineffective, having been the very cause of the socio economic stagnation and political ills of the Old Society. A third group advocates downright anarchy by the actual dismantling of the processes of government. To push the idea of a boycott to its ultimate conclusion would mean that the optimum desideratum is that no one will vote. If so, we would have no president. Applied to all other elections, it means that we would have no elected officials – national or local. In fine, it means that we would have no government. It is as simple, as illogical, and as ridiculous as all that.

And yet, it is not quite as simple, as illogical, or as ridiculous, if we realize that what this oppositionist group really wants is to set up by violence and bloodshed a government under a foreign ideology diametrically opposed and completely antithetical to our democratic way of life. External actions show internal secrets (“Acta exteriora indicant interiora secreta”).

If I were truly convinced that those who advocate boycott are prompted by conscientious reasoning and a sincere belief in its validity as a political theory, I would have subjected the matter to more sober thought and serious discussion. But I cannot accord the issue of boycott more dignity and attention than it truly deserves. I can only categorize the arguments for boycott for they are – a futile exercise in shallow and specious sophistry. Invoking equity, they violate equity. Equity follows the law – it never counteracts the law (“Aequitas sequitur legem – nunquam contravenit leges.”)

I happen to know why, how, when, and wherefore the proponents of boycott eventually invoked this mode of illegal inaction. These proponents (who were formerly members of the ruling party) had demanded of me certain political and commercial concessions. I resisted these impositions because I knew that they were for the selfish advantage of a few powerful persons and their well-to-do families and not for the good of the nation. I refused to yield because I knew that these demands were unfair, unethical, and indefensible. Sullen and sulking from the rejection of their demands, and their financial and political aspirations thus shattered, these former allies-turned-adversaries, joined

the Liberal Party, and assumed the posture not only of civil disobedience but criminal disobedience which they now foist upon our people. I repeat: a boycott is not only civil but criminal disobedience. Criminal disobedience is the exact antithesis of civic duty. In truth this shibboleth is only the tip of an iceberg. Underneath is that cold and treacherous mass of sinister planning, scheming and plotting for the overthrow of the Republic by terrorism, violence and subversion.

Citizenship is not a compartmentalized concept – it is an indivisible reality. One cannot be half-Filipino and half-alien. One cannot assume a Jekyll-and-Hyde type of patriotisms. One cannot invoke Filipino citizenship to enjoy advantages and act as an alien to eschew inconveniences.

This is the significance of today's rally. It is actually the moment of truth. It is a return to common sense. It is a reaffirmation of the principle that right is might. It is the palpable expression of our belief and trust in our people.

I thank and commend the lawyers of our country for staging this rally for the rule of law. You deserve the accolade of our people for according them intractable, ineluctable, and inexorable guides, norms, and attitudes towards the correct and reasonable application of the law. For you do so with patriotism, prudence, and wisdom – true to the traditions bequeathed to us by Solon, the statesman and lawgiver, who lived long before the dawn of Christianity, and who during his lifetime (638 to 559 B. C.) framed the democratic laws of Athens. These democratic traditions he founded have survived to this day. Solon-like in your espousal of the rule of law, you vindicate the stability of law. Law ever seeks stability. And it is stable because it is the law. Exceptions can neither be justified nor countenanced by imagined wrongs, by selfish motives, by personal ambitions.

While there are men like you the future of the Philippines is safe. Let us therefore resolve that our faith in our people will henceforth give us new dimensions of present realities, that the magnitude of the work before us will make us feel the precious meaning of our lives, that with our love and loyalty for the Republic we shall continue to plant the seeds of greatness in our people, that by our labours as men of law we shall fashion society into a living communal reality, a community of believers not only in our Creator but in our own selves and in our own destiny, and in the vindication of our rights and duties our deeds will ever be a reflection of Divine Justice.

(*Speech delivered on June 9, 1981 before the Assembly of Lawyers, Manila Hotel.)

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the awarding of land titles for NHA Projects, [June 11, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the awarding of land titles for NHA Projects**

[Delivered on June 11, 1981]

Ikinalulugod kong muling makapiling sa pagkakataong ito ang mga mamamayang tunay na sandigan ng ating Republika at ng ating bansa. Kayo ang masang Pilipino. Kayo ang bumubuo sa lakas na nagpapakilos sa makinarya ng industriya. Kayo ang dahilan kung bakit ang buong bansa ay nakatatamasa ng biyaya mula sa mga likas na kayamanan ng ating lupain at karagatan. Kayo ang mga mamamayan, na sa buong kasaysayan ng ating lahi, ay ngayon lamang pinahahalagahan ng pamahalaan. Kayo ang mga dating dukha na sa kasalukuyan ay pinagkalooban na ng dangal at pagkilalang nararapat lamang ibigay sa mga tunay na Pilipino.

Pangunahing adhikain ng ating bagong lipunan na wasakin ang mga tanikala ng pagdarahop na datl'y humahadlang sa pagunlad ng mga mamamayan.

Ang mga ugat ng pagdarahop na ito'y marami subalit sa dinami-dami ng mga pangasiwaang dumaan sa kasaysayan ng ating pamahalaan, wala ni isa sa kanila ang tuwirang tumalakay sa mga suliranin ng ating mamamayan. Sa halip na pangalagaan ang kalagayan ng mga dukha, kanilang inuna ang mga interes ng mga oligarko't iba pang naghaharing uri. Sa halip na ipagtanggol ang mga maliliit, kanilang niyurakan ang karapatan ng mga ordinaryong mamamayan na magkaroon ng sapat na pamumuhay. Maliwanag na ang mahabang panahon na inyong nilustay upang makamit lamang ang makataong pamamahay ay isang ebidensya ng pagpapabaya. Ngunit ngayon . . . tapos na ang inyong paghihintay. Ang pangarap ninyong makikilala bilang mahalagang bahagi ng ating lipunang ay binibigyan na ng katuparan.

Ang pagkakataong ito ay isa sa mga dakilang palatandaan ng walang humpay na pagsisikap ng ating pamahalaan upang ibalik sa bawat Pilipino ang kanyang karangalan. Ang kayo'y tawaging iskwater ay isang kahihiyan. Kahihiyan di lamang para sa inyo na sa katagang ito'y hinahamak bagkus ito'y higit na kahiya-hiya para sa mga nakaraang pamahalaan sapagkat hinayaan ng mga lumang pamunuan na dito sa ating bansa ay magkaroon ng mga Pilipinong tinatawag na iskwater. Baluktot na katuwiran na tawaging iskwater ang mga Pilipinong may angkin na karapatan sa kanilang lupang tinubuan. Tayong lahat ay mga Pilipino. Ang bansang tinatawag nating Pilipinas ay ating bansa. Kaya hindi dapat magkaroon ng Pilipinong iskwater sa kanyang sariling bayan.

Ang paghahandog ng mga titulo ay isang maliwanag na katibayan sa mga balakin ng bagong lipunan. Ito'y palatandaan na ipinagpapatuloy ng pamahalaan ang mga programang lalagot sa mga ugat ng paghihirap at pagdarahop. Nakahanda ang inyong pamahalaan na lumikha ng mga pagkakataon at ng mga kasangkapang magpapaunlad kahit sa mga hamak sa ating lipunan. Hindi lamang natin nais tugunan ang mga pangunahing pangangailangan ng mga mamamayan, bagkus at higit pa dito pangarap natin na ibangon mula sa kaapihan at pagpapabaya ang bawat Pilipino. Ito ang panata ng ating kilusang panreforma. Ito ang paninindigan ng bagong lipunan.

Ganap na apat na taon na ang nakalilipas . . . nang ating pasimulan ang isang malawakang Slum Improvement and Resettlement Program, sa pamamagitan ng Letters of Instruction 555 at 557. Ang palatuntunang ito, na sa kasalukuyan ay pumapailalim sa BLISS Program ng Ministry of Human Settlements, ay tumutukoy sa mga pangangailangan ng mga dukha sa kalunsuran lalu't lalo na sa kanilang pagnanais na magkaroon ng tiyak at ligtas na pag-aari sa mga lupain kinatitirikan ng kanilang pamamahay. Ang Tondo Foreshore ang siyang pangunahing Slum Improvement Project ng pamahalaan. Dati-rati, ang Tundo ay isang lugar ng kawalang pag-asa, ang Tundo ngayon ay isang nagniningning na katibayan sa puspusang palatuntunan ng pamahalaan para sa mga mahihirap sa mga lungsod.

Sa lahat ng pook ng Metro Manila, pati na rin sa mga iba pang lungsod ng ating bansa ay ating inuulit ang karanasan ng Tundo. Sa kasalukuyan ay mayroong labintatlong (13) Priority Projects na isinasagawa sa buong kalakhan ng Maynila. Higit pa dito ay may siyamnapu (90) na iba pang proyektong inihahanda at malapit nang isagawa. Mayroon pang mga proyektong tulad nito na pinasimulan na sa mga lungsod ng Cebu, Bacolod, Davao at Cagayan de Oro.

Ang suliranin tungkol sa pamamahay sa kalunsuran, lalo na sa Metro Manila ay tuluyang inaayos ng pamahalaan. Kinikilala natin na ang pamamahay — bilang isang suliranin — ay naangkop sa pag-unlad ng mga bansa, at palatandaan ng pag-unlad sa mga lungsod. Ang mga suliranin ng mga iskwater, barong-barong at di maunlad na pamayanan ay manipestasyon ng higit na malawak na problema. Gayunpaman, sapagkat ito’y problema na mabigat at maselan para sa mga mahirap sa mga lungsod, ipinasiya ng pamahalaang harapin ang suliranin ng pabahay.

Ang programang BLISS ay katugunan di lamang sa problema sa pabahay. Higit pa dito, tinutukoy ng programang ito ang suliranin ng pagdarahop. Gayong limitado ang mga kapasidad at kakayahan ng pamahalaan, aming ipinasiya na tuluyang ilipat ang mga kakayahang ito kung saan ito’y higit na kailangan. Pangunahing adhikain ng pamahalaan na iangat ang kalagayan at kabuhayan ng mga maliliit. Ito ang dahilan kung bakit ang programa ng pamahalaan para sa pabahay ay isang palatuntunang kinabibilangan ng iba’t ibang ahensiya ng gobyerno.

Kaya naman, ang palatuntunang ito’y tumatalakay di lamang sa pisikal na pagtatayo ng pamamahay. Kabilang sa palatuntunang ito ang programang pangkabuhayan. Tinatangka ng programa na paunlarin ang produksyon at paluwagin ang pinagkakakitaan ng bawat miyembro ng komunidad. Ang balaking ito’y napakahalaga upang tuluyan nating malutas ang napakalaking suliranin ng pagdarahop sa buong bansa.

Kailangang isagawa ang mga ito nang walang pasubali at walang alinlangan. Dito ang kailangan ay disiplina upang maitakda nang maliwanag ang kinabukasan ng ating bansa. Sa pamamagitan lamang nito matutupad ang malaon nang minimithi ng mga mamamayan. Ito ang adhikain ng bagong lipunan. Ito ang katubusan mula sa pagdarahop at kahirapan.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on Independence Day (Filipino), [June 12, 1981](#)

**Talumpati
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa Araw ng Kalayaan**

[Inihayag noong ika-6 ng Hunyo, 1981]

Simula noong 1946, ipinagdiriwang natin taon-taon ang Araw ng Kalayaan. Nakagawian na natin ang ganitong pagdiriwang. Nguni't ang mga pagtatalumpati sa araw na ito ay nakababawas kundi man ganap na nakapapawi sa isipan ng marami sa atin sa kahalagahan ng ating pambansang kalayaan. Ang ganitong pagdiriwang ay pinalabo ng naiibang pakahulugan na kapag sinabi ng iba na tayo ay malaya, tayo ay tunay na malaya. Nguni't ang mga mamamayan ay magiging malaya lamang kung sila ang panginoon sa kanilang sariling lupa at kung sila ang humuhubog ng kanilang kapalaran.

Sa nakalipas na mga dantaon, tayo ay tinuruang magsuri sa ating kasaysayan at sa ating sarili sa pamamagitan ng paningin ng mga nagtagumpay o ng mga victor sapagka't ang mga nagtagumpay ang sumusulat ng kasaysayan. Kung gayon, hanggang tayo ay hindi nagtatagumpay sa ating patuloy na pakikipagsapalaran para sa pambansang kalayaan, tayo ay mananatiling nagsusuri sa ating sarili sa pamamagitan ng mga paningin ng mga dayuhan.

Totoo na tayo ay nakagawa ng mahalagang hakbang: ang mga salitang 'granted' at 'restored' kaugnay ng ating pambansang kalayaan ay hindi na natin ginagamit dahil sa pagbabago ng petsa ng pagdiriwang ng Araw ng Kalayaan—mula Hulyo 4 upang maging Hunyo 12; naiwasto na rin ang petsa ng Araw ng ating Kasarinlan na natamo natin may mahigit na 80 taon na ang nakalilipas bago ito unang ipagdiwang, may 35 taon na ngayon ang nakararaan. Walong taon na ang nakalilipas, tayo ay nakalaya sa 'Colonial Provision' ng lumang Konstitusyon—ang 'Commander-in-Chief Provision'—na naglalayong pasunurin sa mga dayuhan ang Pamahalaang Komonwelt. Ang pagpapahalaga natin dito upang iligtas ang Republika sa pagkakawatak-watak at ang lipunang Pilipino sa pagkalipol o kamatayan ay isang paraan ng pagpapalaya. Ang pagbalangkas at pagpapatibay ng bagong Konstitusyon ay patunay ng paninindigan ng mga Pilipino—at hindi utos ng alinmang dayuhang lakas. Sa kabuuan, binalikat natin ang mahirap at kung minsan ay nakabibigong pagpapakasakit para sa Pambansang Kalayaan.

Bakit ito ay ngayon lamang natin sinasabi? Hindi ba tayo malaya na nang itaas ang bandilang Pilipino sa Bagumbayan noong Hulyo 4, 1946, may 35 taon na ngayon ang nakalilipas? Ito ang sinasabi ng Convention of Nations. Nguni't sa panahong ding ito isiningit sa ating Konstitusyon ang Parity Amendment at sa panahon ding ito muling naitatag sa ating bansa ang mga base militar. Ang ating ekonomiya ay may 'apron-strings' at ang ating pakikipag-ugnayan sa ibang bansa ay batay sa mga patakaran ng digmaan ng dalawang super-powers. Hindi dahil sa katigasan ng ulo kung bakit ang mga dakilang Pilipino na tulad nina Claro M. Recto at Jose P. Laurel ay nagkaisa upang iwagayway ang badila ng pagkamakabayan laban sa anumang panghihimasok sa ating kapangyarihan at kalayaan. Sa paglipas ng mga taon, tuwing ipinagdiriwang natin ang Araw ng Kalayaan, may mga tinig na malimit na hindi naririnig ng tinatawag na 'political elite.' Ang mga tinig na ito ang nananawagan sa mga Pilipino na tubusin ang kanilang sarili para sa dugo, luha at pawis ng kanilang magigiting na ninuno, ng mga dakila at marangal na kalalakihan at kababaihan na nangamatay sa dalawang digmaan, sa rebulasyon noong 1898 at sa Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano noong 1898. Nguni't tulad ng batin natin, ang mga panawagang ito ay nagiging paulit-ulit na pagbanggit lamang ng kasaysayan tuwing ipinagdiriwang ang Araw ng Kalayaan. Samakatuwid, panahon na upang huwag magpaalipin, upang idilat ang ating mga paningin.

Sa mahabang panahon ng kolonyalismo, tayo ay nagpapalakas pa bilang isang lahi. Tayo ay nagsisikap pa upang maging Pilipino.

Ito ay higit na nagaganap ngayon kaysa sa alinmang panahon ng ating kasaysayan. Ang nakalipas na walong taon na ang mga mamamayan ay namuhay nang may disiplina na kailangan para sa ating kaligtasan bilang isang

pambansang lipunan, ay naliwanag na naglantzad sa pasalungat na damdamin at gawi ng mga Pilipino. Ang nakalipas na walong taon ay tinangka ng mga panatiko at mga oportunista na gawing isang 'Manichean Drama' ng kalayaan at pangangailangan. Ito ay ginawa nila nang hindi isinasalang-alang na sa kasaysayan ng lahat ng lahi, may pagkakataon na ang kalayaan ay isang pagpapahalaga o pakilala sa pangangailangan. Magkagayon man, ang mga naganap sa panahon ng krisis ay hindi lamang magiging kapaki-pakinabang sa atin kundi maging sa susunod na salinlahi.

May pagkakataon na upang maging isang Pilipino—hindi yaong Pilipino na may isipang kolonyal—siya ay kailangang maging isang 'procrastinator', tamad at mapagpanggap. Nguni't ang maging isang 'procrastinator' sa ilalim ng isang colonial master ay nangangahulugan ng pagsira o pagpapahina sa kanyang pangasiwaan; ang pagiging tamad ay nangangulugan ng paghadlang sa kanyang mga layunin at ang pagiging mapagpanggap ay ginagawa upang siya ay lituhin. Mangyari pa, ang mga kaugaliang kolonial na ito ay nawawala kapag nawala na ang pinuno. At ito ay lalong mahirap pawin kapag siya ay nanatili sa tangkilik ng mga may isipang kolonyal na siyang mamumuno sa gobyerno at sa lipunan.

Sa gayon, napatunayan natin na ang ating lipunan ay pinamunuan ng mga native colonizers. Nagawa nila ito dahil sa kanilang pagsasamantala sa kanilang sariling kababayan—sa ngalan ng mga simulain na dinadakila sa bansa nguni't niwawalang-halaga sa ibang bansa ng kanilang mga dating colonial masters.

Hindi kailangan ang ibayong pag-iisip upang maunawaan na ang demokrasya ng panahon ay mistulang labanan ng 'single elite' na tinatampukan ng eleksiyong tigib ng pagkukunwari upang ang mamamayang Pilipino ay mabigyan ng pag-asa at pagkatapos ay pakutyang itinutulak sa kabiguan. Ang demokrasyang ito ng iilan ay may National Gross Product (GNP) na limang porsyento sa mapapalad na taon, at mula sa dalawa hanggang 2.3 porsyento tuwing dalawang taon pagkaraan nito dahil sa magastos na halalan. Milyun-milyong pisong 'pork-barrel' ang ibinibigan sa mga pulitiko para sa mga kalsada, tulay at mga paaralan na kailanman ay hindi naipagawa; para sa mga proyektong pangkabuhayan na kailanman ay hindi naipatupad. Ang media ang malaya sa pagtuligsa sa kanilang gobyerno at sa matataas na lider, nguni't ang bawa't administrasyon ay tumataas at bumabagsak sa isyu tungkol sa graft and corruption o katiwalian. Ang katiwalian, mga kababayan, ay nasa lipunan—sa mga pulitiko, sa ekonomiya at sa pambubusabos ng ilang naghahari.

Ngayon, ang nabanggit na mga pagkukunwaring kolonyal o colonial pretense ay dinadakila pa ng mga natitirang lider ng lumang lipunan na nagbabalatkayo bilang mga oposisyon. Ito lamang ang alam. Nilang paraan upang magtamo ng kapangyarihang pangsarili. Iminamatuwid nila na ang lumang lipunan ay malusog, ang mga dating pulitiko ay demokratiko, ang dating media, ay malaya. Nguni't nalilimutan nilang banggitin sa mga kabataan na binigo rin nila ang pag-asa at pangangailangan ng mamamayang Pilipino.

Nguni't ang kahabag-habag na katangian ng mga natitirang lider na may isipang kolonyal ay ang kanilang pamamalimos sa Amerika. Hinihiling ng kanilang mga prominenteng kinatawan sa mga pulitiko sa Amerika na alisin ang mga base militar at tulong para sa Pilipinas sa maling palagay na ang pamahalaang ito, ang bansang ito, ay babagsak kung wala ang mga ito. Ipagpalagay nang sila ay tama. Sila ba ay makapamumuno nang tulad ng hinahangad nila? O hindi kaya ang ibang grupo, isang disiplinadong grupo ng mga rebelde na ang mga lider at mga kasapi ay nagtatanggol sa ideolohiya na pinaniniwalaan nila? Paanong ang isang partido na inudyukan lamang ng kasabikan sa kapangyarihan—na inudyukan lamang ng kahabag-habag na isipan ng kanilang mga nasasakupan—ay magtatagumpay sa isang mapanghimagsik na kalagayan? Hindi sarili ng inyong liderato—ng inyong pangulo—ang pagkamakabayan. Subali't iniuukol nito ang pagtitiwala at pag-asa sa mamamayang Pilipino; ito ay naninindigan sa pamanang pangkasaysayan—ang pamana ng propaganda movement at ng Rebulusyong Pilipino at hindi ng colonial dependence o pagsandig sa mga dayuhan.

Tayo ay mga mamamayang mapagmahal sa kalayaan. Hindi tayo dapat maniwala na tayo ay magiging malaya sa pamamagitan ng tinatawag na 'colonial elite.'

Ang kakulangan ng pambansang karangalan at pagkakaisa ang dahilan kung bakit ang marami nating mga kababayan ay tiwali, mapagsamantala sa kanilang kapangyarihan at hindi nagpapahalaga sa mga adhikain ng Bagong Lipunan. Sila ay kailangang gisingin at kailangang mabatid nila ang panganib ng Materialismo. Maaaring

ang gayon ay nangangailangan ng radikal na pagbabago sa sistema ng edukasyon at sa media at maging sa lipunan. Nguni't ang ganito ay kailangang isagawa.

Ang anumang pinakamabuting solusyon sa problema ay mabibigo kung—tulad ng sinabi ni Rizal may halos isang daang taon na ang nakalilipas—tayo ay walang pagkakaisa. Nasa pambansang pagkakaisa ang katuparan ng ating mga hangarin; ito rin ang ating pananggalang laban sa sinumang mag-aalok sa atin ng mapanlinlang na kaligtasan at kalayaan na magiging dahilan ng pagkawala ng ating National Identity o pambansang pagkakakilanlan, karangalan at dignidad.

Hindi tayo dapat maglinlangan tungkol sa kahalagahan ng pambansang pagpapalaya. Ang malalaking gantimpala ay hindi ipinagkakaloob sa mga matatakutin at sa mga talunan. Sapagka't tayo ay isang bansang nagpapaunlad, marami tayong pangangailangan. Dahil dito, kailangan natin ang dakilang pagsisikap. Walang makaharing landas o royal road tungo sa kasaganaan at kalayaan—at lalong walang landas tungo sa 'colonial mendicant.'

Iisang bagay lamang ang dapat nating tandaan: hindi tayo mabibigo.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

**Address of President Marcos on the Eight Anniversary of the Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Pilipinas,
June 14, 1981**

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Eight Anniversary of the Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Pilipinas**

[Delivered on June 14, 1981]

I should like first to express greetings and congratulations to the officers and members of the Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Pilipinas on this occasion marking the eight anniversary of their organization. And I wish also to express my appreciation for this opportunity to participate in this nationwide broadcast which I understand is your way of celebrating this important event.

It is a happy coincidence that the KBP's anniversary observance should take place at this time of fateful reckoning and decision for our people and our nation.

The service of this organization is the service of an institution that is essential and indispensable to the free flow of communication between our people and their government. And we find ourselves in one of those times when such service must do its part to assist our people in the historic task of asserting their sovereignty over their government, and of determining national leadership and directions for the years to come.

The Presidential Elections and Referendum set for Tuesday, the 16th of June, mark a great step forward along the road which the nation travels in its journey towards full political normalization. On this occasion, everyone among our people who is qualified to vote has both the right and the duty to choose who shall lead the country for the next six years, and to decide upon the critical question of barangay elections in the immediate future.

From the moment that our people make their mandate known by vote, the nation shall irrevocably move towards the full establishment of the system of government enshrined in the law of the land, and the beginning of a new regime of democracy in our land. Two previous steps have already been taken to prepare the way for this crucial change. First, on January 17, 1981, we brought to an end the state of national emergency in our country. Second, on April 7 this year, the nation decided on the critical issue of the system of government that will serve as the framework for normal democratic process and government in the country.

Now, we have come to the most important step of all: that of shaping leadership and government for the nation in their new period of national life.

It can never be said by anyone among our people, or anyone who watches this time of transition in our country, that for this crucial choice, we have not allowed for the freest play of public discussion and debate. Everyone has been enjoined and encouraged to participate: whether they be political parties or candidates seeking the mandate of our people to lead, or citizens seeking to make their will known in these elections. Every care has been taken to install the machinery for the orderly and democratic conduct of the elections.

Yet a few among our countrymen have not been satisfied with this earnest of the nation's determination to normalize. For reasons that are plainly selfish and divisive, there are those who have made manifest their intention to boycott the elections, and to persuade others to do the same. Conscious that they do not have the support of our people at this time, instead of bidding for political power, they have decided upon the unfortunate course of impugning the integrity of the elections and of maligning those who earnestly seek the people's mandate.

But whose integrity in fact is impugned by this wilful abdication of the right and duty of democratic choice? In consecrating themselves to the course of non-participation, the sincerity and seriousness of this so-called opposition wing as a force for orderly and peaceful political change has stood indicted in this political campaign. Let us remember only that they were the very same people who had repeatedly called for the lifting of Martial Law and for the immediate calling of national elections. They have been the ones who blandished before our countrymen the need for reform of the Constitution and the need for the people to choose a President.

Now they ask for the unthinkable: that the nation continue for sometime longer the period of emergency and crisis government. They would have the nation wait—for two knows how long—until the time when they believe they will have our people's support.

That such a position can be advanced by a group that seeks to be the voice of the opposition in our country is not only a grave distortion of partisanship in a democratic society. It is an offense to the credulity of the people. It is a stain upon the nation's earnest quest for democracy.

But we have no reason to be detained, as indeed we shall be detained, by this sorry exercise of political extremism in our forward course towards the full establishment of democratic politics and government in our country. This infection of bitterness and hatred inhabits merely the margins of our society, while at its core our people's real desire is to end crisis government once and for all, and install in its place a new government reflective of their mandate.

From the first essential step towards normalization—that of erecting a democratic machinery for popular government—we now manifest in the coming elections the national will to use it. By our people's exercise of suffrage, we now proceed to utilize democratic machinery and institutions, for the singular purpose of advancing, promoting and fulfilling the cause of people and country.

To all our countrymen, I will say once more let us ever keep in mind the great importance of this electoral exercise. Let us not be deceived into thinking that because there are no formidable rivals to the movement of reform of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, some of us can therefore reasonably sit out the elections.

We have already spoken of the clear and constitutional duty of every citizen who is qualified to vote. That is written in the law of the land, and what is written in law is beyond dispute until the law is changed or amended.

But more than the legal dimension of this duty, there is a moral side to suffrage, and especially to the exercise of suffrage now in this period of transition in our country. This is the fact that the democracy we earnestly desire, the institutions and machinery we seek to build, can only come to life by our people's exercise of control and consent of government. The letter of laws, the charter of democratic institutions, would be bereft of spirit and reality, if the people do not bother to express their interest and involvement in public affairs. We move one step nearer into the impersonality and total control of government, whenever a single citizen abdicates his right and his duty of participation in the democratic process.

We must have in short both the machinery for democratic government, and the will—the will of all the citizenry—to use it. Without machinery, democratic desires are frustrated. Without the popular will to use it, democratic process has no value and meaning.

This is essence is the crucial and supervening issue in these elections: because this is both the first time since 1972 that full political democracy can truly reign in our land, and because this is also the beginning of a fresh stage in the growth of our national life.

We must never forget that beyond these elections stand the future of the nation: the amalgam of challenges and opportunities, of decisions that have to be made, of questions that have to be answered, of problems that have to be resolved.

To exercise the power of suffrage, we as citizens must choose between the alternative programs of policy and direction, proffered by the various parties bidding for popular support. Only the party that truly presents to us a course that will avail in this time of ferment and uncertainty in global and national affairs deserves the support and the mandate of the people.

The time when personal ambition alone could suffice as a platform for running for public office is past. I do believe that our people are deeply aware today of how greatly and deeply government affects their lives and their future, and of how policies relate critically to the fulfillment of their aspirations.

The clichés of the past do not wash anymore. Politicians who stand for election, parties who aspire to lead, must have something more to inspire popular consent. In a word, they must have vision and a concrete program of government.

Throughout this campaign, I have insisted within the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan that we must endeavor to disclose to our people the totality of our program of government. We must not be content to receive a mandate born of a passive and divided opposition, and of a less than involved citizenry. Our people must understand where we desire to lead them.

In brief, this is where I and the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan seeks to direct the course of the nation:

First and foremost, we emphasize that our task must be towards fuller and greater participation of the people in their government. Democratic process—its defense and its promotion—shall be a fundamental guidepost of our program of government.

If our people should ratify the proposal for the calling of barangay elections, it is our intent to push for the calling of barangay elections early in 1982. We believe that a new mandate for leadership at this level of government in our country will provide an important pillar for the work of reform and development.

Following that, we shall be unwavering in our desire to hold the elections of representatives to the Batasang Pambansa in 1984.

Subsequently, local and presidential elections will be held simultaneously in 1987.

The frequency of elections is in our view vital to the healthy buildup of our democracy. Put in addition to elections, we fully intend to continue to submit to the nation important questions and issues via referendum and plebiscite. The success with these devices of national consultation which we experienced during the period of crisis government must also be attained during the period of normal democratic government.

The second strand of policy which we shall earnestly pursue is the progressive strengthening of the machinery of government, that will involve not only active collaboration with the Batasang Pambansa and the establishment of the Executive Committee and full Cabinet government.

I intend to give the fullest play to the interaction of the Presidency, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and the Batasan Pambansa. Where this will involve greater delegation of powers from the Presidency to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, I will do so.

We also envision major reforms of the Civil Service.

We have already studied the possibility of rotating Cabinet members in the different ministries as one responsive measure to the need for government reform.

We are considering as well the total retooling of managerial and service skills at lower levels of the bureaucracy, matched by upgrading of salaries and wages, as vital inputs to the professionalization of the government service.

The third strand of policy relates to our unequivocal and unswerving commitment to national development. What we have seen as the salutary result of full national mobilization for national development endeavors, we shall now pursue with even greater vigor.

The programs that are underway—for industrialization, for agri-business, for agricultural development, for export expansion—will continue at an accelerated pace.

We have the momentum of our advance and the health of the national economy as an important foundation to move from. Regardless of the uncertainties of international life today, we are confident that the economy will continue to grow, and that we shall progressively attain self-reliance in our economic life.

And we do not forget the place of the citizen in the concerns of government, which is a major strand of our policies for the future. The object of development, we have repeatedly said and realized in fact, is man. No man, no family, will be left outside this advance of the nation to progress. In the achievement of social justice, in the sharing of the fruits of development, in the provision of vital social services—individuals and communities will be the focus of concern of government.

What has been achieved in the advancement of the well-being of our people during the last eight years will be further enhanced and promoted. We have no illusions that there are still many problems in this area—that there are many among our people who remain at the margins of society. For truly we believe that unless this task is fulfilled, we would fail as governors of the nation.

Finally, in our relations with the world, there shall be continued efforts to promote and secure our position in the councils of nations, and to advance the cause of international reform.

The growth of the ASEAN community will be a high priority in our diplomacy.

There will also be greater emphasis in our relations with the Middle East, as we perceive now new avenues opening to us for strengthening relations and for ensuring the sources of our vital energy requirements.

And there will be constantly an active joining of economic and political concerns in the conduct of foreign relations.

These goals by no means encompass the many directions and decisions that must be taken once a new government is formed after the June 16 elections. I have merely tried to indicate and anticipate here the broad thinking and approach of our party concerning the tasks of government, should it receive your mandate in the elections. For these are surely vital to the choice that you must make.

Fellow countrymen, as we near the close of the campaign and move at last into the fateful moment of decision, I shall say once more: reflect deeply and carefully on the issues of these elections, and only then choose the course that you wish the nation to take.

There is only one interest to be borne in mind in this political exercise: the interests and the future of the nation.

The task before us now is the building of the national future, and that will never be accomplished in a spirit of bitterness and hatred, in an atmosphere of extremism and disunity. Some may wish for their own reasons to deny the nation their participation in this important event; let history therefore pass them by and leave them where they have always chosen to be: uninvolved in the affairs of the country, mere watchers of the nation we are building.

The edifice of the nation is being raised stone by stone. And we know now far better than we did many years ago the shape of what we are constructing. We not only have the plans or the vision in our minds; we see now the nation we aspire to be rising in our land.

As one nation with one faith, with the world looking at us, let us then continue on this majestic task.

Thank you and good night.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of the President Marcos at the opening of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting, [June 17, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the opening of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting**

[Delivered on June 17, 1981]

Distinguished Ministers of the ASEAN Community,
Secretary Haig, Excellencies of the Diplomatic Corps,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

We convene here in Manila at a moment of historic opportunity for the cause of peace in Southeast Asia, and for the cause of community and union for our Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

At long last, after efforts exerted by our community and by other countries of the world, the United Nations under the leadership of its Secretary General will convene an international conference on the Kampuchean Question in New York on July 13.

All of us are aware of the great import that this question bears to the cause of peace, stability and progress in our region, so dear and, central to the hopes of the ASEAN Community. When we talk about progress in ASEAN cooperation, when we address our visions of the future for our community, we speak inevitably of the climate for peace in the whole of our region in Asia.

All of us therefore must have the wisdom to grasp this opportunity for peace opening to us, and find the will to bring to that forthcoming conference ASEAN's vision and counsel for resolving the situation that for many years now has entrapped millions of our Southeast Asian brothers under the shadow of war and aggression.

Within the councils of ASEAN, and to the world as a whole, we have repeatedly spoken of the road that resolution of the situation must take.

We have not been blind to the agony of Kampuchea under the old regime that Vietnam's fortuitous intervention brought to an end. And we certainly have been concerned about the grave injury done to the people of Kampuchea by Vietnam's decision to intervene in their affairs.

Fundamentally we look to the spirit and letter of the United Nations resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops in that war-torn land, as the first initial step towards the resolution of the problem. There are other steps that must follow, but the essential respect and recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination must be accorded and regarded as fundamental to any solution or approach to the problem. The assistance of other nations, of our ASEAN community, and surely of the world as a whole, is necessary for Kampuchea to have peace and to turn around the long agony of conflict; but this must come under the framework of Kampuchea's sovereignty over her affairs and her future.

We have no illusions that this can be an easy task.

The long history of turmoil in Kampuchea is rooted in problems, grave and multiple, in conditions of continuous travail and sorrow, and in inconclusive periods of conflict and peace. This persists today, as deeply as they endured yesterday. Sometimes it has seemed to some as though the march of that country from crisis to crisis was foredoomed and beyond prevention.

Yet we do not believe that this is so. Manifestly within our association, we are convinced that Kampuchea, given but the opportunity to heal herself, and unimpaired by the designs of others who would wish to do it for her, can turn the tide of crisis and misery around.

The forthcoming New York Conference is also an affirmation that there is a solution to the Kampuchean problem, just as has been for the other problems that not so long ago raged in the other lands of Southeast Asia.

Today there is hope for the future—even if for now it only resides in the fact that other nations are concerned, as we are, about the situation in Kampuchea.

It may be regrettable that one party entangled in the problem, supported by others sympathetic to its cause, will not participate in the conference. Still, we believe that the conference can be productive of proposals that will tilt the tide of crisis in Kampuchea towards new initiatives and hopes for peace.

The great value that we must recognize in international attention on the Kampuchean problem lies, first, in the understanding that the international community will gain therefrom of the complex issues involved, and second, in the potential marshalling of international consensus and initiative towards a solution.

In Kampuchea today, we hear one constant and recurring theme rising from the lips of all involved in the conflict. They all want peace. They all speak of providing stability to the war-torn nation. But they have different ideas of how peace and stability can be attained. One side insists on its right to intervene in the affairs of that nation. The other—and this is the Kampuchean people themselves—insists on the right to self-determination.

The common goal of peace and stability seems to us broad enough to provide a basis for peace negotiations to begin. The variant aspirations and perceptions of the problem ought to be susceptible to the mechanics of peaceful discussion, and not to the agency of force.

There are surely no guarantees that talk will result in immediate success. But there is no alternative, no hope for resolution of the Kampuchean problems, other than this, if we reject conflict as a course for resolution.

On the part of our ASEAN community, we know and accept our responsibilities to serve the cause of justice in Kampuchea, and of peace and stability in the whole of our region. Our governments are united in the decision and desire to commit their energies to this task.

For it is certainly time to end the turmoil in Kampuchea.

It is time that all parties involved in the Kampuchean crisis and the rest of the world pull together to bring to light the avenues for peaceful settlement.

The question has never been, I repeat, whether there must be peace. The question is how it can be attained, and what can be done to make a beginning now in the direction of its attainment.

In line with this, my government believes and hopes that the New York conference will speak with a clear and unmistakable voice in behalf of an end to the fighting, and in promotion of the goal for peaceful negotiations.

Prior to the calling of this conference, there had been efforts to convene a similar conference on the Kampuchean question, but they failed. And in frustration, the fighting continued, the agony of the Kampuchean people went on, and that country passed on ever deeper into misery.

Now that the opportunity has come, it must not be dissipated for lack of effort from the family of nations.

Second, we consider it important that the world really understands, and we with them, what can be realistically attained. We must know what kind of steps are necessary to make the beginning of a solution possible; and we must

also come to a recognition of what cannot be immediately attained and yet must be continually pursued at a later time.

In this way, should we look upon the key issue of the disengagement of forces in Kampuchea today, and the cessation of hostilities.

Thirdly, we consider it important that the New York conference and the approach to peaceful settlement should seek to provide a vision of future relationships among the nations in Southeast Asia—relations that will put to an end the climate of division in the region today, and replace mistrust and suspicion with respect and cooperation. The discussion of the Kampuchean issue must relate the need for peace and stability within that country to the necessities of security and peace in the region as a whole. There should be no doubting the fact that what is sought is not the insecurity of other nations, but the security and integrity of all.

Here within our community, we must reflect upon these concerns and forge our common stand. and then in one mind and as one community, let us then move into the venue of an international conference to bring our long-standing concern and care for the plight of the Kampuchean people and seek to make it an essential element in the peace process.

This is not alone the issue that have brought you here to Manila. There are other parts of the agenda that relate to the progress of regional community and cooperation. But I believe I speak to the heart of this ministerial meeting when I say that in the attention we give to the Kampuchean issue, we speak also to the whole of our concerns within the ASEAN Programme of cooperation.

Our goals in the area of regional economic cooperation, of intensified acceleration of on-going and outstanding projects, are implicated in the measures we take to guard and promote the security and the stability of the region.

Since the restrengthening and expansion of the ASEAN program in Bali in _____, we have always diligently followed the principle that our work must be carried on many fronts. We have not focused on single issues of concern, unaware of the whole; rather have we recognized that the building of community involves all the many sectors of regional life as crucial to success and achievement.

Thus for your ministerial meeting here in manila there are in the agenda topics relating to the further restructuring of ASEAN Economic Programs and relationships, and the matter of our relations with other countries and communities.

There are issues that require discussion now, and there are those that wait for decision.

Likewise it has been proposed that the question of a summit of ASEAN heads of state be informally discussed during your meeting. We in the Philippines view this as a matter that must come from real imperative and need, especially in regard to what will substantially affect the progress of the ASEAN program, which so far has been pushed forward creditably through cooperative work and consultations at lower levels of our governments.

In any case all these questions must be decided though the consensus among all the member governments. They all seek the light of your counsel and perceptions. As ever, the ASEAN Council of Foreign Ministers provides our community the direction in which to move in seizing opportunities and in meeting challenges.

Finally, your meeting looks to the post-ministerial talks with the pacific basin countries that will immediately follow. To this aspect of this working week for ASEAN in Manila, we attach much importance and significance. for this is the continuation of a dialogue that is already going on and has been successively promoted by our regional community, and we have the opportunity here to advance this dialogue to a stage in which we can bring into our perspectives the fresh changes that have occurred in the overall Pacific and Southeast Asian situation, and in the matrix of policies governing our relationships.

The matter of our relationship as a community to the dialogue countries are fraught with opportunities and challenges that must be the subject of consultations now. Some matters that were the subject of agreement before require fresh initiative today. Others are new in the light of changes and problems that have recently emerged.

For the most part, we are really involved here in the merging of aspirations for the realization of shared goals. We are of the belief that much progress can be made at this point, when there is goodwill and interest on all sides. The important point is for us to sight together the specific areas in which action can be taken and result in change and improvement of relations.

The totality of your conference agenda forces upon our consciousness the great significance of this time of ferment in Southeast Asian Affair. We realize more than ever how critical are the problems rimming our region, and how imperative it is for our community to hold fast to its sense of union and utilize it for lofty goals.

The one great fount of confidence for all of us who peer into the uncertainties of the future is that we have today this association that enables us to look at the future together, to face problems together, and to seize opportunities together.

Excellencies, you and your council have done much to raise up this confidence in our ASEAN Community, and you bear a great part of the burden and the tasks that it connotes. As you begin your meeting today, our people and government are one in extending you their congratulations and felicitations, and in praying for the success of your deliberations.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Keynote Address of President Marcos on ASEAN, [June 17, 1981](#)

**Keynote Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On ASEAN**

[Delivered at the PICC, June 17, 1981]

ASEAN: A Purpose for Unity

Your Excellencies, Delegates, Observers,
Distinguished Guests, and Friends:

I join the First Lady, Mrs. Imelda Romualdez-Marcos, in welcoming you to this ASEAN city of Manila. Although she has expressed it better, in her usual warm manner, the welcome we extend to you emanates from the true sentiments of friendship and brotherhood of the Filipino people.

It is with a deeper sense of gratitude, and understandably with renewed pride and confidence, that particularly today I speak for the Filipino people, whose sovereign voice was made manifest in yesterday's election, and which pronounced in very distinct terms the people's support for our foreign policy.

I assure our friends in the ASEAN that in the contemplation of Philippine destiny, the role that our nation plays in the collective efforts for regional cooperation for progress, peace, prosperity, and common happiness of our peoples in the ASEAN will always be an outstanding national concern. We in the Philippines have come to regard ASEAN, together with all our partners in it, as our true effective hope for the attainment of the aims and objectives, the common aspirations and dreams, which define the very purpose of what we have since regarded as our concord in Southeast Asia.

As I join you in the hope for full and substantial success in the deliberations and decisions of the fourteenth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, it is my unqualified wish that this success should take the form and actual substance of common benefits and tangible blessings for our ASEAN people in all the spheres of their cooperative activities.

Much of these activities have been expressly economic in character, but they are also broadly infused with social content and goals, with deep cultural significance and underlying concern for the defense and preservation of our values and respective identities as sovereign nation states of the ASEAN region.

Thus, in the past fourteen years that ASEAN has grown to its present stature and established respectability in the international community, the decisions arrived at in both the ministerial meetings and summit meetings that the association has had principally attest to the clear aspirations of the ASEAN governments and peoples to improve the conditions of material and spiritual life in the ASEAN region.

The past and common historical experience of ASEAN member states has been instructive, and each ASEAN nation state has expressed acute sensitivity to the lessons of the past. No more shall our region of Southeast Asia continue to be the setting of exploitative and oppressive action and maneuverings by imperialist powers. Developments in contemporary history, the building up and succession of crises in all regions of the world, not excluding our region in Southeast Asia, have more than intensified the common resolve of ASEAN countries to close ranks and seek better changes of common salvation in unity and more effective regional cooperation.

Events of the recent past, some as recent as a few days ago, all indicate the gravity of the world situation and the tendencies that have lately been given active expression by some countries which choose the option of force and

violence in the pursuit of policies and national objectives. The events in Kampuchea, and lately the bombing of the nuclear reactors in Iraq, are dominant causes for our collective concern, even as today the ASEAN foreign and economic ministers meet to consider the overall positions and demarches which ASEAN should take in the face of these developments.

We naturally celebrate the fact of our unity and seek to strengthen further its character and purpose. I believe the time has come for us to make a clearer and more definitive conception of the tangible results that we want to obtain in common from the fact of unity, with the view to translating this into actual benefits that will affect in truly favorable terms the everyday life of our peoples in ASEAN.

The purpose of unity in ASEAN, I strongly believe, should transcend its mere political tidiness and reach the operational level of human usefulness manifested in better economic life, more humane social conditions, a more dignified political stature, livelier cultural exchanges, expanded technical and scientific interactions, and mutually fruitful arrangements in the fields of intra-ASEAN commerce and trade, both in government and private enterprise.

Implicit in this is the necessity to review our present system of operations in giving or in trying to give full implementation to our goals and agreed objectives. This requirement springs from the now common criticism that ASEAN, having passed what was described as its “declarative stage,” should now aim more seriously at attaining a higher level of cooperation by adopting new systems that can guarantee better operations and more effective results from all the cooperative efforts being expended by member states of ASEAN.

One such innovation might be the adoption of a system that shall allow authority to encourage initiative for certain agencies that might need to be created in the implementation of many vital ASEAN undertakings and particular projects. This will perhaps entail certain measures of political will.

ASEAN, as I earlier pointed out, has earned recognition as an important and constructive force in the global equation. As a group, we are listened to and our common initiatives in international fora, particularly in the United Nations, are given the weight we collectively deserve. The most important example of this, of course, is the forthcoming international conference on Kampuchea, which the United Nations has overwhelmingly decided to convene upon the instance of ASEAN and the support of many U.N. members.

It is evident that the outcome of this conference will not only affect the configuration of future peace in the region but will also affect, in a most direct manner, the peace of the world.

In economic and development cooperation, we may be said to have moved forward in establishing closer links among us. But there remain greater and perhaps better opportunities that we have not fully tapped. As there appear more far-reaching benefits not only for the present but also for the future generations of the peoples of ASEAN, I consider it an urgent need that we adopt new and innovative approaches to economic cooperation. We should surmount the temporary difficulties encountered at negotiating tables and move on to higher forms of regional cooperation.

This is an attractive option — that is, greater economic cooperation among ASEAN members themselves — because of recent developments characterized by world economic crises, the rising protectionism in many of ASEAN’s major markets, and the continuing stalemate in the North-South dialogue.

The presence here of our friends should give us occasion to re-state that the proper kind of concern and assistance for ASEAN should be manifest in the terms of trade. Stability and justice in ASEAN societies will depend in large measure on their ability to build up their economies through trade. Upon deeper analysis, this also affects our capacity to meet internal threats to our nations. We hope that the United States, Japan, Canada, our friends in the first world, would come to terms with this reality.

On the other hand, in the field of industry, the fruits of ASEAN cooperative action are now manifest. The regional projects of Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand are already in advanced stages of implementation. We are happy to

note that the economic ministers last month agreed to allow three projects per country to be considered at any one time.

This new procedure will allow a more speedy consideration of ASEAN industrial projects. Today, we shall witness the formal adoption of the basic agreement on industrial complementation. As you all know, this is the first ASEAN activity where there will be direct and substantive participation by the private sector. We believe that our future industrial endeavours, if they are to be meaningfully relevant to the life of our peoples, should provide for the active participation of the private sector.

Indeed, ASEAN countries recognize that co-dependent with the goal of peace and security for the region is the promotion of economic development of the member nations and the region as a whole. It shall then follow that a stable region of Southeast Asia, in terms not only political but more importantly economic and social, responsive to the cultural, spiritual and intellectual needs of its dynamic populace, will prove to be the best source of stability, enduring peace and long-term well-being for the ASEAN peoples.

An ASEAN living under these conditions of peace and productivity, of dynamic inter-actions among its peoples and outside, will certainly serve the wider cause of global peace and the search for deeper values of humanity.

I see no better purpose for our precious unity than the consecration of this unity to the attainment of these ideals.

In wishing you Godspeed and full success in your important task in this conference, it will serve to remind us that given the present world we live in, our common ideals can only be valid when our corresponding determination to attain them, through our ASEAN unity, shall be strong, persevering, and hopeful.

Ladies and gentlemen and friends, we shall continue to hope!

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Radio-TV Message of President Marcos for Cebu
[June 18, 1981](#)

**Radio-TV Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
For Cebu**

[Delivered in Cebu, June 18, 1981]

Mga binati kong kaigsoonan sa Rehiyon 7,
labi na gayod sa mga sugboanan:

As we approach the close of the current political campaign and enter at last into the critical exercise of our sacred right of suffrage, I should like this one time to focus on the specific interests and hopes of the people of your city, your province and your region.

We have been speaking all this time of issues and concerns relating to the whole country. But it is also a fact that our program for the nation relates deeply and fundamentally to your lives and your communities here in Central Visayas.

In our program of government, there are concrete achievements to point to and there are plans for the future to strive for. In what has been achieved, this region has been a full and active participant. In what is planned for the future, you too are an integral part of our striving for change and progress.

Let us review briefly what you and I together have accomplished during the past few years.

The growth that our nation has known during the past eight years finds concrete expression in numerous projects vital to the well-being of our people and communities: farm-to-market roads, irrigation systems, rural electrification projects, water systems, and varied social services such as health, nutrition, welfare, and education.

In Central Visayas, Cebu's new highways are opening to connect farflung barrios and even isolated farms to marketing centers. There is the third IBRD highway project started in 1977, the initial result of which are the wide 35-kilometer Naga-Toledo road and the 33-kilo meter Mandaue-Carmen roads, both costing P83 billion.

In Bohol, there is another 13-year massive infrastructure project started in 1976 called the Wahig-Pamacsalan dam. When the dam is finished in 1989, it will serve the irrigation needs of five towns in Bohol and increase rice production by 170 percent. The dam will irrigate 7,300 hectares of riceland in the towns of Pilar, Sierra Bullones, San Miguel, Dagohoy and Alicia.

In terms of rural electrification, the entire province of Cebu this year will fully avail of electric power through five groups of electric cooperatives. The Cebu Electric Cooperative I (CEBECO) lights up 18 towns in the south and CEBECO II lights up 10 towns in the north. CEBECO III, the Bantayan Electric Cooperative and the Camotes Electric Cooperative will complete electrification in Cebu this year.

The government's search for alternate sources of energy in Central Visayas has made possible the setting up of the Palinpinon geothermal plant in Valencia town in Negros Oriental which now has in operation almost half of the targetted wells envisioned to light up not only Negros island but also other provinces nearby. The Cebu Thermal Project in Naga set up at the cost of P488.03 million is developing coal resources as alternate power source using coal from the reserves in Danao-Compostela, Toledo-Balamban, Argao-Dalaguete and Uling-Alpaco. Now in operation, the plan uses coal as principal fuel for power generation producing 55 megawatts of electric power, much of it utilized by Cebu industries.

In agriculture, farmers in Central Visayas today receive many services from government such as credit assistance, technology, and marketing services. In Cebu where land has lost some of its fertility due to years of misuse, the government through the Ministry of Agriculture is undertaking programs to restore the richness of the soil. Technologies in the productive and fertility inducing use of the soil are being taught to your farmers through alternative cropping. An added service to farmers is the setting up of a center on farming technology called the Farmers' Training Center in Barili, Cebu. It has already graduated 300 farmers on corn and ipil-ipil intercropping technology. More training programs are scheduled for farmers in the region and even for farmers from Mindanao.

The regreening of your forests is also proceeding in earnest. In Negros Oriental and in Cebu, reforestation, forestation and communal tree farming projects are being undertaken to fight off the destructive "slash-and-burn" practice, and the projects have already succeeded in rallying many of you to cooperate in planting and replanting of trees.

In the work to raise the quality of life in your communities, the Ministry of Human Settlements has set up various projects all over the region, which answer basic needs in housing, clothing, livelihood promotion and community development.

In food production, the provinces of Cebu, Bohol, Negros Oriental and Siquijor today work hand in hand to team up with the Agriculture Ministry to intensify the production of cassava, an energy-giving food. A total of 1,000 hectares in Bohol, 100 hectares in Cebu, 1,600 hectares in Negros Oriental and 250 hectares in Siquijor are now earmarked for the rapid propagation of the product. For the MASAGANA 99 program, Bohol and Negros Oriental have irrigated a total of 10,110 hectares of ricelands.

Our health services in the region are felt in all communities through different health programs under taken by the Ministry of Health. In particular, much attention is given not only to the continuing health care of our people in the region but also for the success of the family planning and nutrition programs.

In answer to water needs in Cebu, a total of P15 million has been set aside under the Barangay Water Program as initial amount for a project that when completed will involve investments of some P16 million.

It is not for me to claim how these many projects, when combined with the totality of reform in our country, have changed the outlook for your lives and your communities. You only have to ask yourselves whether things are better now than they were before; whether you have much more to hope for today, than you had yesterday.

What we represent in this election is not just a party, but a movement for reform and development. We have accomplished something meaningful together over the years; we ask for the privilege and the opportunity to continue.

Providence has favored me to lead this movement and I say to you that while I have life, I shall ever consecrate it — all my talents and my energies — to the well-being of all our people, and especially of those of us who have less in life today.

Help me therefore to fulfill these hopes, as we have so often done together in the recent past. Lend me your full support and your mandate.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on a New Philippines, a New Republic, [June 18, 1981](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On a New Philippines, a New Republic**

[Delivered on June 18, 1981]

A NEW PHILIPPINES, A NEW REPUBLIC

Sixteen years ago, on this same sacred ground, we shared together a vision of Filipino greatness.

It was this vision which guided us in the gravest crises; we owe to it our triumphs; it has kept us whole.

You will recall that on my second mandate, I gave it a definition— the New Filipinism. I said then that “the New Filipinism represents the discipline and the ethic of independence, that it seeks the substance rather than the shadow of freedom, that it develops independence beyond formality to reality.”

Let me recall to you the exact words, for they provide a perspective for today:

“Under the influence of this spirit, we have started to re-examine our own narrow outlook on ourselves and the world; we have ceased to think ourselves as a small and insignificant nation, a non-entity in world affairs; we have started to re-examine the time-honored postulates by which we have lived in the past five hundred years, and have lifted our sights to wider horizons and more ambitious and peremptory goals.

“In the foreseeable future, this new spirit will prompt us to re-examine our own basic institutions and perhaps recast them to make them more responsive to the needs of our people. We must not hesitate, from a sense of racial timidity, to change what should be changed. From hereon we should be guided only by our own sense of what will advance, protect and fulfill our national interest.

“We must aim at the reality rather than the formality of democracy. Political and social institutions that merely perpetuate entrenched privileges based on the accident of birth must be remolded or replaced with new ones that promote genuine democracy. . .

“We must not be afraid of innovation in our social, economic, political and cultural life. The New Filipinism is a call for innovation— a revolution directed against the sterile and self-defeating habits of the race but without bloodshed and without fratricide.

“The New Filipinism is, ultimately a call to greatness. But any form of greatness must begin with an act of will. . . Transformed by the New Filipinism, the Filipino people will no longer return to the sterility, mediocrity and timidity of the past. The new spirit of achievement will be indestructible, and will fashion, in time, a great nation of Asia.”

In connection, I asked you, the Filipino people, whether we should venture into a new world of possibility or retreat to the safety of a familiar but sterile past, and your answer was— we should cross the frontier.

Twelve years have passed since we enunciated the New Filipinism. We have not only re-examined our outlook on ourselves and the world; we have, in fact, changed it— as well as the world’s regard for us. That foreseeable future of re-examination of our basic political and social institutions has come to pass: we have radically changed our institutions; we created a new social and political order. In sum, we changed what needed to be changed.

That all this had to be done under a crisis government attests to the strength, the compelling power, of the vision rather than its weakness. There was a profound sense of historical necessity when eight years ago, we have had to proclaim martial law. The measures then undertaken were swift and sweeping, as it became evident that slow deliberation and political opportunism in all its forms, subversion, and secession, were endangering the life and liberty of the nation.

This is neither the time nor place to review once again the undeniable achievements of the period— the reorientation of economic policy, the recasting of attitudes and the revolution in society. Rather is this the time for another re-examination, for having achieved so much, the question now is whether we have achieved enough.

It was not meant for this generation— a generation which has seen the horrors of war and confronted the challenges of peace— merely to win the struggle for national survival. We were not meant, perhaps, simply to surmount crisis, heroic as that may be, but to achieve national harmony, economic prosperity and social equality. Some may call it fate, others destiny, but whatever its name, history has a will and logic which a people can only ignore at its own peril. Your overwhelming mandate appear to confirm this fate.

So, then, we must start anew.

Sixteen years ago, we woke up to a world in change. Now we are in a world of crisis and contradictions. The Third World nations need to be self-reliant in a world that is irrevocably interdependent. All nations recognize the imperative necessity for a new world economic order but few nations, especially the rich, would accept a change in their own economies. There is a clamor for peace and a preparation for war. We need to cooperate but persist to take advantage. Meanwhile, the poor, which make up two-thirds of the world's peoples, are bewildered and resentful of the high professions and low intentions of the privileged.

It is against this setting that we have dedicated ourselves to the pursuit of a vision— Jose Rizal's century-old prophecy of a New Philippines. We are also infected with the world's malaise, a particular reflection of its crises and contradictions. We are not, therefore, exempt from the difficulties of the times.

Still, we have seen to the transformation of society. Institutions like barangay democracy have been established in order to give our people true control of their lives in community. At a time when the common people of many nations no longer feel sovereign in their lives, our own people, through the barangays, have a sense of purpose and control. The institutions, let us frankly admit, are imperfect; they are young. But they are anchored on a philosophy that Filipinos recognize as their own— the philosophy, or the ideology, if you will, of national liberation.

But where institutions are the protection of men, it is men who run them, and in this there are more imperfections still. The reason for the failure of some is obvious: they have not "internalized," as Mabini once pointed out in the original revolution, the principles and tenets of the New Society. Thus we have experienced and heard of abuses and injustice, of privilege and indifference, illnesses of old which plague our national life, which can no longer be endured either by this leadership or by our people.

These illnesses— the social cancer, as it were— have their roots in the colonial past. They should no longer be a part of us. We must, therefore, resist all the blandishments of the merchants of mendicancy, the propagators of the past, the advocates of colonial restoration. Social injustice, graft and corruption, the abuse of power and the misuse of privilege, were partly collaboration with and partly resistance of an abject people to a government which was not theirs. But we now live basically on our own terms. We have no right to betray ourselves.

This was the noble purpose of the sacrifices and lives of our heroic forefathers. It was for this purpose that they established the first authentic Filipino republic— the first Asian Republic— nearly a century ago and it is the purpose of our New Republic, which we inaugurate today, keeping faith with the vision of unity, equality, and liberty.

We look back on the First Republic because it was self-proclaimed by the Filipino people on June 12, 1898; for three hundred and fifty years, the inarticulated aspirations of the people had inexorably led to this event. There were, to be sure, two other independence days— on October 14, 1943 under the sponsorship of the Japanese Imperial Army

and on July 4, 1946, as a grant of the American government. It is not in denigration of these events that we choose to call ours the New Republic, with its historical roots in Kawit, but out of a rediscovered sense of identity and recovered national pride. Our national liberation must be an act of our own political will.

What is then new in our republic is its fidelity to our historical legacy and its repudiation of the colonial past, in so far that its opportunism and mendacity have left their mark upon us.

Possessed of our identity, restored to our destiny, we can meet any external challenge and bear any difficulty. But the way of national liberation is not imperilled by forces outside of ourselves; it is ourselves that we must ultimately conquer. Tempting, indeed, is the comfort of collaboration against the perils of resistance; a royal road seduces those who would progress without sacrifice, who would be free without effort. Yet history has marked this as a false road whose destination is enslavement and oblivion. In this regard, there can be no one to look to; there can be no outside savior. There is only us— the Filipinos.

We cannot survive, we cannot advance without being one race, one nation. We have known where division has led us— let us dare where unity must lead us.

The national unity that is so vital to our existence is a covenant between each and every Filipino; it is also a covenant between the leader and his people. The rare honor that you have bestowed on me as your thrice-elected leader imposes on my person— and those closest to me— a debt, an obligation, that I cannot shirk and a pledge that I dare not betray. Let history judge me harshly on this, my renewed pledge: that until every Filipino can say with conviction that he has been liberated from the bondage of ignorance, poverty, and disease— that until he can call his mind, body, and spirit truly his own, I shall have failed you and betrayed your trust.

From you, my countrymen, I ask the utmost commitment, the limits of your capacities as citizens, the endurance of all hardships and sacrifices for the common good— not as a personal demand but as a way of your keeping faith with the vision of our race.

Give all that you can give to your country, and, God-willing, I will give you, with your support, a society that will respond to all your needs for a decent and honorable life.

We have not been brought into this world simply to enjoy and indulge a brief existence. The poorest among us have a sense of life as meaningful existence. In our most miserable state, we are a part of mankind and its noble dream. We may call it, as we call it now, Filipino humanism, a nationalist humanism, but behind the concept and the precept is that certain knowledge within us that Man is the wonder of creation, that all of us must, in the end, realize ourselves in the service of our common humanity.

Let us call on the intransigent to realize their just purposes with us; let us awaken the unconscious and enlighten the misled; let us listen to our detractors in honest counsel. Let us, in sum, get together, bind the wounds of the past, and, in one united effort, realize the aspirations of our people. !

We must also be firm in our resolution and not compromise our aims. History is a merciless and at times even a cruel judge. As your president, I will risk the judgment, but as your fellow-countryman, I urgently appeal to you to spare the next generations from the retribution which could be brought about by our own complacency.

We must liberate ourselves for the sake of a new republic, the inevitable child of the new society.

As I asked you twelve years ago, I ask you now: let us cross one more frontier!

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Radio-TV Message of President Marcos for Bicol, June 18, 1981, [June 18, 1981](#)

RADIO-TV MESSAGE FOR BICOL

Sa mga katugangan kong Bikolano,
Ipinaabot ko sa indo ang marhay na kamugtakan:

I deeply appreciate and welcome this opportunity to address a few words to you all today, at this crucial moment when the current political campaign comes to a close and our people at last will exercise their sacred right of suffrage.

We have been talking all this time of issues and concerns relating to the whole nation. Today, I would like to focus with you on the way these issues relate to your specific interests, hopes and aspirations here in Bicol.

In our program of government, there are many concrete achievements to point to in the record, and there are also many plans and goals to strive for. In what has been achieved, you in this region are sharers and participants. In what remains to be done, you are our indispensable partners to success.

With your faith and support, we have embarked on a program to transform Bicol from a once economically depressed area into a self-reliant and dynamic model of development in the country. Through our sustained efforts, life for the Bicolanos today is better than when it was nine years ago.

Let me review with you what we together—you and I—have done.

With the completion of the 600-kilometer Daang Maharlika Highway, transportation is no longer a problem. More barangay roads have been put up, crisscrossing the inland areas of the region. These have hastened the pace of trade especially for farmers.

Within a span of three years from 1978 to 1980, infrastructure projects have reached even the remotest area of Bicol. These projects include the construction or creation of some 2,130 schoolbuildings, 1,506 artesian wells, 120 waterworks system, 244 barangay health stations, 112 rural health units and 36,053 linear meters of flood control projects.

Through the Masagana 99, the Masaganang Maisan, Bakahang Barangay, Gatasan sa Barangay, the Biyayang Dagat Program, farmers have increased their income levels. Rice production in 1980 alone reached 508,326 metric tons. This gave the Bicol Region the capability to export rice to Indonesia. There are now 138,955 farmers involved in the Masagana 99 Program in some 185,000 hectares of land. Bicol is one of the priority regions for livestock and dairy production. Masbate is a premier beef province while Sorsogon and Albay are leading milk producers. In Bicol, we have the biggest farmers' dairy cooperative fully supported by government through the Animal Dispersal Program.

The Biyayang Dagat Program is gaining the support of more than 75,000 fishermen all over the region. As of today, a total of P8,079,848 have been released to some 515 fishermen in five provinces. From 1975-1980, with the assistance of the government, the volume of incremental fish produced has reached 87,793.00 metric tons. Total fish dispersed at the region's communal bodies of water is placed at 31,068,806.

A total of eight Bliss Communities have been completed in the region. And these communities are today also the setting for livelihood generation and other community development projects.

The Tiwi Geothermal Project supplying a share of the energy requirements of Luzon has made the Bicol Region a major energy source. With a 220-megawatt generating power, more industries are expected to rise in the Bicol area. Just a few days ago, we removed outright the fuel adjustment cost of electric power consumption in the Bicol Region effective June 1.

In our desire to disperse industries from Metro Manila, we chose Bicolandia, particularly in Albay, as the site of a new export processing zone. This will not only generate more employment for Bicolanos but will also provide income for the local governments of the region.

It is not for me to claim how these many projects, when combined with the totality of reform in our country, have changed the outlook for your lives and your communities. You only have to ask yourselves whether things are better now than they were before; whether you have much more to hope for today, than you had yesterday.

What we represent in this election is not just a party, but a movement for reform and development. We have accomplished something meaningful together over the years; we ask for the privilege and the opportunity to continue.

Providence has favored me to lead this movement, and I say to you that while I have life, I shall ever consecrate it—all my talents and my energies—to the well-being of all our people, and especially of those of us who have less in life today.

Help me therefore to fulfill these hopes, as we have so often done together in the recent past. Lend me your full support and your mandate.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Address of President Marcos at the 83rd anniversary celebration of the Philippine Navy, [June 23, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 83rd anniversary celebration of the Philippine Navy**

[Delivered on June 23, 1981]

It is quite understandable now why the Philippine Navy moved its anniversary celebration from February 9 to June 23. The month of February is nothing but dry and cool weather. Not so in June. In June we have nothing but the rains and we all know the universal truth how navy men take to the water.

Jesting aside, we recall today the beginnings of the Philippine Navy in that revolutionary period in our history when the Filipino Nation was coming to birth. President Emilio Aguinaldo signed the decree for its creation barely eleven days after the proclamation of Philippine independence on June 12, 1898.

The early act of government will ever attest to the enduring foresight and wisdom of the country's early leaders in forging a firmer foundation for the security of the nation. It was the same foresight and wisdom that recognized the imperatives of building a credible navy in the early days of the Philippine Commonwealth under President Manuel L. Quezon. And it is the same that spur and lead us on today to build this service into a truly vital and indispensable part of our armed forces.

History has repeatedly vindicated this national ideal of building a worthy naval force. For the fledging organization that it was when World War II broke out in 1941, the men of our navy stood on to the last combatant patrol boat before they took to the hills and mountains to continue the struggle against the enemy. What they lacked in materials, equipment and training, they more than made up for in courage and patriotism.

And so it has been everytime the security of the nation was involved. Always the service has not been found wanting.

And this is not at all. For our navy too performs very vital and multi-faceted services for our people, such as assistance in times of natural disasters and calamities during floods and typhoons, search and rescue missions at sea, maintenance of aids to navigation for safety in navigation, protection of fishing grounds and oil drilling sites, ferry missions that bring personnel, equipment and goods to far-flung areas of the archipelago not serviced. By regular commercial-vessels and the like. One should mention too the vital role the navy plays in our on-going campaign of reconciliation and rehabilitation in the south and the vigilance it maintains to preserve and protect the integrity of our territorial waters.

To be sure the navy has lost many sons in the process. But the loss of lives and sacrifices notwithstanding, all these accomplishments have become so common to the point of being taken for granted. That all these are being done without thought of reward or recognition is the essence of excellence so characteristic of the profession of arms.

For the profession of arms must ever face challenge: the challenge of leadership and vigilance over the nation's peace and security. It must necessarily be so because our armed forces as an instrument of national policy is our basic safeguard in the exercise of our essential prerogatives as a nation. This sensitive and continuing task becomes even more critical when we consider the implacable reality of tension and uncertainty in global affairs today.

But we are unfazed by this uncertain environment of the times. Here in our land we continue to maintain the momentum of our thrust's that seek to hasten the development of the nation in all its aspects — social, economic, political and cultural. This we hope to achieve notwithstanding the debilitating effects of various factors among

which is a burgeoning population vis-a-vis resources that grow scarce or expensive with the passage of time, also we are acutely conscious that in doing this, we have to contend with certain elements in our midst that tend to divide, destabilize and undoubtedly aim to destroy the gains and progress we have achieved thus far.

Within this context of problems and goals, necessarily we are aware of the important role that this service must serve and fulfill.

In its broader aspect, we need at this point a logical, integrated and coherent strategy for the development of our naval force. Most assuredly, this strategy should not be a mere compilation of interests, individual prejudices and needs which can only bring about fragmentary and indecisive approaches to a particular situation or set of circumstances. We have enough costly lessons in terms of failures and lives lost to drive home this point which I rather not enumerate so as not to reopen the wounds of anguish, despair and loss inflicted on our people. Suffice it to say that it was only providential perhaps that our flexibility and resiliency as a people have carried us through during those dark moments brought about by inadequacies and lapses in our plans and strategy.

We cannot afford to commit these mistakes in the armed forces in planning a strategy for survival and victory. When the stakes are high as in war, the only thing that counts is victory. The loser hardly gets a second chance assuming of course that he is still around to make a go for that chance.

Moreover, the strategy must put a premium on developmental but highly feasible, practical and economical defense programs that will bring about self-reliance. The areas and possibilities where self-reliance can be achieved are many. But I would leave it to the leadership of the navy and the defense establishment for that matter to explore all these in order to bring about a lasting solution to the quest for a credible defense capability that is anchored on indigenous talents and resources backed by technology that we ourselves can either develop and improve upon or if necessary acquire through transfer in conjunction with other developmental or technical programs.

I purposely mentioned “transfer in conjunction with other developmental or technical programs” to drive home the basic guideline in achieving self-reliance through mutual interaction and maximum integration between the agencies of the government and the private sector. It must be a partnership where the initiative for the impetus of growth is equally shared by both the government and the private sector. For too long now that initiative has always been banked on the leadership of the government. Dismal performances, more so in the case of failures, are then blamed upon that leadership. Of course I still maintain that while the government must not and will not abdicate its responsibility as a catalyst for growth and development, reasonable limits have to be set after the private sector has taken over in order to shift resources and substantiate the other pressing priorities of government. More importantly, the policy of withdrawal in cases like this should be gradual but inexorably set towards total withdrawal nevertheless in order to foster the spirit of self-reliance even more and sharpen the will to compete, survive and grow. This after all is the essence of the true free enterprise system that all of us advocate.

In a larger sense, this is part of what I envision in a scheme geared towards the reorientation of Filipino values — the premises and issues of which I have repeatedly stated and explained to our people, especially during the recent presidential campaign. The fresh mandate that has been generously given me vindicates our shared conviction for the emergence and edification, indeed the renaissance of the true Filipino spirit that saw us through the struggle, the torment, the agony and despair of the long dark periods in our history as a nation and as a people, and make us ever seek for change and advancement in our national life.

It is for this reason that with the mandate given me, the first task to which I shall address myself will be the sweeping and relentless infusion of morality, responsibility and concern in the government service to make it more sensitive and responsive to the needs of our people. The postal service revamp and the clean-up at the manila international airport are only the beginning. More will follow and this is not only a promise but also an obsession on my part.

What will be the implication of all these in the navy of the 80's? First of all I want the navy as well as the other major and special services of the armed forces to reflect and substantiate the synergism of the social, economic, moral, psychological and even cultural goals of the government in its own particular sphere of responsibility and

influence. This entails a reexamination of its short, medium and long range programs to ascertain a strong interweaving of the means to achieve common ends. Any departure or anything that does not meet this criterion must be treated with caution for it could be that it is what specific circumstances would require. But then the importance attached to it should always be considered as an exception and nothing more.

Nothing however, should so preoccupy the leaders as to forget the individual soldier, sailor, constable or airman. The profession of arms owes its uniqueness to them for despite the ever-changing tools of warfare, the key element remains the same — the individual soldier whether he is the leader or the led.

Having a big navy with fast and modern combatant vessels equipped with the latest in sensors and weapons, both offensive and defensive, is not within the realm of immediate possibility, given our circumstances. But certainly this is no barrier to our having a compact, efficient, operationally ready and well-trained navy' backed by an equally compact and efficient organization run and directed by capable and dedicated men. We can build — and we have the definite nucleus of one — a navy that is prepared and capable of developing itself as an effective defense arm. Most important of all, we can have an organization of motivated and dignified personnel who will readily lay bare their qualities and capabilities in a spirit of sacrifice and duty.

In the final analysis, as is the lessons repeatedly brought home to us in the history of warfare, in the conflict of wills and desires, it is the motivated soldier with his dignity intact who will always prevail in the end.

With this thought, I will now close and extend warmest greetings and congratulations to the men and women of the Philippine Navy on the occasion of this 83rd anniversary of the service. You and I, everyone of us, have much to do before we can fully achieve the liberation and the rebirth of our country and people. Let us pledge again today to carry this work bravely and without thought of failure.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on the thrusts of the Ministry of Agriculture, [June 30, 1981](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the thrusts of the Ministry of Agriculture**

[Released on June 30, 1981]

In food and agriculture, we are not resting on our laurels. In the past 8 years, we have made great progress in the countryside. We took the bold step of instituting land reform. In food production, we are not only exporting rice, we are self-sufficient in poultry, pork, vegetables, fruits and white corn. One of the major elements in our success was countryside infrastructure such as irrigation, dams, and farm-to market roads. To help the farmer get on his feet, we gave him the technology that has made him produce more, and the extension workers who have helped him understand the new technology. We have given him credit—cheap, non-collateral credit—so that he can afford the new, high input technology. We have developed high yielding seed varieties. We have assured the farmer a just and fair price for his produce by giving him a guaranteed floor price for his goods. Most important, we have institutionalized these elements to make sure that we do not lose what we have gained, that the farmer's progress is a continuing thing.

Although these are accomplishments of which we are understandably proud, we are aware of the gaps that still exist in the food and agriculture sector. We still need to produce enough feedgrains—sorghum, soyabean, yellow corn and protein substitutes to feed our livestock.

We have been bothered by the rising cost of fertilizer subsidies which we have had to give our farmers in the past two years.

We have been pained by the malnutrition among our people, especially among our pre-school children and pregnant and lactating mothers.

We are impatient at the necessarily limited growth of new exports even as we observe with delight the development of import substitutes. In cooperatives development, we must move on from the organizational phase to actual farmer participation in economic activities.

FOOD AND NUTRITION PLAN

Over the last year and a half, therefore, we have painfully re-examined our deficiencies and quietly drawn up a Food and Nutrition Plan for the 1980s. The FNP is a complex program involving not only accelerated food production but also making sure that we are producing the right food in the right quantities and making these available to the right people, that is, the 38% of our population, some 18 million Filipinos, who get 80% or less of their nutritional requirement. The plan also includes the improvement of the incomes of the disadvantaged so that they have the capacity to purchase these food items.

We presented the FNP for funding before the meeting of the World Bank's consultative group in Paris last January where it was well received.

Today, as we launch the New Republic, I see it fit to launch this Food and Nutrition Plan which in essence is the fulfillment of our promise of a new society.

The FNP involves the cooperation and support of the entire government structure as it addresses itself to the major issues of corn and other feedgrains, fertilizers, fisheries, nutrition, agro-energy, commercial crops, cooperatives and various support services.

Let us take these one by one.

1. CORN AND ANIMAL FEEDS

Now that we are a rice exporting country, we must turn our attention to another pressing concern—that of producing enough corn and protein substitutes for our rapidly growing livestock population. This means accelerating our production of yellow corn and sorghum (which are interchangeable) fish meal and other protein substitutes and thus put an end to expensive imports.

We have therefore launched an accelerated corn production program and we are pursuing this with the same determination as we did Masagana 99. We call it Masaganang Maisan and it has three levels:

Maisan 22 – a program to increase production of poor corn farmers in marginal hilly areas from the present 0.5 to 1.5 metric tons per hectare.

Maisan 77 – the cornerstone of our corn program, involves increasing corn and sorghum production of small lowland farmers from the present 0.86 tons per hectare to three tons per hectare. Maisan 77 is aimed primarily at achieving self-sufficiency in yellow corn and sorghum.

Maisan 99 – makes use of the new technology developed by our scientists who, through diligent and purposeful research, have come up with improved seed varieties that allow yields beyond 5 tons per hectare. To encourage farmers to adopt this hybrid technology, government will subsidize 50% of the cost of hybrid seeds, and increase farmer access to credit. Let there be no doubt about it. Masaganang Maisan is a program of high national priority for which I will hold responsible not only the Ministry of Agriculture, but all the agencies concerned with its implementation, credit, release of funds, procurement, marketing and administration.

In this connection, I recently issued a Letter of Instructions to all concerned (attached).

Our development of protein-substitutes continues. The First Lady has an on-going vermiculture on earthworm program. Earthworms, I am told, are very lucrative sources of animal feed protein. We have therefore launched a program to go into the full scale production of earthworms for animal feed.

Copra meal is another protein substitute, primarily for soyabean meal which we have had to import in great quantities. I have directed the Philippine Coconut Authority to undertake the steps necessary to make more copra meal available as a protein feed ingredient. Ipil-ipil will also be used increasingly as a protein substitute as its supply increases.

Fish meal has been elusive, even in this a country of 7,000 islands and rich fishing grounds. I therefore order the Ministry of Natural Resources to find out how to ensure an increased supply of local fish meal which is our most important source of animal protein, and finally end expensive imports.

Our corn and feedgrains program is heavily dependent on another distressed industry-fertilizers and pesticides—two very expensive but most necessary inputs in modern agriculture.

2. FERTILIZERS AND OTHER INPUTS

Much of our dramatic increase in agricultural production can be attributed to the increase in fertilizer usage. However, as you know, the prices of fertilizer follow the prices of oil. As oil prices have gone up, so have fertilizer prices tended to follow. To protect the farmers from spiraling prices that would otherwise put fertilizers out of their

reach, we have had to subsidize the cost of fertilizers for the past two years. In the past years, this subsidy has grown from zero to P686 million, causing us serious financial drawbacks.

We have had, however, to maintain these subsidies in order to keep fertilizer usage at recommended levels. If because of high prices a farmer reduces fertilizer use by one kilo, his palay production will drop by 15 kilos. This could set back palay production by 342,700 MT worth P738 million, and bring us back to the dark days of rice importation. On the other hand, our fertilizer subsidy, which has benefitted some 3 million small farmers, has enabled us to effectively keep the price of rice down so that today, the price of rice is, in real terms, only 75% of the price we paid for it in 1972.

Clearly, however, we have to reduce fertilizer imports and our subsidy bill without increasing prices to farmers too much. At the same time, we must search for cheap, efficient, locally available substitutes even as we make more efficient use of chemical fertilizers.

Deep placement approach. I am pleased to announce that we now have the technology to reduce fertilizer usage by using the deep placement approach. By simply putting the nitrogen fertilizer under the ground, by the plant's roots, instead of broadcasting it on the soil, we have been able to reduce nitrogen application by around 30%, without a reduction in yields. At the current subsidy of P900 per ton of urea, subsidy savings from rice alone could amount to P40.5 million per year.

We are now embarking on a major drive to get our rice farmers to adopt this new technology for the deep placement approach in order to drastically reduce fertilizer imports and subsidies. We are even now developing farm machinery for more efficient use of this approach but in the meantime we are getting farmers to use traditional soil preparation techniques to place fertilizer under the soil.

Azolla. At the same time, I am pleased to announce that after two years of research, the Ministry of Agriculture and IRRI are now launching a nationwide fertilizer program based on a nitrogen-fixing plant called azolla. When applied intensively, azolla could reduce nitrogen use in rice during the rainy season by as much as 25% in three years. Based on present prices, this would mean a substantial savings in our fertilizer subsidies.

Pyrethrum. At the same time, we are looking into pyrethrum, a natural pesticide extracted from plants grown extensively in Africa today. This will help reduce our large pesticide bills.

Subsidies limited to small farmers. The fertilizer subsidy under which we are now laboring was originally devised to aid the small farmer. However, we have allowed the entire farming sector, including the more profitable segments, to benefit from it. I think it is time to put a stop to that. I hereby announce that all export plantation industries must now import their own fertilizer requirements, with no subsidies or tax exemptions. This means that the fertilizer subsidy is now limited to small rice, corn and coconut farmers. For the moment, this rule shall not include the sugar and coconut industries, which are still in distress. However, the policy will apply to sugar and coconut as soon as world prices for these commodities reach levels profitable for farmers.

Savings From Procurement and Handling Efficiencies. Despite our efforts to reduce the usage of and subsidies for chemical fertilizers, we must realize that we will still need continuous imports of these very basic production inputs. During my term I intend to reduce these imports and to eliminate the fertilizer subsidy without substantially increasing the prices of fertilizer to the farmer.

The reality is that we cannot totally eliminate our dependence on chemical fertilizers—if we are to maintain our gains in the past 8 years. Even China, which is the world leader in the use of azolla, has just completed 12 ammonia—urea plants.

In our desire however to reduce and eventually totally eliminate fertilizer subsidies, I have directed the FPA to generate savings through advanced procurement in this present time of rising prices and to secure stable supplies from our ASEAN neighbors based on low priced gas.

In this regard, I am told that if government finances 50% of our urea imports immediately, while prices are low, we stand to save about P49 million in actual savings on financing. I have therefore ordered the Central Bank to find ways and means of financing some P300 million needed by the PNB immediately for advanced urea imports.

Moreover, the FPA has been ordered to effect basic changes in the industry—such as bulk purchases and local bagging—which will reduce our fertilizer costs even more

A major part of our fertilizer program is to ensure security of supply from our gas-rich neighbors—Malaysia and Indonesia, hopefully at fixed and stable long term prices. This will go a long way toward helping small farmers reduce their production costs in this period of extreme inflation.

With all of these measures and new technologies, we should be able to save some 70,000 tons of imports or about 23% of our total imports of urea which in addition to the cost savings we intend to generate, will reduce our subsidies by at least P150 million pesos a year, by the 3rd year of our program.

3. FISHERIES

Fish is our most important source of animal protein, both for human consumption as well as for animal feed, as I mentioned earlier,

While our fish production has increased in the past decade, rising costs of fuel—which represent as much as 50-60% of total cost of a marine vessel—is a major bottleneck. Going after the fish, therefore, “hunting” for them in our seas and coastal waters is getting to be an increasingly expensive venture.

While we will, of course, continue to expand our Biyaya ng Dagat Program, aquaculture (both inland aquaculture or sea-farming) is the only long-run answer for fish self-sufficiency. In the same manner that we now grow our chicken and hogs instead of hunting for them as man did in the past, we must now grow our fish. From “hunting” for our fish, we should move towards baiting and trapping them. The payao, is an example of this transition. It gathers the fish together, the way the hunter progressed into a trapper.

We must therefore move increasingly, and quickly, into aquaculture, by progressing from trapper to grower. To give this thrust a boost, I hereby order Minister Leido to work out immediately the details for an extensive aquaculture program.

4. NUTRITION

In our deep concern for the malnourished children in our midst, we have often been misunderstood by the foreign press, which has pictured our country as being among the most malnourished in the world.

The truth is, in our desire to ensure adequate nutrition for each and every Filipino, we are one of the few nations in the world which has accurately measured its nutrition problem, and has taken the bold step of eliminating malnutrition with a food and nutrition plan. We will be the first nation in the world to have done so, if we succeed.

We know precisely who our malnourished are, where they are, how we can help them. We know that while our successes in agricultural production have brought about improved farmer welfare and nutrition throughout the country in general, there remain segments of our population who remain malnourished. Despite further gains which will be achieved through the various production programs I have already mentioned, there will continue to be those who, because of limited resource endowments and the limited capacity to help themselves, will continue to need special attention from the government, if they are to be adequately fed.

Let it be known, that our efforts in nutrition under the New Republic, stand among the silent testimonies of our concern for the future. We will safeguard coming generations of Filipinos by making sure that there will be no

stunting of brain development due to malnutrition—among today’s preschoolers; that our pregnant women and lactating mothers are adequately fed so that they may give birth to strong and bright new Filipinos.

Our goal is to completely eradicate all malnutrition in our country in this decade primarily by using our existing resources.

The First Lady’s KADIWA program has helped thousands of consumers all over the country since it started a few months ago. Consumers have been able to buy more for less. To help our malnourished, we will use Kadiwa to target the malnourished and the poorest in our midst. KADIWA will operate in every municipality where pre-school malnutrition is most prevalent. Thru its own and normal trade channels, Kadiwa channel surplus rice stocks to specifically identified and targetted beneficiaries. Rice will be sold to them at greatly discounted prices, in order to effect increased energy consumption among the seriously malnourished and at-risk. Coconut oil, which we also have very much in surplus, will be also placed within the reach of the malnourished, thru drastically reduced prices, as another vehicle for increasing energy food consumption.

If we are able to do this, we shall have become among the first—if not the only—country in the world to have achieved this noble objective. Certainly, this is possible in our country, where there is a perceptible environment of sharing, of brotherhood, of “KADIWA”.

5. COMMERCIAL CROPS

As you are well aware, the increases in oil prices have created major balance of payments problems in many nations in the world. “We have not been spared by the effects of these price increases. Even as we develop the food and feed commodities, therefore, we will continue to direct our attention towards our commercial crops, those export crops that earn for our country much-needed foreign exchange. We succeeded in making bananas a major export. We will do it again with other commercial crops.

Right now, we are pushing the growth of cacao and coffee as export crops. Already, we have launched a cacao program as an intercrop, to coconut. We have been hugely successful in this. Our program already now covers 20,000 hectares. We expect cacao to become a major export revenue earner within a few years.

Coffee production is also, literally, gaining ground in Mindanao. Very quietly, our coffee exports have grown. Hardly anyone has noticed that our coffee hectarage is already around 170,000 hectares and that two years ago, we exported coffee valued at \$43 million.

Other commercial crops that we are pushing are mango and other fruits, rubber, and abaca. Cotton, which up to a few years ago was virtually extinct in our country, has taken off. Starting this season, cotton hectarage will cover 25,000 hectares in over 30 provinces. This means two things: a substantial decrease, in cotton imports, and increased income for the farmer. This crop year, we have bought P60M worth of cotton from farmers.

6. AGRO-ENERGY

Agriculture has now also been tapped to contribute to meeting the country’s energy needs through the development of traditional as well as non-traditional energy producing commodities.

Cassava, sweet potato, white potato and sugar, aside from their obvious uses, are now being grown for use in the manufacture of alcogas.

Ipil-ipil trees which we introduced for reforestation for its quick growth and deep roots that prevent erosion is now being used for dendro thermal energy. I have instructed the Ministry of Agriculture to intensify the propagation of ipil-ipil trees for dendro thermal energy.

We have launched a program for developing an oil-bearing plant known as “hangga”. To date, we have planted 45 hectares of this heretofore unheard of plant, which we have now identified as an important energy source. Within 2 years, we will have “hangga” planted over 100,000 hectares to produce enough fuel to cover 10% of energy consumption in all households.

7. INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

To oversee the ambitious design of the elements which I have cited here today, we need a vigorous Ministry of Agriculture, functioning with the extensive and intensive support of all other related institutions in government.

To strengthen the MA as it guides the agriculture sector towards clear, defined, commodity and welfare goals, we are significantly expanding the Ministry’s internal capabilities over the next five years. Thus, we are improving the Ministry’s extension network and services with a \$35 million loan from the World Bank. By the end of 1982, we shall have an agricultural extension force which is much better trained, equipped, and mobile-to service the needs of our farmers. Ours will be one of the best agricultural/extension forces in the world.

We are also beefing up the research capabilities of the Ministry of Agriculture. Under the recently negotiated Agricultural Support Services Project, the World Bank will be extending assistance amounting to \$46M, for the strengthening of the Ministry’s research, regulatory services, supply of selected inputs, and planning capability.

8. COOPERATIVES

Crowning our thrusts in agriculture for this decade is the redirection of the cooperative movement from its seven-year task of organization, to the very pressing matter of transforming cooperatives into small business enterprises at the village level.

During the past 7 years, we succeeded in organising over 1 million farmers into more than 20,000 Samahang Nayons at the barangay level. We trained 140,000 farmer-leaders all over the country. Through a massive savings program these Samahang Nayons have been able to generate from their own meager funds a total of P100 million.

What remains to be done is to translate these resources—organization, leadership, and capital—into economic activities which will yield increasing returns to farmer-members.

We have already successfully set up 43 marketing cooperatives and 25 cooperative rural banks. From both our domestic resources and from foreign loans, we have allotted P150M for this year alone, towards making these institutions more viable. But we see our success in these province-based institutions as a mere stepping stone towards fulfilling the potential for increasing incomes through cooperatives at the barangay or village-level.

We are therefore launching, at this point, a massive barangay or village-level cooperatives program aimed at increasing production output and reducing cost of production. This is a major “self-help” program with government assisting farmers to help themselves through their own village cooperatives.

Henceforth, it is the policy of the state to encourage Samahang Nayons to undertake economic activities which correspond to the needs of their respective barangays. They can undertake, for example, economically viable projects in communal irrigation, tractor pools, drying, threshing, and other post harvest facilities. They can go into projects for cooperative fishing activities, such as in the use of the payao. In short, they can engage in a broad range of economic activities on a barangay scale to increase production and incomes and reduce underemployment in the rural areas.

To support these village-level Samahang Nayons, I have ordered the Central Bank to release P100 million in financial resources to match the P100 million already raised by the farmers themselves.

Through the cooperative movement, and now these small business enterprises of the Samahang Nayons we are building—slowly but surely—a nation of strong self-reliant individuals working jointly, with a common vision and the sure strength of millions towards a common goal.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are our major thrusts in food and agriculture for the coming years. Let it be known to all that the Food and Nutrition Plan which I have launched today, is now a major pillar of the New Republic. Let all concerned act according to its policies and its goals.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Third Inaugural Address of President Marcos, June 30, 1981

OF
HIS EXCELLENCY FERDINAND E. MARCOS

[Delivered at the Quirino Grandstand, Manila on June 30, 1981]

My beloved and fellow Countrymen:

By the generosity of your sovereign mandate, I have been sworn again today before you, and in the sight of the world to defend, preserve, and promote all that we hold dear and cherish as a nation.

The greatness of this occasion dwarfs all personal feelings of joy, gratitude and pride which one feels at this moment. As it has ever been, the entire nation, not one man alone, is summoned by this historic ceremony to ledge faith in ourselves and in the future.

In the history of our nation, there are certain moments that fix for us a tide of turning and redirection, when the nation irrevocably moves into a new course and bravely ventures into the future.

This is such a turning point.

On a dreary December dawn eighty-five years ago, young patriot and prophet of the race fell on this very soil, “a martyr to his illusions” of a new Philippines.

Sixteen years ago, we stood on this same hallowed ground, sharing a vision of Filipino greatness.

Sixty-nine years separated the martyrdom and the mandate of greatness. More than two generations of thwarted hopes and disappointed dreams. The blood of the martyr inspired the Philippine revolution, from which sprung the first Asian Republic, proclaimed in Kawit, Cavite on the twelfth of June, 1898. It was a short – lived Republic, for soon after, recalling three and half centuries of foreign domination, we were colonized once again.

Two other republics followed, under which the Philippines was independent but not truly sovereign, for as history decrees, authentic freedom is self-proclaimed and is not a gift from alien lands.

The Filipino had lost his dignity, his courage and even his soul. For we existed at the time in a precarious democracy which advanced the few who were rich and powerful and debased the many who were poor. Government was the acolyte of an oligarchy whose preeminence reached back to the colonial era. This arrangement resulted in a society that could no longer endure; as social scientists said, we, the Filipinos, were sitting on top of a “social volcano.” But our young martyr and hero had a more arresting metaphor. A social cancer was all over the land. A major surgery was inevitable.

We were caught, according to a popular image, between a world that was dead and a world that was too feeble to be born. We had to accelerate the birth of this New World—a Caesarean operation was required. Either that or perish beneath the weight of our own failures.

Out of this peril—from the jaws of dismemberment and extinction, and from the heart of the rebellion of the poor—was our new republic.

The first republic was still—born, it had to be born again—in our time.

Today, we proclaimed here the birth of a new republic, new in structure and character, and ordained to preside over a new time of ferment and change in our national life.

Our republic is new for its fidelity to our historical legacy and its utter repudiation of the colonial past. In it is the power of the vision which sacrificed the "First Filipino" on this sacred ground. Time alone can tell the fate and fortune of our new republic.

Thus has history presented our saga to this generation of Filipinos that we must rise from the depths of ignominy and failure; and thus is it said that we have an appointment with destiny.

With the past, we affirm here and now the continuity and integrity of the nation vouchsafed to us by the sacrifices and struggles of our fathers. But we are also deeply conscious of the need to break away from the historical ties that have fettered time and again the pursuit of the national destiny.

All too often in the long sweep of history, we have seen national longing and aspiration denied at the threshold of fulfillment. We have seen our nation aborted at birth, tossed in the sway of empires, gripped in irresolution and drift, paralyzed by disunity and strife, and hostage to chaos and instability. Our national independence since the beginning has been partly cast in light, partly in shadow.

There are, to be sure, imperfections in our institutions, and as these are run by men, there are more imperfections still. But I choose to regard these as redeemable; we can still win the few, the faltering, recalcitrant few, to our government.

Unerringly, the many crises and trials of our republic have repeatedly pointed to one recurring theme. The helplessness of government to cope with problems and its inability to prosecute national purposes and goals. We have suffered less from the failure of political ideals than from the failure to make democratic government work and prosper in our land.

From such failure did we pass into the long night of crises and instability that so lately visited our land, and required the extraordinary recourse to martial law and the establishment of a crisis government.

Yet from our response to that time of challenge, during an eight-and-a-half year period that will ever be distinguished landmark in the history of our nation, we emerged a nation strengthened and transformed, her faith renewed in the vitality of her democratic institutions

Ironic, we say now, is the fact that to arrive at this new beginning for democracy in our country, we have had to travel the route of authoritarian government, passed through the very eye of hazard and crisis, and endured the verdict of some men who despaired that democracy has been irretrievably lost in our land.

The interval of crisis government and reconstruction opened to our nation a new meaning in the democratic ideal and a new dynamism towards its attainment. We can never again stand in alienation from one another, in resignation before our problems, or in humiliation before the world.

Living through the tempest of crises and ferment, we have known the reserves of national will we possess and the kind of government we are truly capable of establishing in our country.

Not the poverty of principles, or the decay of ideals, but the simple failure of government has undermined our confused and tortuous route as a nation. And so it is that our national rebirth must be founded first and foremost upon the rock of government.

This is the new beginning that we proclaim—today the awakening of our republic to the fundamental challenge of governing our land and our people, of ministering to the cares of public life, and of redeeming every dream and every aspiration that throughout our national history has fired the hearts and minds of our people.

Fundamentally, this is a beginning and a change not in dreams and aspiration, but in rededication and reappraisal.

For so long we have immersed in a confused debate over ideas and principles, when our real need was self-discipline.

We have swayed between the ideologies of the times and been entrapped in their irresoluble contention, when our attention might have been better focused infusing confidence in our people.

We have wearied of the efficacy of democratic ideals, despaired of their ever taking root in our country, when our task was to make these ideals find life and sustenance in our society through our own self-abnegation.

We have been captivated by models and images of development not our own making without moulding them to the reality of our culture and traditions.

Today, we know better.

This is the vision of rebirth that we hold out to the nation today of a new people and a new government that will be stable, strong, and capable of leading that way the national future.

Our chief concern is to develop and perfect the means whereby government may recapture the original purpose of society—that of promoting the well-being of all the members of our community. This is no mere sentiment. This we recognize as a fundamental duty to be practically and resolutely pursued.

Its essence is less to be seen in what we say of those timeless democratic principles we swear by—freedom, rights, morals, service and the like—than in the manner by which we organize law and government for their realization in our society.

Others may speak of their facile ideas to make change and development in our country. We shall address ourselves to the organization of government, to the engineering of change, to the management of our affairs for this is how, fundamentally and truly, the most lofty ideals begins to be realized and come to live in society.

We speak to our farming communities who had long been disenchanted by slogans promising land and progress and who at last, under the 1972 program of land reform now have their own lands to till but also need the continuing assistance of their government to attain both advancement in their lives and growth in their communities.

We speak to our working classes who need not only a greater share in the profits of production but the upgrading of skills and talents by the energetic action of government so that they may carry out the programs designed to spur the growth of our economic and social life.

We speak to the entrepreneurs throughout our land who need, besides the maintenance of our free enterprise system, the practical assistance of government in the identification of markets, in the development of sources of labor and raw materials, in the availment of credit facilities, and in the concerted effort to free the full bounty of our resources as a nation.

We speak to every family—to every man, woman and child throughout our land—whose security, well-being and advancement must be directly affected by, and be the concern of, government in practical programs that will broaden opportunities in education, health and welfare and other human needs.

We speak to the citizenry, whose sovereign will and whose rights must exist not only on paper, but in effective processes that magnify its participation in government and its enjoyment of its rights.

We speak also to the family of nations and the councils of the world, to which our national life is so intimately linked today, to which we pledge continued and abiding cooperation in efforts and programs that will truly advance the peace and progress of peoples, especially of those with whom we share the cause of reform of the international system.

We shall not merely dream, we shall achieve.

We are done with pining for all the comforts and rewards of more advanced societies. We shall now draw up our own plans in accordance with our vision and culture, to realize within our land our own program of development and progress.

True liberation such as has been dreamed of since the birth of our nation, and has never left the bosom of our people, is not to be attained save by the enduring union of government and the people.

It is unthinkable that we should approach this task as partisans to warring interests, creeds and ideologies. Our goal is to unite, not divide.

National unity is a covenant between each and every Filipino, and between the leader and his people. The rare honor that you have bestowed on me as your thrice-elected leader imposes on my person— and those closes to me—a debt, an obligation that I cannot shirk and a pledge that I dare not betray. Let history judge me harshly on this – that until every Filipino can say with conviction that he has been liberated from ignorance, poverty, and disease; until, in sum, he can call his mind, body, and spirit his own, I shall have failed you.

For this purpose it shall be our task as a people to break, with the force of our will and our energies, the tradition of discord and suspicion that characterized our efforts in the past to build one nation.

It is a duty we can no longer ignore or deny to bring the wasteful strife in the South to an end, to settle for all time the secessionist war which has haunted the nation these past several years. Let us sweep aside the gloom of separatism and distrust.

We must apply to the cultivation of a new national tradition of Filipino-unity, in which Christian and Muslim are brothers in blood and aspiration, in which religious freedom is not only a guarantee but also a true and enduring bond to hold all men together, none of them less than the others because of his religious creed or mode of worship.

We ask all our countrymen, every group and every sector of our society, to gather around this work now unfolding, to lend to it their counsel and their guidance, and the light of their earnest criticism.

We have had enough of bitterness and faction among us to realize now that we have spent ourselves and reduced thereby the vitality and strength of our nation. Learning from one another, striving towards consensus, contending and yet aware of our common life as a nation, we can provide healing answers to the travails of national life. We shall move forward together.

Of the leadership, the dedication, and the vision so clearly needed by this work of building and creation in our land, government shall be the first to provide. We shall bring into the service of government the broadest knowledge and expertise available throughout our land. We shall set upon the task of reconstructing on a new foundation the whole of our government bureaucracy—from the lowest echelons to the highest—so that we shall have once and for all truly a government that is servant to our hopes and our needs.

Government can lead the way to building our new republic but it cannot do the task alone. It requires us also to establish new concepts of cooperation and interaction between government and the people, between communities and their leaders, between the variant sectors of our society.

The people's initiative, their caring, and their imagination, as much as those of government, will determine how far and how fast we can achieve the blessings of true democracy on our land.

But I do believe that our people have never been more prepared for this test of their communal life and for the effort that it demands. I believe that today we all see our problems and our opportunities more clearly than we used to as tasks that are resolved not by a fever of words and hopes but by action patiently applied to them.

When I look upon our history as a nation, it is this attitude to work and struggle that is truly new in our society today. It is this profession of faith above all others that shines upon our work now beginning in our country.

Nearly a century ago, the man who was martyred on these grounds, Dr. Jose Rizal, described in words of cautious prophecy the nation that the Filipino race could become a century hence. He wrote:

“The Philippines will defend with inexpressible valor the liberty secured at the price of so much blood and sacrifice. With the new men that will spring from their soil and with the recollection of their past, they will perhaps strive to enter freely upon the wide road of progress, and all will labor together to strengthen their fatherland, both internally and externally, with the same enthusiasm, with which a youth falls again to tilling the land of his ancestors so long wasted and abandoned through the neglect of those who have withheld it from him. Then the mines will be made to give up their fold for relieving distress, iron for weapons, copper, lead and coal. Perhaps the country will revive the maritime and mercantile life for which the islanders are fitted by their nature, ability and instincts, and once more free, like the bird that leaves its cage, like the flower that unfolds to the air, will recover the pristine virtues that are gradually dying out and will again become addicted to peace – cheerful, happy, joyous, hospitable and daring.”

We are the nation today. With courage and vision we shall be more.

From you therefore, my countrymen, I ask utmost commitment, the unswerving allegiance to the vision which unites us. You owe this to yourselves.

Give all that you can to your country, and I, God willing, will leave you a society that will fill all your needs for a decent and honorable life.

Let us then call on the intransigent to realize their just purpose with us; let us awaken the unconscious and enlighten the misled; let us listen to our detractors in honest counsel. Let us bind the wounds of the past, and, in one united effort, realize the aspirations of our people. There are no outside saviors; there is only us – the Filipinos.

There is no injustice that we cannot dedicate, no corruption that we cannot extirpate, no hardship or crisis that we cannot overcome as long as we keep faith with the vision of national greatness.

With the advent of this hour of the New Republic, we enter with a clear eye and a stout heart a perilous decade. There is nothing to fear; we shall achieve national liberation; we shall prevail.

I ask you then: let us cross this frontier.

Address of President Marcos on the 23rd anniversary of the National Science Development Board, [July 15, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 23rd anniversary of the National Science Development Board**

[Delivered on July 15, 1981]

I am pleased and honored to be asked to join you here today “for this 23rd Anniversary of the National Science Development Board. But circumstances prevent me at this time from honoring personally your kind invitation, and I must express my profound regrets to you all.

In my stead, I have asked that my prepared address for this anniversary be read on this occasion, so that all will be aware of the high importance that government attaches to the place of science and technology in our development programs for the nation.

Several theories have been expounded to explain the development of human society. Each identifies some facet of human and social activity as the principal cause for progress: politics, religion, the arts, and economics. While many of these theories contain some of the essential truths about the forward movement of human society, each can never deny that science and technology have been pivotal in arming men with the tools and the knowledge that through the ages have allowed us to adapt to and even radically change our natural and social environment.

Every landmark in recorded, and perhaps even prerecorded. History has been accompanied by the discovery or popularization of some instrument or process that the men of science had handed down to the rest of mankind. The journey from the wheel to the nuclear reactor is, we now know, such a brief period when compared against the eons of our planet’s geological history. Once a pawn to nature’s vagaries, man—through science and technology—has managed to liberate himself from many of his natural vulnerabilities.

Today, this fount of wondrous knowledge has erased the impossibility of man ultimately gaining full mastery over the natural forces that not too long ago awed and overwhelmed him. While obscurantists may always damn this knowledge as the root of our problems, science and technology on the whole have made it possible for us to improve our quality of life. However, like any other instrument and like any other knowledge, science and technology may be employed for both evil and beneficial ends. Like any other theoretical discipline, prudence and judicious wisdom must always be the premise of its use. But a far graver error is to lose sight of its intrinsic value in social development.

In the history of our country, for instance, many of the mistakes of the past and even of the present administration is traceable to a denial of the counsels advanced by our scientists and technologists. In fact, it is easy to understand why many of our men of science and technology have chosen to pursue their careers in other lands. Perhaps because of our people’s exposure to centuries of fanatical dogma under colonialism and partly, because ours is a comparatively young society, it was not until only recently that we have been able to properly appreciate the potentials that science and technology possess for the betterment of our people. It was only under the New Society that the much delayed official recognition to this vital sector was extended. This is the reason why a science minister presently sits in the highest councils of the land. This is why we have poured in substantial funds and other scarce resources into our scientific and technological agencies, knowing that in the long run these investments would pave the way towards raising the productivity and enhancing the quality of life in our society.

With the launching of the New Republic, I assure you that science and technology will continue to play a vital role in the general effort to create a better life for our people. Our recent experience has served to make even more clear the role of science and technology in the Philippine context. More specifically, this means providing the techniques

and inputs that will allow our farmers to get more compensation for the same amount of work done along with increasing the volume of agricultural production.

This would have to be accomplished at the soonest possible time not only to create the buffers against future periods of scarcity, but also to generate the savings and investments necessary to accelerate the growth of other economic sectors. Science and technology, must also be harnessed to upgrade the capabilities and capacities of our industries to sufficiently absorb growing numbers of employable citizens to make our products competitive in the markets of the world, and to develop an industrial base that will ultimately redeem our nation from the curse of underdevelopment. In the process, our scientists and technologists would have to discover practicable alternative sources of energy, the present shortage of which has hindered our progress and mobility. But more basic than all this, is the need for science and technology to devise the systems and materials required for satisfying the elementary requirements of our people at a scale, cost and made that would be most economical in view of our economic limitations. In sum, the task of science is to find out which of our natural resources are useful, how they can be turned into goods to satisfy our basic needs, and what our people must do to lead long, healthy, and useful lives. The urgency in developing our scientific and technological capability was the compelling factor in the designation of the National Science Development Board into a full-fledged ministry. While recent suggestions to streamline the workings of our government propose a realignment in your agency's position in the overall bureaucratic matrix, we can never gloss over the N-S-D-B's recent achievements.

With the N-S-D-B, scientific research is now being conducted not for its own sake, but to respond to the more pressing need of providing our people with the skills and techniques that would help them improve their lives. Coming as it did at a time of severe economic dislocations both here and overseas, this thrust was a timely approach, especially for our rural communities where the greater portion of the research effort has been directed. In solving our country's energy needs, the N-S-D-B's pioneering studies and surveys have facilitated the full development of our geothermal resources, as well as the tapping of alternative and indigenous energy sources. In increasing agricultural production, the N-S-D-B's researches have served to improve the strains of our staples and other crops. In improving public health the efforts of the N-S-D-B have given us an objective picture of the food consumption habits and nutritional status of our people, thus identifying the priority areas that our nutrition and health programs must confront. In providing low-cost housing, the N-S-D-B has developed simpler and less costly methods for manufacturing housing materials. In providing for job opportunities, various N-S-D-B projects have devised alternative or supplementary forms of livelihood especially for our rural communities. In manpower development, the N-S-D-B's educational and scholarship programs have served to upgrade our pool of scientific and technological expertise as well as existing facilities for science education. While all these accomplishments are by any standard laudable we must nevertheless accept and learn from the mistakes and shortcomings that have somehow been committed along the way.

The national leadership, of course, realizes that the government has so far been unable to extend to our scientific community the latitude it seems to require to more successfully carry out its mission. For a developing country such as ours the ability to achieve the proper balance between investments for immediate concerns and investments for future benefit is far too delicate for any rash evaluation. While we realize that our scientific community constitutes our nation's foothold on the 21st century, the business of government also includes confronting those factors that endanger the present stability of the national community. This alone is the main reason why the government has not been able to deliver the level of support that it would otherwise want to extend to our scientific and technological sector. Conceptually it is fairly easy to recognize that, scientific development should be a top national priority, but the realities of governance and the other complications in our national life make it nearly impossible for us to pour into it the kind of resources and render the same level of recognition that we are presently compelled to render to, say, the maintenance of peace and order.

However, let not this statement be misconstrued as rationalizing what, even I would admit, is inadequate support for our scientific community. Instead it must be viewed, as an explanation for our national priorities. Even with the unfolding of those processes designed to hasten the coming of political normalcy, government must still address itself, first and foremost, to those threats, that imperil this movement. While we shall not cease in rendering whatever official assistance we can to science and technology, we are compelled to ask our scientific community to understand our predicament. It is only when these more pressing contradictions are finally resolved that we will be more able to address with keener focus the scientific and technological development in our country.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the AFP Turnover of Command, [August 15, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the AFP Turnover of Command**

[Delivered on August 15, 1981]

In these ceremonies today, we carry on a tradition in our Armed Forces which is hallowed in the history of the corps and in the history of our nation.

No tradition in the life of our armed services reflects more deeply their abiding stability and unity, than this rite marking the passage of leadership within the corps.

The passing of command, in any organization, is expressive of continuity as well as change. It symbolizes on the one hand the very human effort and desire to ensure that the institutions we create, the values we cherish and live by, and the ideals and standards we set for our labors, will endure the tests and vicissitudes of time. It signifies on the other the equally powerful desire for progress and advancement, that in the challenges and flux of the times, our institutions will ever provide for orderly movement forward.

This is the meaning of this day.

Custom does not require the Commander-in-Chief to be present at this formal turnover of command in our Armed Forces, but I have today broken protocol to join you here. And I do so in recognition of the import of this occasion in the history of our Armed Forces, and in obedience to the charge of a grateful nation.

We cannot allow this day to pass without remarking upon the eventful time of service of Gen. Romeo Espino, as A-F-P Chief of Staff, and of what his leadership has meant to the morale and vitality of the corps. Nor can we allow this day to pass without paying tribute here to the achievements of the armed services during the last eight and a half years. History will ever mark for us that in this eventful and challenging period in our national life, our Armed Forces came through the many tests of fire, and rose above the obstacles of tumult and crisis in the land, to ensure the survival and stability of our Republic.

Whatever we have lived through as a nation during these years, our Armed Forces were fully both witness and partners of the struggle for national deliverance. Whatever we have undertaken in defense of our Republic, our Armed Forces were first and foremost our anchor for security and national survival. And whatever we have initiated and won in the way of national reform and transformation, our Armed Forces were our unfailing and steadfast ally and friend.

There has never been perhaps a time in our history as during these years when our military lived so fully its union with our people, or so distinguished as a civilian force.

For all these, our people and our nation owe our soldiery a debt of gratitude that neither our homage nor the honors of state can ever truly repay. But the accolade nonetheless must be given, and it is in this spirit that I have come here today, as President of our Republic and as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, to bear witness to these ceremonies of farewell to the outgoing Chief of Staff, and of welcome to the incoming new leadership of our Armed Forces.

Let me say to General Espino now on behalf of our people and Government, that we shall ever remember and hold in deep esteem his long distinguished service as A-F-P Chief of Staff and as a soldier, his inspiring leadership of the

corps during a time of ferment in our country, his unwavering devotion to duty, and his unfailing loyalty to the Commander in Chief and to the Republic. To you, General, we extend the nation's sincere homage and appreciation.

It has been rightly said that the truly enduring achievement of great and able leaders is the institution that abides and endures when they depart. It is surely a testament of the depth and range of leadership in our military corps, that as we witness the retirement of such a man as General Espino, we also witness here the ascension to the highest leadership of our Armed Forces of men such as the incoming Chief of Staff, Gen. Fabian Ver, and the Vice-Chief of Staff, Gen. Fidel Ramos. To them passes the leadership of the corps, whose innermost workings, whose traditions, and whose responsibilities they have been part of for many years.

Both of them were part of the original group who participated in framing the response of the government to the challenges of insurgency, rebellion and chaos in the country prevailing on the eve of Martial Law, and in directing the implementation of the various measures carried out in the interests of national survival.

With General Espino, they ensured exemplary response of our armed services to their mission: which was to meet the full threats to national security and peace and order, and yet to carry out the same with restraint and foresight. Our military corps never for a moment lapsed into indiscriminate display of force or wanton police action, which under such circumstances usually occurs, and this was largely because of their able leadership and stewardship of our Armed Forces fully inculcated in our soldiery the meaning of courage as grace under fire.

As I congratulate them therefore on their elevation to the leadership of our Armed Forces, I am firm in the faith and the confidence that the high tradition of leadership in the corps during the recent decade will fully be shown in the decade now upon us.

I shall depend upon them to continue with many of the policies that have guided the work of our Armed Forces during the past years, and I shall depend upon them also to undertake a review and reassessment of our operations, policies and programs, in keeping with our continuing goal to sustain and improve the vigil over the peace and security of the country.

In this review of operations, policies and programs, as well as of administrative details pertaining to our Armed Forces, we will endeavor to define anew our emphases and priorities. We will clarify and issue the guidelines for action in various areas of concern.

With regard to the matter of promotions within the corps, I reiterate the original orders I issued a few years ago, to the effect, that before we promote the high-ranking officers of the corps, we should attend first to the promotions of the field-grade and company officers. Our objective must be to see to the overall vitality and morale of the corps, and this must be of central importance now.

It is my intention to call a meeting of the General Military Council to deliberate on these matters.

In looking upon the national situation today, the principal problems facing us are subversion and internal strife.

Accordingly, the thrust and the focus of A-F-P operations must be oriented to attend first to the maintenance of internal domestic stability.

This should form the basic background for the review of policies, implementing orders, and activities. In this light should we direct our operations and measure our work for peace and security.

All these matters call for the highest kind of leadership and vision in the corps, but such a high conception of the mission of our Armed Forces can only find meaning and fulfillment in the continued unity and vitality of our entire military organization.

All of us — from the highest to the lowest echelons of our Armed Forces — have tasks to accomplish. In no other organization is there such an intimate link between layers of officers and personnel as there is in the military service; in no other is cooperation so crucial to success.

Our military organization must see its mission whole, and implement its tasks as one.

In such unity, our Armed Forces have provided exemplary service that will never be forgotten by our people and our nation. In the same, will you carve yet another glorious chapter in the history of our military corps.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the presentation of the National Artist Award on Vicente Manansala, [August 27, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the presentation of the National Artist Award on Vicente Manansala**

[Delivered on August 27, 1981]

The Legacy of Vicente Manansala

We come in mourning here today, but we also come in homage, to the memory of Vicente Manansala.

There is the lasting sadness we all feel in the ending of so rich and creative a life. But there is also the imperishable legacy of his art that consoles us in our grief.

None of us can truly say what has been taken from us into the darkness. Yet in the works that he has bequeathed to us, he lives on as truly and as surely as any great man who has lived among us.

Those of you who knew him well — as fellow artist, as disciple, as student, and as friend — knew him first and foremost as an artist of extraordinary range and talent, who left his mark in many mediums, who opened doors for Philippine art and for other artists, who generously gave of himself to others.

Those of you who only knew his work knew him as intimately as his friends and his students, for such is the unique life of art, that in beholding his works, we come also to know the man behind them, his generosity and compassion, his humour, his humanity and his imagination.

On my part, I have known both the man and the work, and though I cannot claim to being a critic of art, I have admired the work greatly and am very proud to have met the man. I have understood a little why he was hailed as “the master,” and why even in the twilight of his life, there was this pilgrimage of art lovers to his native Binangonan.

As time softens the sadness of his passing, we will all the better see Enteng Manansala in perspective, and appreciate more fully the richness of his legacy for our people and our nation.

In presenting the National Artist Award to Vicente Manansala, we merely confirm in tribute to the man and the artist what every man, woman and child in this country reap in joy and recognition in their encounter with his work: the depth of understanding he had of our life as a people and of the land we love, the vividness of the images he created to evoke them. It is never the great man or the great artist who needs memorials to their names; it is us because we need always to make public our appreciation of our inheritance.

In the truest sense of the word, Vicente Manansala’s life was shared with others. He shared it with us not in the usual way we know, for he was not a public man, but in the unique and glorious way of the artist: in the works of his unique imagination, in paintings, in murals, in sculpture, in the timeless images of art.

Art touches us in a manner that we do not always see, but can only feel. And the highest and the greatest art reaches out and touches something very deep and beyond time: the truth and beauty of life, the essential dignity of man. This is what we feel when we are in the presence of great literature and great art: when we behold as it were so much that is precious but ineffable to us literally unfolding, when we find shaped in images and in words the texture of our life as a people and as a nation.

In Vicente Manansala's work of a lifetime, as our critics have said for us on many an occasion, there is this largeness of feeling for what is uniquely Filipino. And he did not so much discover it, as invented it: shaped it in the medium with which he worked.

We sometimes think, because we are not artists, that what we are as a people is only there to be discovered and mapped. Art in fact does not merely discover, it invents.

And when I think of the whole range of our cultural and artistic inheritance, I am more than ever convinced that it has been our artists as much as our national heroes, who have shaped our identity as a people. They have integrated for us the diverse experiences of our people, the fragmented life of our many islands, and have transformed them into what we call our nation.

This is the service of Vicente Manansala in his own way.

As truly as any great leader among us, he has gathered us together in the vitality of his art. He has felt and given meaning to our being this people, this nation, and not another.

Enteng Manansala, deeply influenced as he was by the styles and movements in world art, never lost the primacy of his roots as an artist. However, he travelled, he was always at home among us. And in the end, he made what was foreign only another key to the discovery and the shaping of art and culture.

This is not to claim him only for ourselves, to the exclusion of others. The language of art is finally universal, however native the heart in it may be. Just as our great painters of the past, Luna, Hidalgo, and de la Rosa, have taken their places firmly in the world of art, so will Manansala now and in time, be part too of this larger world. But always, he will be first and foremost an artist of our nation.

This, then, is our heritage from Vicente Manansala: a legacy of imaginative works that to this day do not fail to astound in their beauty and in their truth, a legacy of artistic achievement that has and will continue to lead others into the difficult vocation of the artist, a legacy that makes us all proud to be his countrymen.

Enteng Manansala himself may have provided the enduring description of this legacy. "There is really an essence of beauty," he said, "and time does not matter. A masterpiece is always beautiful... Walang panahon."

Time will never dim the richness of his legacy. It can only broaden it, as more and more among our people come to behold its riches and variety, its truths and its rewards, as more and more among us take up brush to follow his inspiration and example.

Against the greatness of his work, his passing is only a momentary shadow that will be dispelled in time.

It is in a spirit of gratitude for what he did with his life and for what he has so generously bestowed upon us, that we proudly hail him "National Artist."

I thank you.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the AFP Testimonial Day, [September 10, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the AFP Testimonial Day**

[Delivered on September 10, 1981]

Year after year, through all the years of my presidency, you have gathered here without fail on the 10th of September to give your testimonial salute to your Commander-in-Chief. Yet no matter how often the repetition, there is freshness and meaning in this occasion which time will never dim.

This ceremony embodies one of the truly elemental traditions of our Armed Forces, elemental because it speaks to the very soul and character of the whole of our nation's soldiery.

There is honor here for the Office of the Presidency and the man who serves it, and for this I have ever been and am now deeply and personally grateful.

But there is also the enduring symbolism of this rite: that each time we gather here, we affirm anew that our Armed Forces are, first and always, a civil force. We maintain in our Armed Forces the high standards and ideals that a military establishment must live by in order to be effective and ever vigilant. We maintain high standards of discipline within the ranks and in our officer corps as highly as any other armed force in the experience of nations. Yet behind them all, we assign the highest authority in our Armed Forces not to a military commander but to a civilian. And to a civilian who also must be the leader of all our people and of our Republic.

This constitutes the fount of our Republicanism.

Other nations, because of their historical experience, follow an entirely different tradition in the Constitution of their Armed Forces; we on our part fervently believe and observe this tradition of civilian supremacy in the profession of arms.

Other nations, in the midst of ferment and crisis, drift away from this Republican idea of the Armed Forces in order to cope and survive; we on our part, despite the many crises that time and again have visited our nation, have unerringly maintained this difficult ideal, and in maintaining it ensured the stability and safety of our Republic.

It surely must be said, especially here on this occasion, that this ideal lives because we have all kept faith with one another, and never for a moment lost, despite whatever trial and challenge, our belief in the Armed Forces as the loyal servant of the government.

It is sometimes asked how such an unbroken faith is maintained and kept secure. I would answer that it feeds in part on the vitality of national traditions and values, in part on the continued effort to make it meaningful and relevant to present times. On the one hand, we sustain our fidelity to this concept of our Armed Forces because our experience unfailingly tells us that it works. On the other, we sustain it, because it fitly serves the needs of our country in a new time, and because we make the effort to continually strengthen and develop our Armed Forces around this proud and glorious ideal.

More than any generation before us, we have reason today to be especially thankful and proud of our Armed Forces. Our nation's defenses are secure, our homes are safe, and except for some problem areas, our cities and our towns are tranquil. There is confidence in the country and in the world that our nation is strong and moving forward. We know, in short, that our system is both strong and secure.

Nearly nine years ago, there was a moment of danger when our national life tottered on the edge of rupture and disintegration. But the crisis gathered us together, and we surmounted the test. Together, our people, our Government and our Armed Forces demonstrated the steadfastness of resolve and the strength of will to ensure the survival and growth of our Republic.

And we have seen during this period of struggle and building that our Armed Forces can be relied upon not only to keep vigil over the peace and security of the nation, but to undertake part of the tasks of social and economic development. To the soldiers who have had to face up to challenges in the battlefield, there have been soldiers too who faced up to the challenges in our farms and factories.

As we look toward the present and the future, these are the achievements upon which we must build.

The peace and security of our nation today is no occasion for the relaxation of our vigilance; it is rather the opportunity for self-strengthening and development, and for a more progressive view of the role of our Armed Forces in our national life.

If I may therefore review here what I believe must be the paramount concerns of our Armed Forces today, during this period of building for our New Republic, I would cite the following:

First and foremost, we must look to the health of our entire military organization, to the vitality of its leadership and to the morale of our entire soldiery.

Organizational reform and innovation must continue, so that our armed services will grow in efficiency and responsiveness to problems and challenges.

The promised promotion of company and field, grade personnel must now be implemented, in order to ensure the needed flow of deserving men into higher positions of responsibility in our armed services, and in order to motivate the men in the organization. I am told that the Board of Generals is already finalizing its recommendations, so this should take place soon.

Likewise, we must take care to attend to the welfare and morale of all our enlisted men, at the same time that we continue to maintain discipline and high standards within the ranks.

Secondly, I would stress the importance now of intensifying and expanding the AFP's involvement in the National Development Effort.

This developmental thrust must naturally go hand in hand with the peacekeeping and security efforts, and expand as peace and order and security are ensured.

We have just launched, among others, the vital Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran Program. This is a massive, all-encompassing plan designed to generate livelihood opportunities for a great number of our people and to boost national productivity. Together with government and the private sector, the AFP must actively participate in this program and devote much of its energies to help insure its success.

I am pleased to learn that the AFP has already begun to mobilize itself for the program, building upon the already established Military Economic Development Activities Project under its Home Defense Program. I have every confidence that the AFP will show in this undertaking the same dedication to service, the same notable zeal and initiative that it has shown in the past.

Third, there is need for fresh attention to, and for acceleration of, the program for self-reliance in our Armed Forces.

We have already witnessed encouraging results in the joint effort being undertaken by the AFP and the private sector in the manufacture of various defense items and needs. Specifically, we can mention here local production of

munitions, quarter-master items, mortar tubes, air force practice bombs, patrol sea craft, radio-communication sets, and mini-cruisers. And we are glad to note that this program has created some 4,000 job opportunities and generated foreign exchange through the export of some of these products such as the jeeps and radio-communication sets.

The specific projects within this broad program must be further intensified, so that we can progressively source locally more and more of our needs. It ought to be a sound principle to follow that our officers upon retirement move in this area which is of vital importance to the AFP.

In addition, we must now go into the development of repair facilities within the AFP. Too many of our military equipment and weapons today require foreign servicing whenever they break down, and this takes considerable sums from the AFP budget which could be more productively directed elsewhere.

In line with this new policy direction, I am now urging the AFP General Staff to plan and develop a program in this regard.

I have always believed that behind the principle of civilian supremacy, there is inherently a dynamic idea for the development of the Armed Forces. The civil authority basically seeks to render the national life more durable, more dynamic, and less susceptible to the momentum of divisiveness and disintegration inherent in every human society. While the object is to ensure civil dominance over the military, this does not mean that the Armed Forces should be shunted to one corner, ignored and alienated from the tasks and the opportunities on hand. On the contrary, such work can only be expedited with the participation of the Armed Forces. With its organizational talents and capabilities, the military in truth, is one of the most potent instruments for pursuing and attaining national goals.

This approach has of course been the subject of misinterpretation and in certain instances, intentional misinterpretation. The more rabid elements of the political opposition have the deplorable habit of describing our efforts at optimizing the Armed Forces' participation in national development as evidence of growing militarization in our country.

All political systems of every ideological hue and persuasion agree that the primary right and responsibility of the state is to maintain and defend itself. It has this obligation not only to secure the stability of governmental institutions, but just as important to guarantee the physical security and well-being of the citizenry. What makes the more recent efforts to strengthen the Armed Forces so starkly noteworthy is the fact that for so long previous administrations had chosen to pass over the military for considerations that you and I can only speculate on. For an incredibly long period, the Armed Forces had been left to fend for itself, to subsist by the pittance that the old politicians had thrown their way. It was perhaps a manifestation of the fundamental subservience towards a foreign power that characterized past governments; so-called national leaders who viewed the issue of defense not from a national perspective, but through the obsequious eyes of a colonial who could feel safe only under what to them was the awe-inspiring aegis of a foreign superpower. This policy not only alienated the Philippines from the rest of the world who suspected us, and not without some reason, of being less than the independent nation that we claimed to be.

More insidious was the effect that this same policy had on the Armed Forces. A national defense posture that positioned the country as a mere adjunct of the defense structure of a foreign power logically led to demoralization among the officers and men serving in our military establishment at the time. While they held the frontlines, our soldiers naturally felt resentful of the attention, or rather the lack of it, that was being extended to them. And now, the people who brand our efforts at enhancing our network of defense as militarization are the ideological successors of those same leaders who brought this nation to the brink of national disaster by virtually ignoring the need to upgrade our military capabilities

If our defense budgets therefore have grown over the past decade, this is also because the involvements of our Armed Forces have similarly increased.

For a country such as ours, the maintenance of an able Armed Forces, able to keep the peace and secure the nation, is a precondition we must fulfill if the work of development is to proceed unhindered attention to peace and security

is a logical function of development in a changing society such as ours; and whether we like it or not, the cost must be borne by us. This is part of the price of independence, and of the cost of progress.

And I fervently hope that for such an Armed Forces as we have now—loyal, dedicated, vigilant, and progressive—this is a price that our people if willingly pays, and for which the nation is well-rewarded.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Radio TV Message of President Marcos for Cebu [Filipino],

**Mensahe sa Radyo-Telebisyon
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Para sa Cebu**

[Ipinahayag noong ika 21 ng Setyembre, 1981]

Mga binati kong kaigsoonan sa Central Visayas:

Tayo ngayon ay nasa huling yugto ng kampanya bago natin gamitin ang dakilang karapatan sa pagboto. Nais kong ituon ang inyong pansin sa magandang kinabukasan ng inyong lungsod, lalawigan at buong rehiyon.

Napag-usapan na natin ang ibat ibang issue na may kaugnayan sa buong bansa. Ngunit isang katotohanan na lahat ng ating programa ukol sa buong bansa ay may malaking kinalaman sa inyong pamumuhay at mga lugar dito sa Central Visayas.

Sa ating mga programa sa pamahalaan, marami na tayong nagawa, at marami pa tayong balak gawin. Sa ating mga nagawa, lagi nating kasama ang mga taga-Region 7, sa ating mga gagawin, muli kayong magiging mahalagang bahagi ng ating pagpapakasakit tungo sa pagbabago at kaunlaran.

Ang kaunlarang natamo ng ating bansa sa nakalipas na walong (8) taon ay nakikita sa ibat ibang proyekto sa inyong rehiyon: mga lansangan, patubig, elektrisidad sa mga barangay, water systems, at iba pang mga programa ukol sa kalusugan, nutrisyon at edukasyon.

Hindi ko sasabihin na ang maraming proyekto ng pamahalaan at mga reporma sa ating bansa ay nagpabago sa inyong pamumuhay at pamayanan. Ang tanungin na lamang ninyo ay ang inyong sarili kung mas mabuti ang buhay ngayon, kaysa noong mga nakaraang panahon: kung malaki ang ating pag-asa ngayon, kaysa kahapon.

Ang isyu sa eleksiyong ito ay hindi lamang partido, kundi isang kilusan tungo sa pagbabago at kaunlaran. . . . Marami na tayong nagawa hinihingi namin ang inyong tulong upang kayo'y patuloy naming mapaglingkuran.

Ang inyong lingkod ang naatasang mamuno sa kilusang ito ng pagbabago at kaunlaran at nais kong sabihin na habang ako'y nabubuhay, iuukol ko ang lahat ng aking lakas at buong pagkatao sa kabutihan ng mamamayan Pilipino.

Tulungan ninyo akong tuparin ang inyong pag-asa, tulad ng inyong ginawa noong nakaraang panahon, hindi kayo mabibigo. Ipagkaloob ninyo ang inyong boto sa tagumpay ng bagong lipunan. Ito, ay tagumpay nating lahat.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Message of President Marcos on the Boycott Movement [Filipino], [September 21, 1981](#)

**Mensahe
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Ukol sa Kilusan ng Pagboykoteo**

[Inilabas noong ika 21 ng Setyembre, 1981]

Mga Kababayan ko:

Sa ika-labing-anim ng Hunyo, bubuksan natin ang isang bago at makasaysayang kabanata ng ating pangbansang kasaysayan. Pagkalipas ng mahigit na walong taong pag-hiral ng pamahalaang pangkagipitan, tinatalunton natin ngayon ang landas tungo sa normalisasyong pampulitika sa pamamagitan ng paghalal ng isang pangulo, muli nating tatawagan ang mamamayan upang pumili ng pinunong magiging patnubay natin sa masalimuot na landas ng ating kinabukasan. Ang pagboto sa halalan ay isang sagradong karapatan at tungkuling ipinaglaban at ikinasawi ng ating mga bayani ng lahi. Dahil dito, hindi natin maaaring talikuran ang isang demokratikong pananalig na pinagyaman at itinanghal ng bawa't Pilipinong mapagmahal sa kalayaan dahil lamang sa iilang taong sumusigaw na samahan sila sa lunduyan ng kawalang pag-asa at kabiguan. Ang pagboto ay isang bagay na kinamulatan na ng ating mga mamamayan. Bahagi ito ng ating kinagisngang kultura. Ang pagkakait ng karapatan sa pagboto ay hindi lamang iligal o labag sa batas — ito ay taliwas sa kagandahan-asal at pagkamakabayan. Taliwas ito sa pag-uugali ng isang malayang tao gayun din sa angking kagitingan at paniningdigan ng lahing Pilipino.

Lubus akong nananalig at nagtitiwalang ang ating mga kababayan ay hindi padadala sa mga taong may likong hangarin sa ating bansa; sa mga taong kumikilos ng walang direksiyon at layunin; sa mga taong ang lahat ng paraan ay gagawin para lamang makamit ang kanilang mapag-imbot na layunin pampulitika. Taglay nating mga Pilipino ang karangalan at pagkamakabayan. Karapatan at tungkulin nating pagpasiyahan ang kinabukasan ng ating bansa.... Gusto ba nating manumbalik ang kaguluhan at kawalang-kaayusan? O makamit ang kaunlarang taglay ng bagong panahon? Nasa atin ang pagpapasiya.. kailangan natin ang pagsulong at pag-unlad..... hindi ang pagbabalik sa nakaraan. Kailangang marinig sa lahat ng sulok ang tinig ng mamamayan. Kailangan nating bumoto sa Hunyo 16, araw ng eleksiyon.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on Youth Day [Filipino], [September 21, 1981](#)

**Talumpati
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa Araw ng Kabataan**

[Ipinahayag noong ika 21 ng Setyembre, 1981]

Isang mainit na pagbati ang aking ipinahahatid sa mga pinuno't kasapi ng Kabataang Barangay, ang pangunahing samahan ng kabataan sa ilalim ng Bagong Republika. Ipinagdiriwang natin ngayon ang araw ng kabataan bilang pagkilala sa angking lakas at talino ng kabataang Pilipino. Nararapat lamang mangyari ito.

Ang mga kabataan ay mga mamamayan din. Mahalagang bahagi sila ng bansang Pilipino. Tulad ng mga nakatatanda sa kanila, ang kabataan ay may mga kakayahang mapanlikha. Nakikibalikat ang marami sa kanila sa mga gawain tungo sa pag-unlad ng produksyon. Bagamat mura ang kanilang pag-iisip, taglay na ng kabataan ang mga damdamin at mithiin ng buong sambayanan. Mulat sila sa mga suliranin at pangangailangan na pumapaharap sa buong bansa. Gagap ng mga kabataan ang wastong landas na dapat tahakin ng lipunang Pilipino upang makamit nang lubos ang kalayaan at kaunlaran. Dahil sila ang magiging tagapagmana ng bansa dapat unawain ng lahat ang pangangamba ng kabataan hinggil sa ilang bagay na nagaganap sa ating kapaligiran. Alam natin na taos sa kanilang puso ang pagnanasang makibahagi sa pagpanday ng isang dakila't mariwasang-bansa. Bagaman kung minsan ay nagiging mapait ang kanilang pagpuna sa ilang pagkukulang ng ating lipunan, dapat lagl nating alalahanin na ang mga pagpupunang ito ay ginagawa lamang ng kabataan tungo sa ikabubuti ng lahat.

Huwag sana maganap muli ang hidwaan na minsan sa ating kasaysayan ay pumagitan sa mga kabataan at sa mga nakatatanda sa kanila. Mahigit sa sampung taon na ang nakalilipas nang huli nating masaksihan ang malungkot na bunga ng ganitong di-pagkakaunawaan. Pinagsamantalahan lamang ng mga mapanligalig na elemento ang hidwaang ito upang palalain ang mga kontradiksiyong panlipunan. marami sa mga kabataan ang naging kasang-kapan lamang ng mga elementong ito na nagnanasang umiral ang kaguluhan at anarkiya upang wasakin ang lipunang pilipino. Gayong nalutas din ang suliraning ito dahil sa maagap na pagtugon ng pamahalaan, hindi natin maaaring hayaan na maul it pa ang mga pagkakamali ng nakaraan.

Muli nating nasasaksihan ang malawakang pagkilos ng mga kabataan. Muling ipinamamalas ng mga kabataan na sila'y bumubuo ng isang puwersa na hindi maaaring ipawalang-bahala ng lipunan. Ibinabandila nila ang ilang usap in na malaon nang hindi napapansin ng buong bansa. At tiyak may mga ilan na hindi sumasang-ayon sa mga pananaw at kuro-kuro na ipinahahayag ng kabataan. Tiyak din na susubukin na naman ng mga mapanligalig na pag-samantalahan ang situwasyon, bagama't makatarungan ang ilang karaingan na ipinapahayag ng kabataan. Subalit ako'y nananalig na ang mga mapanligalig na ito ay hindi magtatagumpay; na ang kabataan ngayon ay may sapat na kakayahang kumilatis sa mga tunay na nagmamahal sa bayan at sa mga taong nagnanais lamang buwagin ang ating republika. Ang pananalig kong ito ay nakasandig sa inyo, sa mga pinuno't kasapi ng Kabataang Barangay.

Noong araw, ang mga kabataan ay madaling nalinlang dahil sa wala silang samahan at sandigan na tulad ng Kabataang Barangay. Sila'y naligaw sa paniniwala sa isang ideyolohiyang taliwas sa mga tradisyon at adhikain ng bansang pilipino. Madali silang napaniwala ng mga mapanligalig, na pawang mga buwitre nag-aabang malansag ang pagkakaisa ng ating lipunan. Ito ang mga dahilan kung bakit naging isa sa mga pangunahing hakbangin ng kilusang panreperma ang pagtatag ng Kabataang Barangay na tumatayo bilang kalasag ng kabataang pilipino laban sa mga pagtatangkang mapanligalig at mapanggulo. Lubos ang angking paniniwala na sa kasalukuyan ang kabataan, sa pamamagitan ng Kabataang Barangay, ay may sapat nang kakayahan up ang harapin at kalabanin ang anumang pagta-tangka sa katatagan ng bagong republika. Habang taglay ninyo ang damdaming makabayan at makatao, walang puwersang mapanggulo na maaring magtagumpay. Alalahanin lagi ninyo na ang Kabataang Barangay ay mistulang tanod na tumutulong sa pagtiyak na mananatiling ligtas ang ating bansa't lipunan.

Walong taon na ang nakalilipas nang ating itatag ang Kabataang Barangay. Mula noon, nasaksihan natin ang pag-unlad at paglawak ng samahang ito bilang mahalagang kaakibat ng pamahalaan. ipinatupad natin ang iba't i bang palatuntunang nakapaghandog sa libu-lubong kabataan upang sila'y maging produktibong mamamayan. Kabilang sa mga palatuntunang ito ang Batarisan In-Plant Training Program, na nakapagbigay ng pagkakataon sa mga kabataang mapaunlad ang kanilang kabuhayan. Nasaksihan natin ang bisa ng palatuntunang ito hindi lamang sa pag-uunlad ng kabuhayan ng mga kabataan, kundi pati na din sa pag-unlad ng industriya. Dahil dito, ang pamahalaan ay gumagawa ng hakbangin upang high pang palawakin ang saklaw ng Batarisan. Sa harap ninyong lahat at sa pamamagitan ng awtoridad na pinagkaloob sa akin ng saligang batas, linalagdaan ko ang Executive Order No. _____ na nagbibigay ng dagdag na insentibo sa mga empresa at kabataang nakikibahagi sa KB-NMYC Batarisan In-Plant Training Program.

Binanggit na natin na ang kabataang ang siyang tagapagmana ng bansa. sila ang magbibigay katuparan sa mga adhikain at pangarap ng bansa sa kinabukasan. Subalit mahalaga na kahit sa kasalukuyan ay mahasa at malinang na ang mga kakayahang pamumuno ng mga kabataan. Mula nang maitatag ang Kabataang Barangay higit na naging makabuluhan ang pakikihalubilo ng kabataan sa buhay pampulitika ng bansa. ang mga kinatawan ng kabataan ay nanunungkulan na ngayon kahit sa mga Kataas-taasang Sanggunian ng Pamahalaan. Ang tinig ng kabataan ay nadidinig sa bawat kapulungan, mula sa mga pamahalaang pambarangay at pambayan hanggang sa pamahalaang pambansa. Nararapat lamang na ipamalagi natin ang karapatang ito ng kabataan.

Bilang pagtupad at pagsulong sa ganitong simulaing, ipinapahayag ko ngayon ang pagtatalaga sa mga sumusunod bilang mga kinatawan ng Kabataang Barangay sa kani-kanilang sangguniang pambayan at panlalawigan:

Mula		sa		Region	I
Sangguniang					Pambayan
Benguet					
La	Trinidad	—		Estrellito	Magliba
Pangasinan					
San Fabian — Elizabeth Gosingan					
Mula		sa		Region	II
Sangguniang					Pambayan
Cagayan					
Baggao		—		Florencio	Cabrido
Piat		—		Nemecio	Conag
Quirino					
Aglipay – Dante Mariano					
Mula		Sa		Region	III
Sangguniang					Panlalawigan
Bataan		—		Dominador	Carunungan
Sangguniang					Panlungsod
Pampanga					
Angeles	City	—		Don	Rosve
Sangguniang					Yutuc
Bulacan					Pambayan
Malolos		—		Apolinario	Nazario
San	Rafael	—	—	reynaldo	s. Reyes
Pampanga					
Candaba		—		Editha	Paguinto
Guagua	—			Amalia	c. Zita
Macabebe	—			Rolando	c. Clarin
Mexico	—			Merlinad	S. Siron
Minalin	—			Francisco	G. Flores
Porac	—			Gener	L. Duya

Zambales
San Felipe — Daniel Florita

Mula		sa			Region	IV
Sanggunian						Pambayan
Cavite						
Gen.	Mariano	alvarez	—	Ma.	Antonieta	Oracion
Mendez		—		Perfecto		Maraan
Marinduque						
Mogpog		—		Joseph		Montejo
Quezon						
Candelaria		—		Carlos		Reyes
Mulanay		—		Antonio		Morales
Pitogo			—Roda			Gliane
Rizal						
Antipolo		—		Joselito		Samson
Romblon						
Ferrol		—		Larry		Suarez
Calatrava — Erlinda Magayon						

Mula		sa			Region	V
Sangguniang						Pambayan
Camarines						Sur
Magarao		—		Rico		Alvia
Sorsogon						
Castilla — Carlos Mendina						

Mula		Sa			Region	VI
Sangguniang						Pambayan
Iloilo						
Miag-Ao	—		Jose	Noel		Torrecampo
Passi — Rey Deatras						

Mula		sa			Region	VII
Sangguniang						Pambayan
Bohol						
Duero		—		Gliceria		Abueva
Batuan		—		Clarito		Nabas
Cebu						
Boljoon	—		Saturnino	Nicanor,		Jr.
Oslob		—		Judy		Abines
Negros						Oriental
Valle	Hermoso	—	Merredith	V.		Fernandez
Bacong	—		Rogaciano	Vera		Cruz
Siquijor						
Enrique Villanueva — Chona L. Suminguit						

Mula		sa			Region	X
Sangguniang						Panalawigan
Agusan	del		Norte	—	Rechilda	Braza
Sangguniang						Panlungsod
Cagayan	de	Oro	City	—	Crisanto	Jr.
Surigao		City	—	—	Alexander	Ramirez
Sangguniang						Pambayan
Bukidnon						

Lantapan	—	Rector	A.	Canda
Pangantucan	—	Ligaya	M.	Salavedra
Misamis				Oriental
Balingasag	—	Elisa	A.	Juevesano
Surigao		del		Norte
San Benito — Vences Noble				

Mula	sa	Region	XII
Sangguniang			Pambayan
North			Cotabato
Antipas — Jessie L. Cadungon			

Inaasahan ko na ang mga nabanggit ay magiging masigasig na kinatawan ng mga kabataan sa kani-kanilang pook. Alalahanin sana lagi nilang lahat ang tungkuling kasama ng parangal na pinaabot sa kanila ngayon.

Sa pamamagitan ng kanilang halimbawa, at sa halimbawa ng iba pang kabataan na napagkalooban na ng katungkulan ay napapatunayan ang angking talino't lakas ng kabataan. Sa inyo nalalarawan ang anyo't hugis ng kinabukasan ng ating bansa. Asahan ninyo na lagi ipaabot ng pamahalaan ang anumang tulong at gabay na inyong kakailanganin.

Gayunpaman, nasa inyong kamay pa din ang inyong kinabukasan.

Mabuhay ang Kabataang Barangay!

mabuhay ang Bagong Republika!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Radio Message of President Marcos at Radio Veritas, [September 21, 1981](#)

**Radio Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At Radio Veritas**

[Delivered on August 21, 1981]

I deeply appreciate and welcome this opportunity to address a few words to our countrymen through the auspices of the Buklod Bayan Public Service Program of Radio Veritas.

For two years now, this nation-wide program has been performing a vital service as both a listening post and service line to the life of our people and our country. And now once again we find it serving as an important forum for the discussion of vital and felt issues relating to the Presidential elections on June 16.

For all of us, and for the nation as a whole, this is a period of great opportunity and challenge. We are entering a stage in our national life unlike anything we have faced before. We have passed through an eight-year interval of crisis government, but while the state of emergency has been lifted, only the elections will fully bring it to a close. The election of a President, and the investiture of a new government leadership and structure as provided for by our Constitution, herald the vision of the nation and the society we shall now become.

This is the profound and fundamental reason why participation in the balloting is so important—more important than ever—for all our countrymen. The electoral choice is a decisive one, and the opportunity to make that choice must not be allowed to pass untaken. When we speak of suffrage as both a right and a duty, we really mean that citizens must never abdicate for whatever reason their role as the source of all political authority in their society. From them, and only from them, must come the mandate to lead and govern.

Lend to this sacred exercise all the probity and care that befit a decision crucial to you, to your family, and to your country. Be in no doubt that from your collective mandate will arise the nation that we are destined to become.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the Second ASCOPE Conference and Exhibition, [October 7, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Second ASCOPE Conference and Exhibition**

[Delivered on October 7, 1981]

It is a singular privilege for the Philippines to host this year the second conference and exhibition of the ASEAN Council on Petroleum, and I want to express to you all the deep appreciation of our people and Government for this honor that you have bestowed upon us.

It says something of the gravity and importance of the energy issue that this conference of ASCOPE will be closely followed by the third meeting of ASEAN Energy Ministers scheduled for tomorrow, and that the very highest leaders within our region whose work relates to the critical sector of energy have journeyed here to Manila to participate in these meetings. Given the circumstances surrounding the issues and concerns of these meetings, it might seem untoward and unseemly to worry about amenities at this time, but let me say at least that we do hope that our preparations and facilities are satisfactory for you to do your work properly.

The agenda of these meetings virtually encompasses the whole and the details of the problems and challenges we face in the energy sector. Many intricate questions are involved in these discussions, and they are the kind which will determine the directions in which we will move, the projects we must implement, and the pace at which we will advance to cope and relieve ourselves from crisis. Providing as a backdrop to these discussions are the many other meetings and discussions that have taken place and have led us here, and I am fully aware of how such preparatory talks at sub-ministerial level have laid the foundations for some of the decisions that must and will be made.

In addressing this Assembly therefore, I shall not pretend to play the sage to this council of energy experts! But I would like if I may to share with you some perspectives on your conference agenda as one leader of one member country of our ASEAN community sees the energy situation today, and the hopes that he nurses about the future.

The ASEAN Council on Petroleum was born at a time of uncertainty and anxiety about the global energy situation. It developed from the felt need for our regional community to address with one voice and one will the problem of relief from the oil crisis. Individually, our nations faced this crisis with varying energy resource endowments and capacities, some under greater stress than others. But collectively, we all recognized the need to face the ordeal together.

Since the founding of ASCOPE in 1975 and the commencement of formal consultations among our Energy Ministers in 1980, the global energy situation has not substantively changed for the better. There is perhaps a little less hysteria today about the availability and price of crude oil, but there is no question that energy remains and will continue to be a dominant and pressing concern of our countries and governments.

We know for instance that energy demand in the region will continue to move upward, at a rate of up to 14 percent annually. It is generally believed that by the year 2,000, ASEAN oil requirement will reach some 7 million barrels a day.

In the meantime, with this long-term prognosis already a cause for worry, there are the immediate problems to confront: the uncertainties of oil supply and prices, the problems of financing immediate energy requirements, and the need to invest now in programs for relief in the future.

Fortunately, while the severity of the energy challenge has not changed, something has substantially changed in our perceptions and approaches to the problem since we organized ASCOPE and begun intensive consultations and discussions.

As we have begun within ASCOPE to develop a scheme for the sharing of petroleum resources and for developing capacities for oil exploration and extraction, we have also decisively moved forward into the critical need to develop alternative sources of energy within the region.

Back in 1977, when ASCOPE was still in its infancy, I said that in the matching of these priorities lies the prospect of ASEAN self-reliance in energy. That still holds true today, but in the light of our efforts since then, that prospect of self-reliance is not so illusory any more. Individually, within our countries, the issue of energy development has moved into the forefront of our planning for the future. Collectively, within ASEAN, we have begun to develop those institutional instruments whereby we can assist one another, undertake cooperative endeavors, and together map out a long term program to tap our region's energy resources and ensure our community's relief from the crisis.

It takes some confidence in ourselves and in our sense of community to believe that decisions taken now, and labor ventured into now, can make a difference in our future. At another time, this would have been inconceivable. But such has been the progress we have made in association, and such the growth of ASEAN since Bali in 1976, that we can take almost a sanguine view of the energy pressures today and shape a long-term vision of what we can do to ensure the future.

ASCOPE as our forum and mechanism for regional cooperation on petroleum-related matters is a vivid demonstration of this. Under its aegis, we have begun to unify our perspectives and strategies in such areas of common interest and concern, as manpower resource development, exchange of information and expertise in petroleum exploration, development and utilization; and emergency sharing in periods of critical crude and produce shortages.

The encouraging success of ASCOPE has been in an important way the seed from which the larger regional energy cooperation program has grown. In its wake, there have followed the consultations and discussions that have brought into regional consciousness the other actions that must be taken: cooperation in the development of renewable sources of energy.

Such an idea of a collective approach to the energy problem reflects so much promise for us because the differing endowments and circumstances of our countries in the face of the problem have not served to subdivide the unity of mind of our ASEAN community. Subdivisions within communities usually contain the dangers to consensus, as some begin to develop their own internal responses to problems. We have not had any of this.

Instead, almost from the first, and even before any one country could invoke the brave principles recognized by the ASEAN Council of Petroleum, the oil-producers of our community came to the aid of the other members. Some of us have shared of their scarce resources with others. Some have gone to the extent of making representation before the OPEC for other members of the community.

And collectively, we have jealously guarded and nurtured the principle of a regional solution to the energy problem.

When I say this, I am profoundly aware that our cooperative work in the energy sector has only begun to gather shape and direction. There are innumerable problems to face and decisions to make, many of which weigh heavily upon your meeting in Manila.

But may I say that this is the beginning we need, the foundation we must have to make our brave conceptions of the future work!

The most crucial foundation of all is the regional perspective we are at last developing in the energy sector. ASCOPE and the ASEAN committees have been instrumental in enriching our national perspectives with the idea of

regional strength, potentials, and capacity. We are aware that ASEAN is bountifully blessed with considerable energy resources, which if truly tapped can be adequate to meet needs.

We are conscious, too, that there are considerable advantages to be gained in adopting regional approaches to the utilization and management of the region's resources, which would not be possible if we merely embark separately on national energy development programs. As has been already well pointed out by many within the community, these advantages include among others the achievement of economies of scale in the prosecution of projects so obviously demanding of massive investments, the pooling of efforts in the critical sector of research and development in alternative sources of energy, the sharing and pooling of technical knowhow, and the development of power projects that can transcend the boundaries of nations within the regions.

That significant work is going on in the technical side of energy cooperation is to be seen in the many activities now being undertaken by various technical groups in such areas as coal exploration, development and utilization; science and technology research; power generation and development; energy conservation; and the various ASCOPE projects.

Significant also is the gathering consensus within the community to view third country assistance and international agency help in energy from a regional perspective, which is to say that we are collectively concerned now that every kind of assistance must be meaningful to the needs of the whole and instrumental to region-wide development.

All these efforts are highly commendable and useful. And they reflect the spirit in which we are moving in the field of energy development. But it also must be said that we must ever range these efforts against the grim perspective of the global energy situation, and that everyone of these activities must be fully prosecuted if they are ever to make a difference in the energy position of our region.

In this respect, we cannot help but feel that we are really facing in the energy sector the kind of task so vividly captured in Alice in Wonderland: that even to stay where we are, we already have to run very fast; and that to make progress, we have to run twice as wearisome and taxing a race.

We face here nothing less than a marathon run. Between the level of development that we must attain for our societies simply to remain afloat, and the tremendous energy requirements that such development implies, there is a formidable problem to answer that already taxes our will, our imagination, and our endurance.

Between the finitude of oil reserves, those already developed or potentially to be developed, and the alternative renewable sources of energy that must be explored and developed, there is another formidable gap to close.

Between the continuing rise of petroleum prices on which so much of our economic life today depend, and our capacity to make more efficient use of our energy resources, there is yet another task to hurdle.

And who is not aware of the tremendous financial burden that most developing countries must face in trying to meet their energy requirements today and in developing their energy resources for tomorrow.

We are in short engaged on many fronts, and the periodical which recently described the problem as "an ordeal with end" is not exactly exaggerating. As developing countries, we in ASEAN have been hit hard by the energy crisis, because our development efforts exhibit a very fast growth in energy demand, and we are not as economically resilient as developed countries in coping with skyrocketing energy costs and accelerating at the same time their energy development.

The real difference, I perceive, between our situation today, and the situation we were in before we gathered in this way to deal with problems together, has nothing to do with any easing in the gravity of the energy situation per se. It has to do with what we have learned together, what we have developed in the interval, and what is rising now in our national and regional approaches to the energy problem.

The crucial work is at last taking place.

In the policy sphere, a lot has been achieved in developing consensus on policies and strategies. We have come to recognize the need to diversify our energy base and to develop our energy resources.

Beyond identification of the problems, we are now moving into the practical work that must be borne. The cooperative idea, so easy to embrace as an ideal and yet so hard to work out in practice, is being fleshed out patiently and with determination in the various aspects and fields of energy development.

The technical preparation that oftentimes has hindered the practical side of coping with the energy problem is finally receiving the emphasis that is needed.

Finally, as to the commitment of our Governments to this long-term and demanding program of energy self-reliance for ASEAN, and of close collaboration among ourselves, of this we can no longer be in doubt.

These various strands of our collective response to the energy problem contain many challenges that will fully test us. But in themselves they already bear the prospects of our community for coping with the energy situation in this decade and beyond.

In your deliberations and in the meeting of ASEAN Energy Ministers, various proposals relating to key steps in this endeavor are up for discussion. I shall not comment on their details, beyond singling out the proposal that ASEAN now constitute a separate committee on energy cooperation, and express my Government's support for it. I believe with most of you that such a step will greatly aid in the accelerated development of a concerted ASEAN energy program.

There are so many aspects of the problem which we have only begun to address, and so many issues that clearly require collective response from our community. We should view our present efforts in energy cooperation as a stepping stone towards larger ventures, and also as a stage leading towards other stages in a region-wide energy program. By this I am suggesting that we should be able to move progressively from the kind of measures we are implementing today toward other kinds of cooperative arrangements.

Much that we can say today about where our attention should be focused and what actions we must take have been in a sense the recurring theme through the years since the birth of ASCOPE. Emphatically, the same message keeps coming to mind: that we must bring our sense of regional unity to bear upon our approach to the energy challenge, and that we must crystallize and expand functional cooperation among ourselves. The merit of remembering these as you embark upon your labors is that they have been proven by the progress we are making and they are the anchor for the long work before us.

We are long past dreaming that the energy crisis will ease of its own accord. Achieving for our region a measure of stability in a sphere of great uncertainty today is not an overnight venture. It is a process and a very long one. It can be hastened, it can be managed, and it can ease our respective situation along the way — if we have the will to cooperate, the insight into our problems and potentials, and the determination to sustain the long labor so clearly demanded.

Your deliberations in Manila, ladies and gentlemen, form part of this critical process, and I should like to hope in closing that you will have a most fruitful and pleasant meeting.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Proposed Radio Address of President Marcos on fertilizer subsidy [Filipino], [October 7, 1981](#)

**Iminungkahing Talumpati sa Radyo
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Ukol sa subsidiya sa pataba**

[Inilabas noong ika 7 ng Oktubre, 1981]

Minamahal kong mga kababayan lalo na, ng mga magsasaka ng palay, mais, mga gulay at niga iba pang tagapag-ani ng pagkaing pananim.

Ang mga magsasaka ay hindi dapat mabahala o maligalig sa pag-aalis ng tulong na halaga sa pataba sapagka't ito ay isasagawa sa pamamaraang unti-unti o sa loob ng dalawa hanggang tatlong taon, sa layuning ang alalay na halaga sa mga produkto agrikultura ay ka-alinsabay na tumaas upang makatugon sa karagdagang halaga ng pataba.

At sa loob ng panahong ito ng pag-aalis sa tulong ng halaga ng pataba, ang mga maliliit na magsasakang nagtatanim ng mga aning pagkain ay tutulungan ng Ministri ng Pagsasaka na mapalaki ang paggamit ng mga likas na patabang organiko at ng tinatawag na azolla na nagbibigay ng sapat na nitrohenon na kailangan ng pananim sa maliit na gastos.

Nais ko rin ipabatid na, ang 18% itinaas sa halaga ng pataba noong ika-23 ng Julio, 1981 ay nakapaloob na sa itinaas ng halaga ng palay na P1.55 bawat kilo mula sa dating halaga na P1.45 bawat kilo.

At upang matugunan ang pangyayaring ito, inaatasan ko ang National Food Authority na mamili ng palay sa mga magsasaka sa naturang halaga na P1.55 bawat kilo.

Bukod dito, inuutos ko pa rin na palakihin ang pamimili ng NFA mula sa 10 milyong kaban noong nakaraang anihan hanggang 20 milyong kaban simula ngayong Septiyembre at gamitin ang mga samahang nayon bilang mga ahente sa pamimili sa katiyakan ng pagbili mula sa magsasaka.

Inuulit ko na walang dapat ipag-alala ang mga magsasaka sapagka't wala nang gagawing iba pang pagtataas ng halaga ng pataba sa taong ito gayon din naman wala rin magiging pagtaas sa halaga ng palay at bigas at ina-atasan ko ang National Food Authority na panatilihin ang kasalukuyang halaga ng bigas na P2.85 bawat kilo.

Salamat po.

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Third Meeting of ASEAN Energy Ministers, [October 8, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Third Meeting of ASEAN Energy Ministers**

[Delivered on October 8, 1981]

I am happy to address this elite group of ASEAN delegates as you prepare to embark on your third meeting of ASEAN Economic Ministers on Energy Cooperation. It is a pleasure for me to be with you today and, in the best tradition of the Filipino people, allow me to welcome you to the Philippines. We in ASEAN have nurtured a time honored tradition of hospitality and, in the native spirit of ASEAN, I hope that you would enjoy your brief stay in our premier city, Manila.

I am sure that you will find in our country a number of things which are akin to your cultures. After all in our geographical closeness to one another we share a common race and a strikingly similar social and cultural life. But most important of these commonalities is our strong determination to forge ties and work toward development in the face of various world crises which confront us.

I note with satisfaction and pride the fruits borne by the firm resolve of our peoples. Never in its fourteen years of existence has ASEAN been as determined to achieve regional cooperation as it has today. While we were still in our formative years cynics often postulated that ASEAN would go the way of similar cooperative international aggrupations which tended to deteriorate into debating societies. But this has not been so with respect to ASEAN.

Cooperation among the member states has transcended the mere exchange of information on technical and legal matters. It has materialized to beneficial arrangements such as according priority to the supply of the individual member country's needs in critical circumstances.

That ASEAN has gained recognition as an effective regional aggrupation should not be an excuse for us to ease up in our efforts. If the progress we have so far achieved is to be sustained we should not tire of exploring new cooperative endeavors which would promote an improved quality of life for our peoples.

What I consider significant in ASEAN's ability to attune itself to the changing times was the ASEAN concord issued in Bali in 1976. As an offshoot of our meeting food and energy have been singled out as two basic commodities where cooperation in supply and production among the individual states shall be accorded priority.

The importance that we accorded to energy—second only to food—sprang from the all too unavoidable reality that in this day and age energy is one commodity all our societies cannot do without. It is the most essential variable, the most fundamental factor that will determine our capacity to achieve a better, more secure and more progressive quality of life for our people.

For us in the third world food and energy are the two most important commodities critical to our survival and progress. In a few weeks from now I shall attend a summit for survival in Cancun, Mexico where a North-South Dialogue will be held involving the rich developed countries and the poor third world nations. I shall be privileged to present in that summit conference the shared sentiments and aspirations of the group of 77 and certain proposals relating to the problems plaguing the international community. Invariably, energy surfaces as a predominant concern in today's economic and political scenario and energy cooperation is the only humane solution to achieve peace and world order.

We in ASEAN would like to think that the goal of energy cooperation is gradually being achieved. The problems of the world we share in our regional interaction, that cannot be helped. But unlike most of the rest of the world we have become more keenly aware of the intimate ties that bind the individual destinies of each ASEAN member nation with the rest of the region. We have formulated and have even begun to implement those mechanisms that would finally render this elusive goal a reality.

Your meeting then of Economic Ministers on Energy Cooperation provides special significance in the sense that this is once again another manifestation of how ASEAN is achieving regional development that contributed toward international order.

There is no doubt that ASEAN is blessed with a considerable amount of energy resources that vary from country to country. Much can, therefore, be afforded in adopting a regional approach to the use and management of these resources. The fact that there is a noteworthy differentiation of available resources within the region makes all the more possible and, in fact, desirable regional energy cooperation. The only technical impediment that I perceive refers to a basic system that would quantify the values to be attached to these resources. Each ASEAN member nation possesses certain specific endowments that all the other ASEAN nations require. Certainly with this starting point as a pragmatic rationale for energy cooperation we would be better able to surge ahead towards the goal total regional collaboration.

Our search for solutions to the energy crisis has an urgency addressed to the eighties. Knowing this I am certain that under your able guidance and responsible leadership as ministers many more paths toward cooperation would be forged; paths that are significant and far reaching; paths that are truly ASEAN.

While energy cooperation is conventionally meant to refer to cooperation with petroleum as the basic commodity we must not allow ourselves to be delimited to the matter of oil alone. We must, of course, continue and persist in our efforts to explore and tap petroleum resources in the region. On the other hand, we must learn to look ahead particularly on an issue as sensitive and crucial as energy. We must also devote ourselves to the search for development and utilization of alternative and renewable sources of energy. I would even venture that we to say that we must undertake this task with the same intensity, seriousness and sense of urgency that we give to our quest for more conventional energy sources. Already we have begun to feel that petroleum and other non-renewable energy sources are ultimately not limitless.

Although the journey toward establishing a self-reliant and prosperous region is long and winding we have every reason to be optimistic especially in the area of energy cooperation. A lot has already been achieved in the past. We can expect a lot more in the future.

Much of our hopes today are pinned on the structures of cooperation that this meeting of yours has been tasked to organize. We have reached that point in the development of ASEAN that energy cooperation must be pursued and sustained on the ministerial level. We, therefore, cannot but wholeheartedly support the timely suggestion to set up the proper mechanisms of cooperation for the useful exchange of information in primary and secondary sources of energy, research and development, and the transfer of energy technology. We therefore cannot but endorse the organization of the ASEAN Committee on Energy Cooperation.

Before ASEAN, every achievement had been a breakthrough, pioneering effort. But as we now move forward together, I see in every victory of ASEAN the distinguished and patient work of the ministers who have facilitated the work of the heads of government. I am confident of it. We heads of government often claim the honor of having performed the work but we know who did the bulk of the work. And to you, I extend my congratulations—the Energy Ministers, the Economic Ministers, Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors.

On behalf of the Filipino people I would like to assure this body of our commitment to foster this authentic spirit of cooperation in all our endeavors, the deep commitment of the Filipino to ASEAN—its philosophy, its strategy, its viewpoint.

With all these thoughts in mind, I take great pleasure in declaring this third meeting of ASEAN economic ministers on energy cooperation officially open. I wish you abiding success.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

**Proposed speech of President Marcos during a meeting with Filipino contract workers in Saudi Arabia,
October 23, 1981**

**Proposed speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During a meeting with Filipino contract workers in Saudi Arabia**

[Delivered on October 23, 1981]

Ikinagagalak kong ipahatid sa lahat ng mga manggagawang Pilipino na kasalukuyang nanunungkulan dito sa Kaharian ng Saudi Arabia ang malugod na pagbati at pagpugay ng ating mga kababayan. Kami ay nasisiyahan na makatagpo at makapiling kayong lahat sa pagkakataong ito. Sa dinamidami ng ng mga Pilipinong nagkatipon-tipon dito ay tila hindi pa tayo nakalalayo sa ating sariling bansa, at tila nasa Plaza Miranda pa lamang tayo. Kung hindi ako nagkakamali marami sa inyo ay nakaharap ko na sa mga iba't ibang pagpupulong. Alam din namin na marami sa inyo ay nagnanais muling makapulog kami upang ipaabot sa ating pamahalaan ang mga suliraning gumugulo sa mga manggagawang Pilipino dito sa Saudi Arabia at sa buong Gitnang Silangan.

Bagamat ang pangunahing pakay ng aming paglakbay dito sa Kaharian ng Saudi Arabia ay upang higit pang gawing matatag ang ugnayan sa pagitan ng ating dalawang bansa, ibig din namin mapag-alaman ang kalagayan ng mga manggagawang Pilipino na nagsusumikap maghanap-buhay dito. Walang ibang pinag-aabalahan ang inyong pamahalaan kundi ang kapakanan ng mga manggagawang Pilipino. Hindi ko na marahil kailangan bigyan diin pa na napakalaki ang pakinabang na inyong naidudulot para sa ating bansa lalu na sa ating pambansang ekonomiya. Nararapat lamang na ipagtanggol ng Pamahalaang Pilipino ang dangal at interes ng mga manggagawang Pilipino saan mang pook, sa anumang pagkakataon.

There are now over 150,000 Filipinos working in this Kingdom, the largest concentration of Filipino workers in any part of the Middle East. This fact alone is indicative of the special character of the ties between Saudi Arabia and the Philippines. And the uniqueness of our relations with this country and her people underlies my mission at this time. It is a mission of friendship, whose main objective to make even stronger what for us is a vital international link. I perhaps need not emphasize the invaluable contribution of this Kingdom to our nation, especially to our economic life. Much of the fuel that we require to sustain the momentum of our economic growth comes from Saudi Arabia. While we have been engaged in a massive program to lessen our nation's dependence on imported energy sources, we cannot escape the reality that for the present and in the immediate future we would have to have access to foreign energy fuels. However, I must stress that these purely economic imperatives are not the only bases for our desire to maintain and further our friendly relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

More than four million Muslim Filipinos look to Saudi Arabia as the spiritual leader of Islam, which was introduced by Arab missionaries to our shores in the 14th century. Were it not for the tragic accident of western colonialism and imperialism, our entire nation would perhaps have embraced the religion which teaches, among others, the brotherhood of all men.

In these modern times, our two nations are asserting a different type of brotherhood that is best expressed in our comradeship in the third world movement. As nations aspiring for the blessings of full development, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Philippines are united in the desire to liberate themselves from the chains of limited growth that has been imposed upon us. We are firm in our belief that only the world's developing peoples can truly extricate themselves from these impositions. We are firm in our belief that the world's developing nations are confronted by common adversary and as such, our hope lies in strengthening mutually beneficial relations among ourselves. It is in this light that we must view the presence of thousands of Filipino workers in this kingdom so distant from our land.

I would like to think of your work here as proof of the Philippines' earnestness in pursuing the objective of third world brotherhood. While each of you may have travelled to this land for a variety of personal reasons, you are in

the process helping to build an industrialized society, whose dreams are not much different from our own. We too share the same aspirations. We too would like to benefit from industrial growth. And, in behalf of the Filipino people, I must express the appreciation of the entire nation to the thousands of Filipino workers stationed overseas. The foreign exchange generated by Filipino workers overseas has helped cushion to a substantial degree the adverse effects of recent economic dislocations that have bedevilled the world economy. Your contributions to the national economy have served to reinforce our people's confidence that the objective of development and economic growth is still within our reach and fully attainable.

It is because of the indispensable role that you, the Filipino overseas workers, play in our national economy that your government has been especially conscientious and vigilant in protecting your interests and safeguarding your welfare, in addition to broadening our ties with host countries to overseas Filipino labor. This policy was articulated as early as 1974 when the government took a positive step in encouraging overseas employment with the creation of the Overseas Employment Development Board and the National Seamen Board. Six years later, this policy was pursued even further with the Promulgation of Decree no. 1691 which amended certain provisions of our labor code. Among others, it vested on the OEDB the authority to service and enter into recruitment agreements with foreign government ministries, agencies and entities. As the state placement agency, the OEDB began to function as the conduit for the hiring of Filipino workers by foreign government employers. However, there remains the need to safeguard the welfare of Filipino overseas workers at the jobsite as well as to market Filipino service packages abroad. It is for these same reasons that a Middle East regional center is being set up by your government, through the Ministry of Labor and Employment, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Trade and Industry, to open up new markets for Filipino skills and entrepreneurship. At present, we are coping with these demands through four labor attaches, two of whom are based in Jeddah, one in Kuwait and another in Iraq.

Nevertheless, your government still feels strongly that much more must be done to strengthen and institutionalize the presence of Filipino entrepreneurs and service workers in the Middle East. After a thorough review of the prevailing system of government support to Filipino overseas workers, we have found that the attaché machinery has become inadequate in dealing with the demands of recent developments, especially in the area of servicing the needs and extending protection to the continuously growing pool of Filipino labor overseas. We expect these needs to become even more critical this year.

Current projections are that by 1982, the Philippines would have deployed more than a quarter of a million workers in various foreign destinations. Combined with our aggressive corporate manpower export strategy, the country expects to generate a total of three billion dollars from the activities of Filipino overseas workers like yourselves.

These projections are not the result of wishful thinking. The long-term development plans of many Middle Eastern countries, including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, indicate that this area will continue to be a major livelihood source for Filipino overseas workers and contract entrepreneurs. From consultations with officials of the various Middle East governments, we have found that the bulk of contracting work will still be in Saudi Arabia, which seems every bit determined to pursue its program of laying the foundations for a modern, industrialized society. We have been informed that the Saudi government's 1980-1985 development plan has set aside a total expenditure amounting to around 235 billion dollars, with an additional 50,000 million dollars to cover inflationary adjustments. Investments in infrastructure will constitute a full 30 percent of total state expenditures. For Filipino overseas workers, these hefty outlays should mean that the Middle East, particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, will continue to be a bright prospect for livelihood in the near future.

The Philippine government, however hopeful it may be of such favorable prospects, has not been blind to the difficulties which a number of our compatriots have been experiencing. We know only too well that our program for the overseas employment of Filipino workers has been confronted by a wide range of problems. We fully realize that some Filipino workers have been victims of substandard accommodation facilities. Contract violations, unfavorable working conditions, discrimination in pay scale relative to other expatriate workers as well as the continuing inability of Filipino contractors to successfully compete with multinational contractors for Saudi Arabian projects.

Napag-alaman din namin na pinagsasamantalahan ng mga ilang pangkat na lumalaban sa ating pamahalaan ang mga suliraning ito upang mangalap ng mga kasapi para sa kanilang kilusan dito sa Saudi Arabia. Bagaman iilan lamang sa ating mga kababayan ang kanilang nalilinlang, kami ay nangangamba na kung ipagpapatuloy ng mga pangkat na

ito ang kanilang mapanghidwang pagkilos ay mapapanganib ang ating programang tulungan ang mga manggagawang Pilipino nanungkulan sa ibang bansa. Marahil, hindi na namin kailangan ipaliwanag pa na ang pamahalaan ng Kaharian ng Saudi Arabia ay may sinusundan na mahigit na patakaran hinggil sa mga mapanligalig na elemento. kasalukuyang tinitingala sa pook na ito ang mga manggagawang Pilipino dahil sa inyong kasipagan at kasinupan sa paggawa. subalit kung ang mga manggagawang Pilipino ay pagsisimulan ng gulo at ligalig sa lipunan, asahan ninyo na ang pamahalaan ng Saudi Arabia mismo ay gagawa ng hakbang upang tigilin ang kilusang ito. Sa mga kababayan nating may ibang paniniwala, kami ay nakikiusap na huwag sana nila ilagay sa panganib ang kabuhayan ng libo-libong manggagawang Pilipinong nanungkulan dito sa Kaharian ng Saudi Arabia. para sa kanila at sa kanilang naiwang kamag-anak sa ating bansa, ang isyu ng kabuhayan ay walang kinikilalang ideyolohiya.

Nevertheless, we recognize only too well the seriousness of the problems now confronting Filipino workers, not only here in Saudi Arabia but in other countries as well. In response to these conditions the Philippine government, in coordination with the officials of the concerned foreign government, is initiating several measures which are aimed at resolving problems and difficulties. In this area, for instance, we are proposing that a joint team of Saudi Arabian and Filipino economic planners conduct a survey of manpower and service requirements of the development plans of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This team will determine how surplus manpower in the Philippines can be most efficiently deployed in an envisioned employment program involving Saudi Arabia. As in other similar undertakings, it will be pursued on the basis of mutual benefit and respect.

We also intend to promote bilateral labor relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of the Philippines through protocol agreements and organized exchanges between our two countries. From these protocol agreements we expect to formulate and finalize the general agenda for cooperation in the field of labor, employment and manpower development between Saudi Arabia and the Philippines. A principal item in these agreement will be the protection and the enhancement of the welfare of Filipino overseas workers. Like ourselves, the government of Saudi Arabia is just as concerned about alleviating the difficulties and problems faced by some of our workers. With the adoption of these agreements, we shall have established the mechanism that will facilitate the safeguarding of the rights of our workers, and the assurance for their continued and beneficial employment overseas.

Towards this direction, the establishment of the Philippine labor center in Jeddah is a first and important step. your government plans to put up similar centers in other areas in the Middle East where there are substantial concentrations of Filipino workers, such as the industrial cities of Riyadh and Dubai. These centers will function on a semi-government basis, tasked with the primary mission of extending protection to Filipino overseas workers against exploitation and injustices that may be committed against them by foreign employers. The absence of such a mechanism in the past partially explains the inability of the Philippine government as well as the governments of the host countries to fully safeguard the welfare of our overseas workers. Since these centers will coordinate their activities with the relevant agencies of the host governments, they are also expected to upgrade our diplomatic presence in the Middle East and promote bilateral or protocol agreements in trade, investment, contracting and employment.

We have also received a number of complaints regarding the prevailing methods of salary remittances. We would like to assure all of you that our government is currently finalizing a package of financial incentives designed to maximize the income-generating capabilities of Filipino overseas workers in this area.

Kinikilala ng inyong pamahalaan at ng buong sambayanang Pilipino ang pagpupunyagi ng mga manggagawang Pilipinong nanungkulan sa ibang bansa. Ipinagmamalaki ng ating mga kababayan ang mga kakayahan ng mga manggagawang Pilipinong tulad ninyo; ang reputasyon na inyong nilikha sa mga pook tulad ng Saudi Arabia. Ang reputasyong din ito na bunga ng inyong magandang halimbawa ang siyang nagbibigay pag-asa para sa mga iba pang manggagawang Pilipino na mapaunlad ang kanilang kabuhayan. Kinikilala din ng buong sambayanang Pilipino ang mga sakripisyong inyong pinapasan alang-alang sa mabuting kapakanan ng inyong kamag-anakan at pati na ng buong bansa. Kayo ay mga ulirang mamamayan; Mga Pilipinong hand ang magbanat ng buto at magbuwis ng pawis upang makamit ang maliwanag na kinabukasan ng ating bayan. Sa ngalan ng buong sambayanang Pilipino, kami ay nagbibigay pugay sa inyong pagsusumikap.

Mabuhay		ang		manggagawang		Pilipino!
Mabuhay	ang		Kaharian	ng	Saudi	Arabia!
Mabuhay ang Pilipinas!						

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on advertising and its social purpose, [November 3, 1981](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On advertising and its social purpose**

[Delivered on November 3, 1981]

I am pleased to add my welcome to those already expressed by the organizers of this Congress. I especially wish a pleasant stay in the Philippines for the participants from the ASEAN countries, Japan, Hong Kong, Papua New-Guinea and the United States.

I am sorry that this morning you'll have to be content with second best: Mrs. Marcos has had to fulfill an urgent engagement at the General Assembly. I shall try to represent her as best as I can — though, I'm sure that however I try I can never look half as nice.

I am told that this will be a “learning” Congress: that its workshop will bring to you the latest state-of-the-art in advertising and marketing from the West — particularly from the American industry's acknowledged expertise and sophisticated technologies.

The Congress' objective — to make the Philippine, the Asian, advertising industry more professional and more effective — is one that I can wholeheartedly endorse, particularly since we so want to improve the attraction of our product-lines in the export markets of the rich countries.

Beyond this coincidence of purpose, I am pleased to be asked here this morning. Politicians and advertising people do have a natural affinity, in that both our professions depend for their success on their ability to persuade their constituencies and their markets.

Even the social criticism of our two professions raises the same question: “persuasion to what purpose?”

Persuasion is, of course, the basic instrument for the exercise of power in the modern state. Yet, politicians are often accused of wanting power merely to perpetuate themselves in office.

And how often have you yourselves been labelled as the “hidden persuaders,” who entice people into buying goods they do not need, to satisfy wants they do not really have?

Advertising's social purpose is increasingly being questioned — not only in the affluent West but by statesmen and thinkers in the new countries.

The Western and the Third World critics approach the question of advertising's public purpose from opposite ends.

For instance, Professor Galbraith indicts Madison Avenue for creating popular wants merely to absorb the excess productive capacity of Western industry — productivity that should really go to redressing scarce public investment, and so put an end to public squalor amid private affluence.

By contrast, Third World statesmen fear that advertising may be raising popular wants beyond the underdeveloped economy's capacity to fulfill them. It is in this spirit that the Indonesian government, for one, has (since April this year) banned television commercials, concerned over their harmful effects on overwhelmingly rural audiences.

Both criticisms imply advertising's ability to manipulate the consumer — a widespread fear that I think is somehow related to the controversy over "motivational research" in the 1950s.

The fear among poor-country leaderships that advertising inordinately raises popular wants, and should therefore be stifled, seems to me especially significant. For it was not so long ago that we all regarded advertising as a handmaiden of economic growth, as a motive power of development.

I think that this fear reflects the generally chastened spirit of today's poor countries — a spirit so different from the euphoric hopes raised by independence.

For political freedom has not on every occasion brought economic development as its logical consequence. The revolution of expectations has been largely submerged by a counter-revolution that Professor Galbraith has recently identified as the "equilibrium of poverty."

Taken together, the poor countries do sometimes feel as though they are slipping back — exhausted from the gigantic effort to wrench themselves free from the gravitational pull of tradition.

We in the Philippines have chosen to open our economy to most influences from the outside world. Our linkages with the international economy are stronger than those of most developing countries. Yet we too often feel this pull of accustomed ways, of values older and more comforting than our new hankering for the products of modernity.

It is by now a truism to say that cultural attitudes help determine whether or not economic development will take place. How much importance a culture awards to work, to material possessions, to consumption, and saving — all of these will influence its rate of growth.

Naturally, political leaderships and governments seek to reinforce in their constituencies those cultural values that favor development, and to deflect those that do not. In this work, we recognize advertising as a natural ally, whose immediate purposes coincide with ours.

Our Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran — a new livelihood program founded on local self-help and resources at town and provincial level — enjoys the active support of the Philippine advertising community. So have our earlier programs of political reform and social development.

We do have our differences — government and the advertising community — and I for one have not minced words in protesting what I regard as the exploitation of sex, for instance, or the exaggeration of violence, in some forms of mass-advertising.

By persuasion, by incentives and by force of law if necessary, we fully intend to keep Philippine advertising focused on its social purpose as much as on its commercial viability.

In the West and in Japan, I have noted the increasing proportion of commercial advertising devoted to topics like ecology, conservation, culture or public health. I should be most pleased if Philippine advertising takes a similar interest in these public-service causes.

While I regard advertising's reputation of being manipulative as somewhat exaggerated, we in government do recognize its potential power as a factor in the development of mass-media.

We are necessarily concerned about its well being, its level of technical skill, and its degree of professionalism, I for these reasons, I reiterate my welcome of this congress; wish its deliberations all success; and congratulate its organizers and participants.

Thank you very much; and a good morning to you all.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Draft speech of President Marcos for the 7th Philippine Business Conference, [November 5, 1981](#)

**Draft speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
For the 7th Philippine Business Conference**

[Delivered at the Philippine Plaza, November 5, 1981]

Two weeks ago, I left the country to join the leaders from twenty-one developed and developing countries, in Cancun, for two days the world waited with concern and anxiety, as we addressed a moral problem that exists in the world today . . . a problem that is the outcome of lost opportunities, of mistrust and discord among nations, of a progressive decay of the fabric of international relations.

We went to Cancun, with one objective, one goal for mankind, . . . to restore harmony among nations, to establish once more the willingness of countries to work together, to re-emphasize the realization that ours is a closely interdependent world, a world where long-term growth is not possible for any group of countries unless other nations are given the same and equal opportunity to participate in that growth. Cancun, for developing countries like ours, was an opportunity to impress upon the developed countries of the north, the need to redefine “fairness” in international relations, to evolve a definition that stresses equity and emphasizes mutuality.

I went to Cancun not only for our people but for ASEAN, for our neighbors and brothers with whom we share dreams of advancement in a region where cooperation prevails, where regional concerns are attended to and accommodated even as national interests are respected.

I went to Cancun for the many millions of people in developing countries, in the poorest of nations, for the people who are too pre-occupied with survival. They needed, more than anyone else, to be heard in Cancun, so even as I took the journey with our people foremost in my mind, I took it too for ASEAN, for the group of seventy-seven countries whom we hosted in Manila and whose concerns I have had the honor to articulate in Nairobi. I went to Cancun to try and free man not only from hunger but from the cruel starvation of the spirit.

I went to Cancun, skeptical that the summit will accomplish much; I left Cancun very hopeful and with great optimism. For in Cancun we made the first step. We discussed in detail the needs and concerns of developing and developed countries, to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding and a deeper perception and awareness of each other’s aspirations and problems. In Cancun, we were able to prepare the groundwork for more thorough and definitive discussions and negotiations on how our ideas and our concerns for the welfare of man, will be translated to actual programs and services, in Cancun, the developing countries discussed vital issues particularly in the field of food production, cooperation in energy development, the international monetary system and world trade. We also took time out for bilateral talks to forge a commitment to work together, in international fora, to strengthen our resolve and argue our cause more effectively.

And in returning, I am truly happy to tell you that we are hopeful for we see in Cancun an affirmation of the humanism that will allow us all to survive and prosper.

I am glad to be with you here today, to be among the pillars of the business community of our country for I see here a local version of what we had in Mexico, in Cancun. My confidence that this undertaking will yield more decisive and immediate results is even greater . . . For in the years I have served this country, on mandate of our people, I have never wavered in my trust in your humanity, in your concern for your countrymen.

My confidence is magnified even further because this is the seventh Philippine Business Conference and seven has always been a lucky number for our country. Like Cancun therefore, let us herewith resolve with firm determination to make a decisive start, a steadfast commitment to improve the quality of life of our people.

I would like to stress on this 7th Philippine Business Conference that if developed countries of the north are to continue with their own growth, they must provide for and assist in the growth of the developing countries of the south, the same principle is true in every country's pursuit of economic development. The growth of all our sectors must be pursued parallel to each other. We must realize that long term development is possible only if no sector advances at the expense of other sectors; that the rich could not get much richer if the poor continues to be poor that industry could not grow and profit indefinitely if consumer welfare is not adequately and responsively served.

Let this business conference seek to demonstrate and emphasize that the limits to our growth will manifest itself much sooner than later, when a sector's development is made at the expense of another and when we fail to recognize the reinforcing relationship among sectors.

Let this business conference seek to demonstrate and emphasize that the principle of balanced development and concurrent growth applies to geographic regions as much as it does to economic, commercial and industrial sectors. . that Luzon could not grow independently of the Visayas and Mindanao, that Metro Manila cannot grow independently of her surrounding rural Hinterland.

Let this business conference seek to demonstrate and emphasize that, corollary to the need for coordinated growth of all sectors and regions, is the acceptance that the true test of our country's development must be the extent to which the common man shares in the benefits of progress, that development must be measured on the extent to which such development improves the quality of life of our poorest.

Notwithstanding the turbulent international economic situation, the uncertainties caused by the unpredictable movement of oil prices that has threatened to erode the economic gains we have so painstakingly earned, we have posted significant achievements through dynamic and effective management of our economic resources, we have increased the capacity of our economy to provide meaningful employment to our ever growing labor force in this country, turning the tide of unemployment and reducing the number to 5% as compared to about 7.5% in the sixties. If we consider that every year we see an additional six hundred thousand seeking employment for the first time, and if we consider further that the area for expansion for agriculture has a finite limit which is being rapidly approached, the reduction is a cause for great satisfaction.

In addition to providing jobs, we have increased the earnings, the effective take home pay, particularly of our wage workers by more than 300% of the 1970 level thereby assuring greater purchasing power for this group, even more important, whereas the private incomes of the poorer 50% of our people was only 17.6% of total income in 1971, we now see the same segment of population taking 20.5% of the total value.

Self sufficiency in basic commodities, particularly food, has been achieved even in this turbulent period. The land reform and the Masagana 99 programs have transformed the country, traditionally dependent on rice imports, to a respectable exporter of the staple. The Biyayang Dagat more statistics loans credit program for small fishermen, launched in 1979, augmented the total fish catch by an estimated fourteen thousand metric tons a year later in 1980 thus contributing significantly to government's nutrition program which has identified the shortage of protein food as a major problem.

The efficient delivery of health services and improved nutrition have added four years to the life expectancy of Filipinos, from 58 years in 1970 to 62 years today and significantly reduced infant mortality from 80 per thousand to 66 per thousand for the same period.

We have also embarked on a program to provide decent and adequate shelter and housing facilities, not only in the key cities where the shortage in housing is critically felt but also in the rural areas where we also need good housing facilities. The human settlements approach that incorporates the provision of employment opportunities and facilities for culture and recreation has benefited around 350 thousand individuals in the communities and livelihood centers established by the government. In addition, the government has established the Pag-Ibig (the home development mutual fund) with a present membership of approximately 700 thousand.

Availability of education to the population has increased resulting in an enrollment of 12.4 million in school-year 1980-1981, about 3 million more than the school-year 1970-1971 figure.

The government has also invested in infrastructure facilities to link farms to markets, to physically integrate our archipelago and to encourage regional dispersal of industries. As of 1980, government built more than 129 thousand kilometers of roads or very close to twice as many roads built in 1970, a ratio maintained in almost all other projects in ports, bridges and irrigation.

We have considerably reduced our dependence on imported fuel oil, as well as saved substantial foreign exchange from our oil import bill, a most sensitive matter from the national political and economic security points of view, from 95% in the early seventies to about 83% today. We managed to do this through the implementation of an accelerated energy development program which gives balanced emphasis to oil exploration, development of non-conventional energy sources and energy conservation.

Inflation which has been seemingly uncontrollable in most other developing countries was controlled at 11.1% today, as compared to a high of 23.8% at the end of the first quarter last year.

We have recently experienced and survived one the most trying financial crisis in our history. Having learned painful lessons from the disturbances that rocked our financial system, we could rest assured that efficient management could now allow us to pursue a more vigorous development effort, with greater financial stability and assurance.

We can say that we have managed to endure and grow in spite the economic aberrations of the last two years.

And yet, we can ill afford to take a pause and rest in these accomplishments. . . for there are still herculean tasks that must be done. Even as we cite statistics, the same statistics are changing, requiring from us the persistence to continue in our struggle, to improve tomorrow on the figures we cite today. We must measure up through courage and creativity, to the exacting demands of national development in a dynamic global environment whose waves of change continue to lash our shores.

I have on many occasions, discussed the policies and measures that we in the Philippines are taking in the area of commerce and industry, in reaction to the prevailing world wide economic uncertainties and difficulties.

Let me do so again today before this important forum.

Our industrialization policy for the 1980's and the decades after, shall emphasize the need to establish an industrial sector which is world competitive and which will build on our strength and consistent with our national economic objectives.

Selectivity shall be emphasized in choosing the sectors we will promote and whose development we will aggressively pursue, for we are a country blessed with abundant natural resources, therefore, rather than spread our investments precariously thin with the intention of producing all that we need, we should put our resources and skills in industries which we can operate with comparative advantage, in sectors and projects that would put to good use our highly literate and trainable labor force, in sectors and projects that would process indigenous raw materials and resources from our soil, mountains and seas for the local as well as the export market.

Complementary to this, we are undertaking an aggressive but focused export promotion program that is product and market specific, we will promote exports aggressively to earn the foreign exchange we need to offset our growing import bill, disturbingly inflated by the escalating foreign exchange requirement for oil imports, and to better service our foreign debt so we may expand our capacity to borrow for our productive investments needs.

It should be properly understood however, that while we need to earn foreign exchange, the government's insistence on world competitiveness for local industry stems primarily from the commitment to make available to the millions of Filipinos the goods and services they need, at the right price and quality.

The welfare of our people should always remain the paramount consideration, the focal point of each and every policy and program we choose to undertake. We would have accomplished nothing if we finally industrialized this country at the expense of the Filipino; if we earn foreign exchange by forcing our people to subsidize our export sales. Let exports therefore be a natural consequence of our insistence on competitiveness, not its primary purpose.

We intend to make the presence of the Philippines felt in all major trading centers in the world through the establishment of an international network of overseas trading offices. Our product specific and market specific strategy, together with the aggressive export promotion program is envisioned to result in a more stable and diversified package of manufactured products sold to a far greater number of markets, thereby reducing the country's susceptibility to the unpredictable swings of commodity prices and economic disequilibrium that cause certain markets of certain commodities to cyclically weaken and slump.

To allow small and medium scale firms to participate more extensively in our export drive, to encourage entrepreneurship among our people, to promote specialization for greater productivity, our government will encourage subcontracting operations between large companies with small and medium ones. Our large companies must earn the trust and confidence of the small and medium industries. They in turn, through their performance, must earn the respect of the large companies.

As part of the over-all program of strengthening the industrial sector, government shall put equal emphasis on manpower development, to improve on the productivity of both labor and management thereby enhancing the most significant resource of our country, to preserve our comparative advantage not only in labor intensive operations but to assert our capability in skills-intensive industries as well. Productivity must be improved that we may increase the earning capacity of our labor force without adversely affecting the ability of industry to expand and assure even more generation of employment.

I have studied and consulted the cabinet on the proposals you have compiled from your members on problems that concern you and on the administrative reforms you wish government to undertake. Your workshops during the last two days, I am sure, have yielded more proposals for the consideration of government, many of these require further study to see how best to ensure that all sectors are given the same treatment, to design and plan how best to implement them.

Let me respond to some of the issues you have raised.

While government needs to continue assuring consumers of a steady supply of food at affordable prices, it also recognizes that price ceilings must be flexible enough to adequately serve the interests of the producers and traders.

Government is decided to assign the operation of public utilities largely to the private sector and will supervise the sector only to ensure that the level and quality of service are adequate for the public needs.

Government will actively support research activities and programs in science and technology, to serve the needs of industry in the development of appropriate technology, and innovative products, utilizing to best advantage our indigenous materials.

Government will put greater priority on the improvement of communication facilities in support of the industry dispersal program. And to improve access to business information so critical to industrial development.

Government will continue to evaluate its own policies and programs, as well as its administrative mechanism; that they may be made more relevant responsive to business.

We call on the private sector to suggest and offer ideas as we believe that you are in the best position to tell government the assistance you need.

So today, as you call on government for assistance and support, for guidance and direction, we lay before you programs which we intend to pursue for a balanced and coordinated development of all sectors and areas in this country.

The implementation of the national livelihood program, the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran is a top its social dimension priority of the new republic. It shall revolve around the popular mobilization of entrepreneurial initiatives at the grass roots, to bring to the barangay level, productive undertakings that will direct industries, both large and small, to disperse and provide employment opportunities to our people in the countryside, and encourage the needed link-up between our agricultural and manufacturing sectors.

The successful implementation of the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran depends on the ability of a great number of sectors to work together to complement rather than to compete with one another. To succeed, we must effect a realization of oneness, of inter-dependence between the farmers and the manufacturers, the producers and the consumers, the labor and the management groups; financing firms and entrepreneurs, the big and the small firms, the local and national governments and finally, effect the realization of the oneness and the close inter-dependence of the people and the government.

The First Lady, I was informed, has met with you on the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. What remains for me to emphasize therefore at this point is that, just as I had to go to Cancun and just as the world must agree to evolve a new international economic order, we need to forge an alliance for our people, to jointly pursue our goals and objectives, to undertake and implement our programs hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder and with one mind, with a common vision or fail dismally as individuals who refuse to recognize our inherent inter-dependence.

Therefore even as we look back to Cancun, even as we look forward to future international negotiations and Fora that will pursue our initiatives in Mexico, even as we await the time when our more advanced partners realize that in helping us, they are only helping themselves, we must look to ourselves and to each other with greater resolve to work together. Before we could hope that nations will learn to trust each other, we need to know how to trust ourselves.

We have in the country today, a government we evolved ourselves; patterned after the accepted principles of democracy, but a Filipino government, because it is designed by Filipinos to suit the Filipino temperament, to serve the Filipino aspirations, and to manage the Filipino character.

We have in our country today, a government never more vested with the mandate of the people; never more composed of individuals whose commitment and capabilities are equal to the demands of the time; never more willing to accept the challenge of direct accountability, to be judged by their intentions and accomplishments.

I come here as the leader of that government, as a representative of our people, just as you are the chosen representatives of our business community. I come here in the spirit of dialogue, with only my ideas for national development, my commitment to our people and my dream of greatness for our country.

I call on the private sector to share in this vision, to take up the challenge and give a hand in support of our development thrusts. I call on the private sector to break away from timidity and lead in taking the risks with foresight, in avoiding stagnation by concentrating less on apprehensions and more on initiative and imagination.

I call on the private sector to assist government in establishing a new business code of ethics and in disciplining and policing its own ranks.

I call on the private sector to direct their energies to promoting the common good rather than in pursuing parochial interests. We ask you all these for we are looking to you as a vital partner in nation building.

Government can set the direction but it cannot do nor should it do everything. Only one thing could guarantee success in our effort, active support and cooperation.

I trust that the Philippine chamber of commerce and industry, in leading our business community, and having defined “the challenge of growth in the new republic” will make this 7th Philippine Business Conference a milestone in our country’s economic history.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 24th International Conference of the Red Cross, November 7, 1981

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 24th International Conference of the Red Cross**

[Delivered on November 7, 1981]

On behalf of the Government and people of the Philippines, I am pleased to welcome all of you— participants and guests of the twenty-fourth International Conference of the Red Cross.

As you may have heard, Manila has recently become an increasingly popular place for international meetings and conferences. Even so, we are especially honored by your International Committee's decision to hold its 1981 Meeting in our capital city, and by the presence here today of so many distinguished Red Cross delegates from so many countries. I can only hope that the warmth of our hospitality becomes proportionate to our affection and respect for the Red Cross— and all that it stands for.

Like most of the world's peoples, we Filipinos regard the Red Cross as embodying the noblest impulses of man. We look to your organization's service to humanity of well over a century—a cause that we have tried to share, no matter how modestly—as somehow an affirmation of our own solidarity with all of mankind.

As one of the 150 nations that are signatories to the Red Cross-initiated Geneva Conventions, the Philippines is committed wholeheartedly to the principles for which your organization stands.

Our country has also been a beneficiary of the Red Cross' ministrations, whenever it has met its share of natural calamities. In times of flood and typhoon, volcanic eruptions, great fires or epidemics, Filipinos have learned to look to the Red Cross for kindness and sympathy—symbolic acts that are often even more comforting than material help, particularly during those times when the more conventional mechanisms of social welfare and relief break down.

The example of the Red Cross has also made the doing of good works—acts of altruism—that much easier for us. For, the Red Cross, in helping us when we most needed help, has taught us how to share.

Filipinos have a saying that, in paraphrase, goes like this: “a single act of kindness is like a pebble thrown into a still pool: it creates ripples all along the water and so ends up much bigger than it was at the beginning.”

This is what had prompted us, without a moment's hesitation, to decide to provide a haven for those who fled their troubled homelands at the height of the Indochina troubles.

There were those who said, then, that such an act would incur the enmity of some of our neighbors. Even while realizing this, we still acted calmly on our decision. For we had neither the leisure—nor the inclination—to inquire into the political affinities or the racial background of those who came out of the seas into our territorial waters. To us they were simply fellow human-beings in distress—and we were proud to do what we could do for them, to share with them the little that we have of peace and safety and compassion.

The philosophers tell us that the mark of man's ascent from his primeval beginnings is his increasingly sharpened sensibility to the sufferings of his fellow-man. We in the Philippines regard the Red Cross as the guardian of this still-fragile moral sensibility, which defines man's humanity.

Having said this, I must however tell you candidly of our apprehension about the attempts of some quarters to compromise the Red Cross tradition of being non-partisan.

The Geneva Conventions and its protocols are sacred institutions, testaments to humanitarianism. In natural and social environments wracked by turmoil, these documents have worked to check the momentum of violence.

During fits of human fury, the Geneva Conventions and its protocols define the norms of civilized behavior—reestablishing sanity amid the madness that men still inflict on themselves with disturbing regularity. That the Geneva Conventions and the additional protocols have on the whole been observed is a reflection not only of their intrinsic worth, but also a credit to the organization which campaigns hardest for their observance — the Red Cross.

As an organization whose sole concern and involvement are defined entirely by the precepts of humanitarianism, the Red Cross has an international prestige that no similar organization can claim.

Its determination to remain aloof from political or ideological consideration; its capacity to resist the machinations of less-commendable interests; its historic record of selflessness and self-sacrifice; all these have given the Red Cross a unique influence and persuasiveness that other international and often better-endowed organizations can only aspire to.

Because of this unique influence and prestige that it possesses, the Red Cross must ever be vigilant against those who would use it for their own political and partisan interests. It must also take every care in dealing with the prickly nationalism of the new countries.

It is true that internationalism has, since the League of Nations, been the acknowledged ideal of the world community. Yet until now we—both the new nations and the old—live in the era of nationalism. Particularly in the Third World, this sense of nationalism is jealously guarded—perhaps because it is still so precarious and uncertain.

Many of the developing societies must still concern themselves, above everything else, with the task of political and economic consolidation. The character and extent of this process may vary from one nation to the other. But it must be completed before these new societies can take their rightful places as self-confident nation-states of the world community.

In this process of national integration, the new nations may sometimes be forced into policy decisions and adjustments that may seem harsh and authoritarian to older societies, whose own civic tradition is secure. When this happens, one can only hope that the liberal societies will understand the iron circumstances that may compel an emerging state to undergo this necessary process of consolidation, no matter how painful it may be.

As a new nation, the Philippines has recently been going through a somewhat similar process of nation-building. Today, the most critical phases have passed; I am confident that the unfolding of our national destiny from here on will be less traumatic to the conventional wisdom.

Our own experience has prepared us to be sympathetic with other developing countries who are forced by their unique circumstances to exercise the greatest vigilance in safeguarding their sovereignty.

We understand how they can become so indignant over any suggestion of outside “interference” — no matter how altruistic its disguise — that in effect undermines their capacity for self-determination.

This is the thought I should like to leave with you as you begin your conference — and I hope that I have not misinterpreted for you the delicacy and gravity of a potential problem that, I fear, will arise again and again in the relationships of international organizations and their clientele in the new states.

Forbearance and understanding will come easier from you if you keep in mind that the ultimate ends of the international aid-givers and national governments coincide.

Any government, if it is to be worthy of its popular mandate, must have as its sole objective the improvement of the national condition through the extirpation of poverty, hunger and disease from within its territory. And this effort is almost always enhanced by the help of worldwide humanitarian movements like the Red Cross.

Once again, let me say how happy we are to have you visiting with us: I wish you all a pleasant stay—and a fruitful conference.

Thank you very much.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at ADB, [November 18, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At ADB**

[Delivered on November 18, 1981]

Mr. President, Mr. Ambassador, members of the Board of Directors, and distinguished guests:

Throughout the ages, we find history continually records the names of outstanding men in the fields of science, medicine, industry and politics. They have taken their rightful place in history because of some unusual contribution to civilization or unique position they have held — perhaps both.

In light of the development gap between the north and south and the growing interdependency between them, I think the future will see more great men emerge in the arena of international development. Certainly the disparities between rich and poor cannot be tolerated indefinitely. Pope Paul had so implied that when he stated some years ago that “the new name for peace is development.” Willy Brandt also identified development as the “most important social problem for the balance of this century.”

Gentlemen, we are gathered here today to pay tribute to a man who has contributed greatly to helping spur economic and social development in the Asian and Pacific region. And that man I refer to is Taroichi Yoshida, President of the Asian Development Bank. In presiding over an institution geared to conquer the great enemy of man — poverty — Mr. Yoshida has helped thousands of Asians break the bonds of misery. The ADB had been summoned to a high mission when it was formed fifteen years ago, and during Mr. Yoshida’s five-year tenure at the bank he has helped it fulfill that mission.

Mr. Yoshida, during your stay at the bank you have transformed it into a beachhead of cooperation among developed and developing countries. Furthermore, the bank has become a principal architect in creating policies to foster development in the region. For example, under your stewardship it has adopted an integrated approach to rural development and to meeting the basic human needs of the poor. To quote from one of your own speeches, you observed that the core issue of economic development in most developing member countries is how to meet more fully the basic human needs of their populations, a great majority of whom live in rural areas and derive their livelihood from agricultural activities.”

The bank has forged other far-reaching achievements as well. It has grown in stature and influence as an effective international development institution. It has lent more to the region than ever before. It has extended more loans to the poorest countries on terms they can afford. And it has greatly expanded its technical assistance.

It has also increased its co-financing activities, thereby recycling more petrodollars to Asia. It has explored new frontiers to raise additional funds for the region through equity financing, as well as mapped out a comprehensive and viable strategy for years to come.

This is a record which the bank can be proud of.

The Asian Development Bank has also helped accelerate the tempo of development in the Philippines, and for this my fellow Filipinos and I are deeply appreciative. For the government’s part, we will continue to lend strong support to the bank; and in this connection we are — figuratively speaking — building the foundations for the Bank’s new headquarters building and staff housing project.

Finally, Mr. Yoshida, if you will allow me a philosophical thought at the eve of your departure from the Asian Development Bank and my country, a philosopher once said that great men work on their own salvation by serving their fellow men. Indeed, you have done this through your efforts at the bank to help cast off the chains of poverty of low-income Asians. For this, you deserve your rightful place in the history of the region's economic and social development. It is with this thought that I ask you all to rise and join me in a toast to Mr. and Mrs. Yoshida as we wish them Godspeed, our best wishes, and an affectionate farewell.

Thank you.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos to the 27th Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, [November 23, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To the 27th Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce**

[Delivered on November 23, 1981]

In its long and distinguished history, the International Chamber of Commerce has grown from an erstwhile exclusive Western club to become a truly global business organization, and it has travelled the continents for its triennial congress. And now today, for the very first time, it convenes here in Manila, in our region of Southeast Asia.

You may be sure, ladies and gentlemen, that we in the Philippines are fully conscious of the distinction that attaches to the convening of your 27th Congress in our part of the world. And more than the pride we feel, we share keenly the hope of many that your deliberations will be productive of those insights and initiatives that contribute to the resolution and relief from the economic travails of our time.

A Congress of this magnitude and scope—gathering as it does so many of the world's leading lights in business enterprise—naturally raises hopes and expectations about the future of economic life in general, and of the prospects for business enterprise in particular. We should not be cynical or despondent about the gap between these brave hopes and the fact that at this moment the world economic situation is chiefly notable for the profound sense of crisis and embattlement. Our aspirations to improve and change the overall climate of economic life, and to marshall the will for greater international economic cooperation are there to incite us all to greater efforts—and I believe that there is much today that should encourage, not deter us, from the work of reform and change.

Had we met a month or so ago rather than today, I would have confessed to some skepticism about the practical impact of international forums such as these, and said along with others that its deliberations can only touch the peripheries and not the center of our human predicament today. I would have said that the initiatives of our combined business communities, earnest though they may be, cannot begin to lead the way towards economic growth and wealth creation, where the nations of the world are so divided and lacking of the political will to turn the global economic crisis around.

But meeting today in the wake of the recent Summit of Heads of State and Government in Cancun, Mexico, and of the glimmers of consensus and understanding that that meeting illuminated, I can express a little more optimism about the world economic situation and about the overall prospects for economic enterprise as a whole.

In saying this, one does not pretend to attach to a meeting of leaders that took all of two days in a distant resort of Mexico a meaning and import well beyond what it specifically produced. Cancun to be sure did not produce as we all know any specific set of agreements that would practically confront the problems and tribulations of our time. But I do wish to underline here, and suggest as a possible context for your deliberations, the broad implications of Cancun for the future of international economic relations as a whole.

What has changed in the overall complexion of global thinking on international economic problems can be suggested by a glance at the global prospects before Cancun and after Cancun.

Before Cancun, a seemingly irresolvable impasse had developed in the efforts of the developed and the developing nations to work out a common approach to the present disarray in international economic life. Underlying the impasse were profound disagreements about the causes of problems and about what approaches to adopt in the way of making reform and change, and the disagreements often expressed themselves in bitter exchanges between nations.

Consequently in the light of the stalemate nothing hopeful seemed possible in terms of resolving the real predicament we faced. I need hardly recite anew the precise terms of this predicament except to point to certain very evident facts: the fact that for some time now a few economies making up about a quarter of the world's population account for more than three quarters of the world's trade, production and investments; the fact that the other three-quarters of the world's peoples have lived on the peripheries of our global system, gripped in varying degrees by the specter of underdevelopment, poverty, hunger and worsening conditions; the fact that for nearly a decade now this grave imbalance has resulted in pervasive instabilities and difficulties for developed and developing countries alike; and the fact that the structures and arrangements of our Global Economic System have of late failed to produce even a modicum of order and stability.

Some of these facts we already knew as far back as two decades ago, as will be seen in a review of the discussions in forums like the ICC. But in the interval, the contrasts have grown more vivid, the sense of embattlement more intense, and a period of prolonged disaffection between the so-called North and the so-called South set in.

To these, it should be added that countless forums were convened to discuss and frame solutions for the many problems. But though indeed these forums were productive of the various and specific technical solutions to the problems, nothing was done to turn them into a program which the nations could commonly support and implement. Instead, we fell into an endless haggling over the terms of cooperation, the degree and extent of reform, and the issues of self-interest.

Thus, it was not surprising that on the very eve of the Cancun Summit, there was considerable skepticism about its prospects for success, and even the very principals attending, including myself, journeyed there with no small amount of reluctance.

Cancun, however, surprised us all.

Notwithstanding the recriminations and resentments that had earlier attended the North-South dialogue, the summit transpired in a very cordial and non-confrontational atmosphere. And very likely because of the concern of all participants to listen to one another, we recognized for once the areas in which we could all agree and we realized too that in those which we couldn't, further talks would not be irrelevant and fruitless. It made a great deal of difference as I had hoped, that the summit participants were leaders with the experience of high command, and that they could address the issues with a directness and decision that their ministers could not.

In the preparations for the summit, it was agreed that there would be no formal agenda, no negotiations, and no communique at its conclusion. As laid out, there was exchange of views on four subjects: food security and agricultural development; commodities, trade and industrialization, money and finance; and energy. And at the end of the meeting, the Co-chairmen issued a joint summary of the discussions.

Given the format of the conference, and the great care to avoid conclusive discussion, it would appear surprising that the conference achieved consensus on many points and attained the degree of agreement that it did.

To recount briefly how the discussions focused the views of so many, on the subject of food, there was unanimity about feeding the hungry. It was agreed that there should be increased subsidy for food for that the hungry throughout the world, and that attention must be given to assisting agricultural development throughout the world.

On energy, interest was expressed on a proposal for framing a World Energy Plan. And there was unanimity for the establishment of an energy affiliate in the World Bank.

On trade, there was agreement on the elimination of trade barriers. There was recognition of the need to improve the generalized system of preferences for developing countries, as well as the need for continued efforts on the part of governments to resist protectionist pressures. The summit noted the contribution that the GATT Ministerial Meeting in 1982 could make to addressing various trade problems. And there was agreement on the need to complete procedures for bringing the integrated fund for commodities into operation.

On monetary and financial issues, there was consensus that there should be less conditionality and more liberality on loans by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Saudi Arabia committed itself to make available more funds to the IMF for financing the deficits on non-oil-producing less developed countries.

And finally, on the critical subject of global negotiations, the Heads of State agreed on a key statement that would form part of the conference summary, to wit:

“The Heads of State and Government confirmed the desirability of supporting at the United Nations, with a sense of urgency, a consensus to launch global negotiations on a basis to be agreed upon and in circumstances offering the prospect of meaningful progress. Some countries insisted that the independence of the specialized agencies should not be affected.”

This particular portion of the conference summary alone already reflects the degree in which Cancun had broken the impasse in the North-South Dialogue. For by this, it broke new ground, ended the old resistance of some countries to such negotiations, and indicated willingness of the participants to launch global negotiations. It should be noted of course that the Cancun summitters did not represent the whole of your human family; neither did they hold a summons from all the nations to meet. But this notwithstanding, the spirit of Cancun will be felt by the world in the years to come.

If we may assess what Cancun now will lead to, and what the prospects are for future cooperation in the resolution of issues, I would say that Cancun has paved the way for concerted effort and cooperation, but that much hard work lies ahead for all the nations in regard to fulfilling the spirit of the summit.

Now as we look upon the ensuing developments after Cancun, I can report to you that work has immediately proceeded under the auspices of the United Nations to follow up the Cancun initiative.

Specifically, there has been a decision to launch the global negotiations during the present session of the General Assembly, and actual negotiations are envisioned to start early next year. Significantly, it has been agreed that the areas of agreement recognized by the nations will form the main agenda of the negotiations. With regards to areas of disagreement, next year's conference will decide how they shall be negotiated; there are indications at this point that this will take place in the form or pattern of the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea.

Beyond these, there are also forthcoming meetings that will have particularly important implications for the resolution of trade problems. The GATT Ministerial Meeting is due to convene next year, and at this meeting it is expected that many of the proposals raised in Cancun will be deliberated on.

It is our hope that a Philippine proposal articulated at the summit for a Cancun Round on Multilateral Trade Negotiations will be discussed and seriously considered. We made the proposal that in view of the continued sway of protectionism since the Tokyo Round and of the various problems that persist in global trade, it is important that a new round of negotiations should take place. In addition, we raised the view, to which many of the Cancun participants assented, that we must now fill the need for a mechanism to effectively resolve trade disputes.

On the basis of all these, I feel very optimistic about a major turning point for freer and more liberalized trade among nations. I am convinced that the nations agree with what President Reagan has said: that artificial barriers in trade don't work in the long run.”

All these may be just the first faltering steps out of the mire in which we find ourselves today. But they are significant because they have now been taken, after a very long time of drift and irresolution. With this break in the impasse; in the North-South dialogue, we enter a new stage in that dialogue that is every bit as important to the future of the developed countries as they are to those of us in the Third World.

In turning more precisely to the precise implications of these developments to the prospects of the developing countries and their particular position today in the world economy, I would focus your attention on what I know best: the Philippine experience.

For much of the decade of the seventies, when the problems of the international economy were especially acute, our economic performance can probably be described as a case of dynamically reacting to what was clearly a difficult time for economic effort. In the words of the World Bank representative for East Asia and the Pacific, "our development record is one of the most impressive in the developing world and it was achieved in an external environment which can at best be described as difficult." The other face of this verdict is a matter for wonder: the measure of development that might have been ours were world economic conditions better, and had the forces for reform of the international economic order been allowed to have sway during this period of instability.

With particular reference to an observation of the International Chamber of Commerce that sometimes we in the developing world tend to focus too much on the issue of "transfer of resources" and less on "wealth creation," I would commend to your attention the policies and the programs that we have followed not just in terms of coping with global crises or agitating for international economic reform, but in terms of promoting the development of our national economy and the growth of business enterprise as a key engine of growth.

Let us look at the record.

In the seventies, the Philippine economy grew at an annual rate of about 6.5 percent annually, appreciably higher than the historical average of 5.3 percent a year in the stable world economic situation of the sixties.

In the same period, Philippine agricultural output gained an average of 5 percent annually—one of the highest rates in the developing world, and a fact underlined by our achievement of food sufficiency.

Industry recorded an even faster rate of growth of 8.5 percent over the same period. As a result, industrial output rose from 31 percent of GDP in 1972 to 36 percent as of 1980.

One major factor in this fundamental restructuring of our economy has been the falling of world prices for many of our primary exports. As the terms of trade for our traditional exports have deteriorated under the impact of worldwide recessionary pressures, there has been a noticeable development of our non-traditional exports. Intensified export promotion and the development of industry enabled us to reduce the reliance on the four products that have traditionally been our major exports—sugar, coconut products, wood products and mineral ore—from 80 percent at the end of the sixties to only 45 percent today. Significantly, new products, including electronic items, semi-processed food chemicals, garments, and other non-traditionals, account for nearly 60 percent of our exports today, and contributed nearly \$3 billion dollars to total export earnings in 1980.

This is by no means to neglect the plight of our distressed export sectors, which have been hard-hit by falling world market prices. In addition to seeking relief in reform of the International Trading System, we have moved decisively into measures to provide assistance to these sectors. Specifically we are setting up a fund to support the operations of these sectors during their present period of distress, and which they can consequently repay when world prices for their products improve.

On the investment front, it has been our happy experience to find the foreign sector matching the steady rise of our domestic efforts to save and raise development capital. Last year, when foreign investment more than tripled to \$306 million, was a banner year for new foreign investments in our economy.

These new investments have flowed into a varied complex of projects in industry, for which we have formulated as of two years ago a comprehensive long-term development program. Central to this program are 11 major industrial projects which are designed mainly to rectify an imbalance in our industrial development. Until this program came to being, there had been little effort to develop the basic industrial infrastructure for our national development, which would allow us to establish backward and forward linkages within the economy. These projects have a five-

year timetable, and the program was initiated two years ago. Significantly, all are conceived as joint-venture projects with foreign participation.

At this time, four of the 11 projects are now fully under construction, and these are the copper smelter, the phosphatic fertilizer plant, the diesel engineering manufacturing factory, and the cement industry rehabilitation project.

In addition, 2 projects—the Integrated Steel Mill and the Heavy Engineering Workshop—are at present undergoing detailed engineering studies, and they will be up for bidding by early next year.

The other five are in various stages of joint-venture negotiations and feasibility evaluation, and these are the Pulp and Paper Project, the Coco-Chemical Plant, the Aluminum Smelter, the Petro-Chemical Complex, and the Alcogas Project. For each of these projects, a number of foreign companies have already expressed their interest in participation. All in all we expect to be able to meet our timetable of launching these 11 major industrial projects by 1985.

It must be remembered, however, that although the 11 projects are today the most talked-about aspects of our industrial development program, our support for industry covers broadly and intensively all industries, including the small and medium scale sectors.

We have recently established a \$100 million fund to support cottage industries and a National Livelihood Program. In an important way, we conceive this as a critical measure to meet possible difficulties in the domestic front and to promote the growth of entrepreneurship at the level of the grassroots in order to achieve the two-pronged goal of raising productivity and expanding income opportunities. The National Livelihood Program is actually a mass movement designed to mobilize the productive and entrepreneurial energies of our people at local levels and to internalize a discipline of industry and self-reliance. As a program, national livelihood identifies possibilities and opportunities for specific, productive and profitable enterprise. It implements projects that are compatible with the resources, markets and capacities of the communities, and structures and manages these in accordance with the objectives of productive efficiency and economic viability, while providing employment for many. The National Livelihood Program will transform each community into a vibrant and productive entity that plays a more active role in the creation of employment and generation of income for our people. In establishing livelihood centers throughout the country, the government will provide infrastructure, credit and other assistance to small and medium scale businesses with products that utilize the indigenous resources of these mainly rural communities, and that have bright marketing prospects. It will be noted that the ultimate success of the National Livelihood Program as with all our other efforts to encourage private enterprise and maximize productivity, to a great extent, depends upon our ability to export, and this is one main reason why we intend to produce mainly products for which we have prepared markets abroad.

One cannot overemphasize the great importance of trade to a growing economy like the Philippines. The path of development for our country lies in the tapping of a global market for what we produce.

Internally, we have done much to write and implement those policies that would promote growth and entrepreneurship in our country. Fourteen key industrial sectors—from iron to steel to furniture—are now in process of rationalization to promote greater competition. Tariff protection is being reduced on many items. Inefficient industrial operations are being encouraged to consolidate to achieve economies of scale. Regulations that hinder growth and enterprise are being consistently cut down. And we have moved decisively into the construction service market abroad.

In our foreign investment policies, and with regard specifically to trans-nationals, we have mainly opted for the regulation of transnational enterprise rather than banning their operations in our country, believing that they have a contribution to make to our national development. Specifically, these regulations cover three areas:

1. Limiting of trans-national borrowings from local sources

2. Training of local replacements of managers and technicians over a period of time

3. Regulation of pricing of raw materials from parent or associate corporations.

You will understand the care with which we approach the need to regulate the operations of trans-national corporations, for many are the problems that a developing country has often faced through neglect or default of safeguards. In the light of this care, there has been no difficulty for the successful operations of such companies in the Philippines, to whom incidentally we guarantee the remittance of profits, non-confiscation, and repayment of indebtedness which may have come from abroad.

In our export efforts, we have enlisted the veritable backbone of Philippine Business Enterprise—our 12 Leading Business Conglomerates—to provide an overseas sales network for our products. These efforts at export promotion have already done their bit to shore up the level of our trade, but again and again we come up before the formidable trade barriers that work to constrain the upward movement of our trade.

Over and over again after we survey what a developing country can do on its own to promote its development, to raise its productivity, and to husband its resources, we eventually return to the complexion of the world economic system as a whole and how it works to diminish its prospects for advancement.

In a memorable observation, the British economist Barbara Ward once suggested that the travails of our world community derive from the fact that rich-nation philosophy and outlook have still to get past 1840. She writes: “the market will provide. Economic life will generate energy and direction. The growth of the rich will pull up the poor in its wake. Political, social and moral principles of solidarity are irrelevant. And if the result turns out to be not progress, but misery for the many and well-being for the few, that is simply the way in which the laws of economics work. For a century or more we have been modifying this stupid, unworkable and dangerous philosophy within our economies.”

Alongside this view, there is still another extremely myopic view: that in the relief or assistance of the poor nations, no vital Northern interests are at stake.

This continuous display of shortsightedness and complacency has marked for the most part rich-country perception of the North-South issue, but now at last it appears to be changing. At long last, I think, it has irreversibly dawned on the rich nations that they—as much as the developing countries of the South—need new relationships, wider markets, new opportunities, a better global management of resources, and cooperation among economies and nations.

It is not finally for reasons of charity, but of self-interest, that we really must all pull together to reactivate again the world economy and create growth for all.

With such a vision of the real reform that can be done in the international sphere, of the kind of cooperation feasible between the developed and developing countries, it should be possible to finally create the hospitable international environment that will favor, and not frustrate, the earnest efforts of the developing nations to modernize and develop.

The spirit of Cancun—to return to the point with which I began—may well be a kind of signpost in history wherein the misfortunes of our global system began to point in more auspicious directions.

And if I understand and remember correctly the basic spirit of entrepreneurship, a time of change as this is a time for enterprise.

Thank you and good day.

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Rural Media Congress, [December 2, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Rural Media Congress**

[Delivered on December 2, 1981]

I am greatly pleased by this opportunity to address the Rural Media Congress of the Philippines. I have been informed that no less than 1,000 media practitioners representing 126 provincial newspapers and 248 radio and television stations as well as correspondents of the Metropolitan dailies along with other communicators based in the rural areas are present in this gathering. As purveyors of news, information and knowledge in the very areas where the majority of our people are located, practitioners of art and science of communication through the mass media are truly indispensable partners in the cause of national development.

It is therefore quite significant and timely that you have chosen the theme “Rural Media: Its Responsibilities and Freedom” for this congress. For this somehow reflects how most of you situate the mass media in the overall perspective of our national life. As with other sectors of our society, mass media today, both in urban and rural areas, have developed a commitment that is premised not merely on the traditions identified with the profession, or with just making a go of the business. Rather, mass media’s maturity can be gauged in their efforts to render themselves relevant to the needs of national growth, and to make known to our people what directions this growth is taking and which aspects of it need to be commended or otherwise reviewed.

There is, however, another significance to this theme of your congress. In a sense, it may be indicative of the confusion that continues to bother the practitioners and the institutions of mass media, ten months after the lifting of Martial Law and five months after the inauguration of the New Republic. With the changes which have swept our political system as background, it appears that the mass media have yet to fully grasp and adequately adapt themselves to the realities of our national environment. Not that we blame the mass media for it. To sure, these and other changes have been so profound that it perhaps must take the passage of more time to become fully understood. Nonetheless, the fact remains that as a result of external and internal developments, these realities have become increasingly complicated. For as long as the mass media are unable to fully grasp, in their entirety, the implications of these changes, the longer will it take for media to exploit the advantages, opportunities, and challenges that the situation offers.

There are others, of course, who will fail or simply refuse to see reality. There is, for instance, a long-running and ongoing debate among media practitioners themselves on the matter of press freedom. While the exchanges of views have been lively, the language colorful, and many protagonists involved, the debate has in some cases released some of the most ridiculous propositions which can be summarized in the filing that no such freedom exists. Nonetheless, these same propositions have been given wide coverage by the media, refuting in the process the very allegations that the freedom of expression in this country is being curtailed. Given another set of circumstances, the publication of such negative views may have just not been possible. Still, our detractors, for reasons only they can explain, persist in belittling the capabilities and prerogatives that are available to mass media, which ironically they utilize to give vent to their imagined fears and frustrations. If for nothing else, they at least make of themselves the sort of spectacle that some people find amusing and even entertaining. But that debates of this kind should continue through the mass media is a fact that has disturbing implications.

You and I know only too well that the mass media is sustained by a business that is cost-intensive in the extreme. The fact that the process of delivering information to millions of people is a highly intricate and expensive one is not too widely appreciated. Almost everyday, the cost of production inputs, whether in the print or electronic media, are escalating. Newsprint, power, equipment as well as labor costs have been increasing at such a rate that the business and editorial planners of many media organizations are compelled to exercise greater judiciousness and selectivity in

the use and allocation of resources, if only to minimize on these cost factors. While ideas and information are relatively cheap, the cost of disseminating them is becoming prohibitive even for the most resourceful.

These cost increases exert pressures that are felt both in the commercial and information aspects of mass media. Informational items are increasingly being made to compete for space and time allocations with materials that generate income for media organizations. While this development is certainly unfortunate, in view of the mass media's primary role, it cannot be denied. In a period of scarcity, the mass media must learn to be selective in the kinds of information that they transmit. They have to learn more efficiently and more effectively allocate increasingly scarce resources. The more positive aspect of this turn of events is that it compels media planners to approach the problem of which news or information to disseminate with a stricter and more relevant order of priorities that must clearly and specifically establish the informational that would result in the best benefits to the majority of their readers or audiences. For instance, if the current cost-pinch pattern persists, it should become obvious that the mass media can no longer afford to lend itself to concerns, issues or viewpoints that have little value to the intellectual and material improvement of readers and listeners. Long winded debates on mythical issues constitute just one category. If present cost trends continue, it is obvious that we cannot tolerate further the use of precious newsprint on which to publish gossip and other trash, or airtime to broadcast programs which subvert or corrupt socially accepted notions of morality.

In this effort, other media practitioners have much to learn from their comrades in the rural areas. Interestingly, it is the rural-based media that have best adhered to mass media's primary role of disseminating relevant news and information. For instance, in a country where four out every five farming households own a radio, provincial radio stations have consistently broadcast programs that introduce and explain and popularize more productive and efficient agricultural methods. In a country whose national culture is steadily being diluted by foreign influences, provincial newspapers and broadcast stations have preserved the language and the other cultural facets of their readers and audiences. In a country where the natural barriers of geography are formidable, the rural mass media have made their readers and audiences feel that they too belong to the national community, that the concerns of government extends even to the most remote barangays.

Anthropologists often speak of an idea environment whenever they analyze any social system. It is this idea environment that has spelled the difference between greatness or subservience, dynamism or stagnation, in various societies. It is this environment that explains why a small, poorly endowed country can achieve worldwide economic and political importance, and why a large and resource-rich nation can wallow in underdevelopment.

We are a country striving to create an idea environment where initiative, industry and resourcefulness are encouraged and rewarded. Our efforts at education and cultural development are aimed at giving our people the assurance of national identity and the confidence of national purpose.

In this effort, the mass media assume a pivotal function. Those media practitioners who operate where the majority of Filipinos are situated are in the best position to help create the kind of idea environment that would make our people more responsive to the national call for productivity growth.

It is perhaps opportune that this congress should be held when we are in midst of initiating the National Livelihood Program, or Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. As many of you may well know, the key concept behind the Kilusan is the hastening of the economic and social development of the entire country by transforming the nation's 42,000 barangays into self-reliant productive communities through the establishment of various livelihood projects or enterprises to be owned and managed by the community residents themselves.

The KKK, however, is more than just a development program; it is more precisely a mass movement whose success rests on the enterprise, initiative and dynamism of people at the community level, and not on government alone. The KKK is the effort of one group of self-reliant Filipinos being replicated by another group. It is the success of one barangay being emulated by another barangay. Because of its mass character, the KKK has adopted a basic strategy designed to motivate, encourage and develop private entrepreneurship in the barangay.

This is where the unique persuasiveness of the rural media must be made to operate. The rural media are in the best position not only to disseminate the movement, but also to reflect in a broader range the particular features and needs of the area where the KKK is being applied. I therefore encourage the rural media to take upon themselves the role of clearinghouses, through which information from either direction can be channeled and delivered to the right parties. Even as it disseminate the promise of the National Livelihood Program, the rural media must monitor its implementation and to commend what ought to be credited, and to call attention to inadequacies so that they may be quickly remedied.

The immediate challenge for the rural media is nowhere better embodied than in the KKK. We often hear the saying that the story of development is a most exciting one to tell. But, to be a part of that story, to actually be a factor in development is far more gratifying.

In looking to our national life today, it is here in being part of the exciting process of development—of being both participant and observer—that rural media will find their essential role and responsibility. And it is here too, I submit, where they will find their freedom.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Centenary of the Compania de Tabacos de Filipinas, December 3, 1981

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Centenary of the Compania de Tabacos de Filipinas**

[Delivered on December 3, 1981]

In a world kept taut by constant crisis and ferment and at a time when all around us we seem to see mainly the flux of institutions and societies, it must always seem very gratifying and reassuring to find evidences of endurance and longevity in the things that human beings create.

Tonight, I deeply feel this sense of reassurance, in addition to the pleasure of being here, as I join you all in paying tribute to this centenary of the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas.

In the life of any man-made institution, one hundred years will always be an impressive testament to its vitality and its life. And it is especially so for a business enterprise, more than for any other kind, for it is in the nature of business to live with change and to husband it for its growth.

By any reckoning, a company like the Tabacalera — when seen against the whole perspective of our nation's history since 1881 — is a magnificent survivor of turbulent times.

To whatever decade we may point in its history, we will find this institution in the middle of massive ferment — in the ferment of revolution as was the case in its early life, in the ferment of great transition as was the case in its second decade when Spain was overthrown in the Philippine islands by the United States, in the ferment of a new colonial order bent on asserting new values and ideas as was the case of the American colonial period, in the ferment of war as was the case when Japan invaded and occupied the Philippines, and in the many ferments that have visited our country since national independence was recovered on July 4, 1940 up to this day.

What this might say of the entrepreneurial vision of the men who have guided and led this institution, and of the ability to command the fealty of those who worked and labored for its growth, we can only guess at. But there can be no doubt that there have lived and thrived within this institution vision, enterprise, imagination, and a feeling for people — things which every company covets, but only few in fact achieve.

Yet with all due respect to this impressive business achievement, it is as much the relation of this achievement to the life of the whole country and to the intangibles of culture and history that compels attention and constitutes the larger significance of Tabacalera in this country.

We will associate it with the memory of Spain in our land.

There was, it is true, a time when for most of us that memory was held in great suspicion and with much regret, a time when we could only fulminate against the misfortune of being colonized by another nation for more than three and a half centuries.

But as time passed and we could at last enjoy our sense of being independent without self-consciousness and phobia, we commenced the necessary process of coming to terms with our Spanish heritage, and to recognize at last what has been priceless and enduring in that inheritance.

Some sort of this journey backwards I have myself attempted in trying to write a history of our people: which you all know as the Tadhana series. And I have been much illuminated in the course of this investigation by the historical record as well as by the kernels of insight of many who have tried to write and keep history alive.

Spain was not indeed the colossal innovator that we take America to be, for her interest was invariably entwined with the concerns of religion and many things besides. But however we view the record, Spain brought us in contact with the world, and it was this contact in fact which in the end would break the bonds of colonization.

One interesting area for study — that has lain fallow for the most part because of our singular obsession to find the mainsprings of our political — is what Fr. de la Costa describes as the “decisive development of our economic and social history” during the period under Spain.

This is not the place nor the time to present an exposition on the subject, but there is time for us here to cite the landmarks in that phase of our history. If we may summarize this imperfectly, they consist of three major stages: the initial stage of advance from the shifting agriculture of pre-Spanish times to the more settled agriculture; the second stage which was characterized by the advance from subsistence agriculture to commercial farming and foreign trade; and the third stage which corresponds to the demise of agricultural specialization and the rise of the entrepreneurial classes and the emergence of various crafts and industries.

It is with the latter phase that the name “Tabacalera” is associated. When incorporated in Barcelona in 1881, it was specifically for the purpose of taking over the operation of the tobacco factories owned by the Spanish government in the Philippines, shortly after the abolition of the tobacco monopoly. But it also had another purpose, much as Governor Basco had recognized earlier when he founded the Sociedad Economica de Amigos de Pais: to develop the riches of the islands and to foster agriculture, industry and trade.

In the emergence of this entrepreneurial class we find perhaps the natural outcome of the earlier galleon trade and monopolies: the Spanish trying at last to find roots and to stake himself to a future in the colony. Whatever may be said of the objectives of Spanish Catholicism and Spanish colonial government, the entrepreneurial spirit sought to make lasting ties with the islands.

And it is not surprising that along with our Hispanic heritage in culture, in law, in customs and traditions, there is also that part of the heritage that consists of contributions to our economic life.

To the thick layer of Spanish cultural influences which we have come to claim as our own and to cherish, there is this other layer, equally enduring though not always well recognized — Spain’s effort in the economic sphere.

And if we try to interpret for ourselves the significance of Tabacalera’s specific ventures in our national economy, we can perhaps say that it epitomizes the best of Spanish enterprise in our country: its visions, its daring, its belief that our part of the world has a future.

Many things have greatly changed in this country since Tabacalera first ventured here, and we can surely say that written in its history is the impact of those changes. What has not changed is Tabacalera’s interest in the Philippines.

Today, as we toast the centenary of the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas, we can look I think to another century of this company’s operations in our country, because it has a century to look back to of productive enterprise and fruitful contributions to our country and our people.

Thank you all and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on the 19th General Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, [December 10, 1981](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 19th General Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population**

[Delivered on December 10, 1981]

Population study I am told, is a field that draws together scholars from many disciplines. I trust that any branch of learning broad enough to bear the expertise of demographers, medical doctors, biologists, sociologists, economists, and theologians is also strong enough to accept the non-expert views of politicians and policymakers.

I understand that researchers and academicians have a common complaint: that their work is not sufficiently appreciated by those who set policy or make decisions. They are not the only complainants on Population Policy, the Clergy have been equally critical and complaining.

I can well appreciate this complaint; and I must admit that it has some historical basis. All too often, rulers have been content to govern by their instincts, by improvisation: by piecemeal adjustments to competing interest-groups. But I would hasten to add that the perceptions and practices of political leaders are gradually changing. This is true particularly of third world countries: impatient for development and yet made aware, from bitter experience, how difficult development is to attain.

In the Philippines, in fact, these changes may have been taking place a bit too rapidly for the comfort of some of us.

People often point out that a technocracy is emerging in the highest levels of the Philippine government. I regard this as a compliment rather than a criticism. Policy-making in our government now benefits considerably from the expertise of our economists, scientists, engineers, and other professional managers and technicians.

One example that illustrates the interaction between our technical experts and policymakers is the Philippine Population Program. It was precisely from listening to what our demographers, economists and scientists have to say that our policymakers were able to grasp early on the implications of unplanned population growth, and to resolve to take steps to cope with it. But at the same time, we had to consider the religious beliefs and traditions of a predominantly Christian or Catholic country.

As a result, the Philippines was one of the first countries to sign the United Nations Declaration on Population in 1967.

A few years after that, and after intensive studies by our experts in demography and related fields, we launched a program that we hoped would transform the spirit of that declaration into meaningful reality for our people. This took place at the start of the 1970s, when population-related problems were putting undue strain on the foundations, if not the entire structure, of Philippine Society.

Looking back, I feel completely justified in making that decision. Had we wavered then—and we might have easily done so since population moderation then worked against the grain of dominant tradition—whatever actions we did later would have been more difficult and more expensive.

This is not to say that our efforts at slowing down population growth alone pulled us through those difficult years.

What I am saying, rather, is that our population program has been a valuable ingredient in the totality of our endeavors to overcome our problems and bring the fruits of development to the masses of Filipinos.

This concept, this recognition of the affinity between population and development, in essence guides our population programs in most third world countries.

Like other third-world countries, we believe that keeping our population growth rate at manageable levels is not an end in itself, but merely a means to bring about a better life for all our people.

After a decade of conscientious and dedicated work by our population cadres, we feel we have made some headway. We have been able to bring down our population growth from 3.01 percent in 1970 to 2.4 percent in 1980. We hope to reduce this further to 2.0 percent by the middle of this decade and to 1.6 percent by the year 2000.

At this stage of the Philippine Population Program, we need to consolidate our gains, and to speed up the process we have started off.

In our struggle for development, the population problem will continue to have a high priority; and the population program will continue to be one of our major means for dealing with it. This I spelled out in my report to the nation, when I received a new mandate from my countrymen six months ago.

This strategy gives substance and form to the spirit of our new constitution, which the Filipino people ratified in 1973. I am referring in particular to a provision of this basic law, which says: "it shall be the responsibility of the state to achieve and maintain population levels most conducive to the national welfare."

Let me say that this provision was arrived after a deliberate study and with full knowledge of its implications.

I am sure you will find evidence enough of our determination to carry out this mandate—a determination tempered by reason, flexibility, and consciousness of our religion and traditions which enables us to adjust and to respond quickly to emerging situations.

To illustrate: our population program has transformed itself from an almost passive movement to a program that actively reaches out to the widest segments of our population.

Instead of waiting for people to come to their clinics or information centers our population workers have fanned out to the countryside, where more than seven out of every ten Filipinos still live.

We take special pride in our volunteer workers now living and working in the villages under the National Population and Family Planning Outreach Project. By the latest count, 46,000 such workers deliver information and services practically to the doorsteps of millions of rural Filipinos.

Their work gets active financial and administrative support from our local governments, as well as from other public and private agencies.

While our population program actively reaches out to our people, we have kept the ground rules we set for ourselves at the start of our program.

Now, as then, we adhere strictly to a noncoercive approach, in drawing people to the movement for responsible parenthood.

While we deliver information and services on what our policymakers consider as acceptable methods of contraception, we continue to respect and safeguard the right of every human couple to determine the size of its family and to choose for itself the method that conforms to its moral conviction and religious belief.

We have adopted the Policy of Choice by conscience.

We also remain firmly against abortion, despite what seems to be a growing trend in its favor in some other parts of the world.

And we intend to keep to these basic policies—because we believe they best suit the beliefs, values and temperament the religion—the entire culture—of our people.

Naturally, we have not confined ourselves to checking population growth. Our long-term goal concerns not so much the number as the quality of our population. We subscribe to that broader population policy which occupies itself also with individual well-being, family and community welfare, and the judicious use of natural resources for the benefit of all citizens.

Thus, we try to keep at least abreast of such emerging population issues as the effects of industrialization and rapid urbanization; the quality of health services; nutrition levels; education; employment; and migration.

I understand that these are precisely the issues this eminent gathering will discuss. To us, some of these issues are life-and-death questions.

In our country, regional migration, for one, has led not merely to a general loss of vitality in our rural areas: it has, in portions of Mindanao, provoked a violent rebellion from the threatened host-communities.

Their rapid growth is changing unavoidably the social environment of metropolitan manila and the other cities; despite our best efforts, not all of the changes enforced on us by headlong urbanization are beneficial.

And we are just beginning to realize how complex are the problems of nutrition. While we have recently attained a measure of self-sufficiency in rice and other basic foods, we are still some way from eradicating malnutrition and undernourishment among Filipinos. For, of course, these problems are as much linked to purchasing power, employment and social-welfare systems as they are to agricultural modernization.

As part of our development strategy, we are beginning to disperse our industries from the congested metropolitan areas to the less-developed and less-populous portions of our country. We have identified strategic “growth centers” for development in the various regions.

Our aim here is twofold. First, to distribute our population more evenly to ease the pressures building up in our crowded cities. Second, to hasten the development of the poorer regions by encouraging people to return to the countryside, to give them better chances to earn a livelihood, and consequently, to raise their standards of living.

In sum, therefore, our ultimate objectives are national development and family welfare. And we believe we should plan, work towards, and maintain population levels that will best enable us to attain these ultimate objectives.

Above all, we realize we have to exert even greater effort to control population growth in the short-and-medium terms, before we can attain our ideal population profile.

My friends, it is in this context that I welcome you to the Philippines and to this conference. I promise that we in the Philippine government, at least, will listen to your deliberations with great interest, and take your ideas and insights to heart. For the welfare of our population is too serious a business for us to leave it to the politicians alone or for that matter the scientists alone.

Thank you very much.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos to the University of the Philippines Law Alumni, [December 16, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To the University of the Philippines Law Alumni**

[Delivered on December 16, 1981]

I am very pleased to be here—though obliged, once again, to sing for my meal.

I really don't know why people should regard this as an important forum for Presidential Policy Pronouncements. You insiders, of course, know better: the President himself provides the floor show while everyone eats or drinks; and nobody bothers to listen.

And it's cheap entertainment, too: for the poor president cannot charge a fee for his act—else he becomes liable for double-compensation.

That, anyway, is how I think the organizers of this annual festivity have figured it all out. Well, they might yet prove too smart for their own good: right after lunch, Commissioner Ancheta and I shall be conferring about the overdue necessity of looking into the books of some law firms run by U.P. Alumni.

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this homecoming—surely the most celebrated homecoming in the Philippines—of the inner core of the Philippine political and professional elite is more than anything else an occasion for self-congratulation.

This is true of all homecomings, academic or not; for, of course, only the successful graduate, or, say, the migrant-who-made-good, ever attends them. Homecomings in fact are your best confirmation of Darwin's Theory about the survival-of-the-fittest.

Judging from the crowd here today, the attrition of real life has not inflicted too many casualties on the Alumni of the College of Law. And this is what we might expect, for this college has been—is—the training field of Filipino leadership, far beyond the record of other, lesser colleges of law that shall here pass nameless.

So, I shall not entertain you with a recounting of our achievements—because achievement is implicit in your careers—whether you have chosen to go into public life, into business or in the professions.

Instead, I shall speak to you of failures—problems, shortcomings, inhibitions—of cultural flaws, if you will—that have held us back from higher achievements as a people; failures that in the end reflect on our institutional leadership; flaws that we must somehow remedy, if we are to keep pace with the vigorous peoples who are our neighbors; shortcomings that we must overcome, if our elite is to justify its claims to national leadership, and if it is to lead our people to the good society they aspire to.

The Unserious Society

We Filipinos often feel smug, complacent, whenever we have occasion to compare ourselves with neighboring peoples. And it is true that, as a people, we are more homogenous: the differences in language, religion, customs and ethnicity among the inhabitants of this country are much less pronounced than they are in nearby countries.

We have no major problems of social integration. Our society is sufficiently secularized not to be too gravely threatened by any resurgence of fundamentalist religion.

Our state is less beset with foreign dangers and threats to the integrity of our borders. Our land holds many resources, including the modern industrial metals. The land is sufficiently fertile: the sea around us is both a moat of relative safety and a provider of abundant food.

Our people, we like to say, are highly-literate; well-aware of the value of education, adaptable; easy to teach—friendly, hospitable, gracious.

We all too easily concede ourselves this catalogue of virtues. If we become absolutely honest with ourselves, we will perhaps just as easily accept that we have more than our share of faults.

Our neighbors have done well despite their harsh circumstances, their complex social situations, and the outside threats to their territorial integrity. Neighboring societies have shown themselves strong enough—cohesive enough—to wrest political stability, economic progress and social peace from situations of adversity.

By comparison, we who are comparatively free from social tensions, foreign threats and economic crisis inflict on ourselves, problems for which we can blame no one else but ourselves. Surely this is a form of self-indulgence that justifies our being described as the unserious society.

Look, for instance, at the eagerness with which we try to put one over another: not only in traffic but in every other social situation. Look at how easily we are distracted; how quickly our enthusiasm wanes for difficult tasks that have to be done over the long haul.

Look at how hard it seems for us to work together—particularly in some cause beyond immediate profit or instant specific and material benefit. Even between government agencies, cooperation is not automatically to be expected. And as only one example of, what seems our endemic inability to work together, less than 10 percent of the 21,000 Samahang Nayan Cooperative Units organized in 1973 remain intact.

Even the severe stress of migration does not seem to have rid Filipinos of their excessive individualism. In one-on-one achievement, Filipinos overseas can stand up to any other ethnic grouping in the United States. Yet even that alien, inhospitable social environment doesn't seem to have taught them the virtues of association and cooperation.

It is true that the Filipino communities abroad have a proliferation of societies, associations and clubs: of dialect-groupings, of province-mates, of townmates, of fellow-craftmen, even of fellow-villagers. But this very multiplicity of associations betrays the basic lack of unity that keeps Filipino-Americans from becoming an ethnic group whose views and interests American policymakers—both in state governments and in Washington D.C.—must respect.

The disease of faction is, of course, not a failing unique to Filipinos. Faction is a failing of all human societies. But in few other places does it have the sharpness, the excessiveness, the virulence it seems to have in the Philippines.

For instance, factions are well-known in Japanese politics and in other aspects of Japanese life. But Japanese factions are able to combine at successively higher levels of mutual interest: teams within a company; companies in the same industry against competition from other Japanese industries; Japanese industries against foreign competition; and ultimately, "Japan Incorporated" against the world. By comparison, we Filipinos still seem unable to uphold the long-term good of the social group above the short-term profit of a faction within this larger community.

All too often we pursue our private interests without counting their social cost—particularly when, as often happens, this social cost must be paid not by us, but by succeeding generations.

Over the past century or so, this attitude has resulted in a despoliation of the Philippine environment.

For instance, both the Ilocos region and the central plains were once more fertile, cooler, and more hospitable to human settlements than they are now. Decades of short-sightedness, of neglect, of lack of community, have all led to the plunder of forests, the drying-up of water-courses and the progressive dessication of the fairest parts of Luzon—exorbitant social costs of a brief period of prosperity for which we are now paying in floods, droughts, barren lands and popular unrest: social costs, moreover, that our children too will have to bear in their turn.

History of Faction

One of the main reasons I have taken to the study of Philippine history is my wish to trace to its roots this cultural flaw in our people. Its beginnings may go back to the earliest barangay—which was not your usual political unit—like, say, the tribe in Africa—but an incomplete fragment of an ethnic group that had broken away from a mother-community and found its own niche: typically, in some coast or river-bank.

A scholar has described the barangays as “pseudo-families”: and like all kinship systems they are susceptible to faction—particularly during the early period, when all a disgruntled sub-chief need do was walk out on his Datu and, taking his immediate followers with him, sail out to another portion of the island.

Thus, the barangay seems to have been less a territorial unit than a personalist one. It was made up of one acknowledged leader and those who followed him; and our early history is full of the journeys and sailings of Datus and their followers—whether to flee their enemies, escape an outbreak of disease, or simply to search for new shores and new lands.

This tradition focused our concepts of loyalty on our families and our kinsmen. Beyond the village or community, there are only outsiders, “other people.” this personalist rather than territorial nature of barangay society gave us our casual attitude toward agriculture and the husbandry of the Earth’s resources: attitudes we still possess even now, long after we have reached the end of our land-frontier.

More than most other peoples, we tend to over-romanticize our historical experience of revolution. But even in 1896, faction was a predominant element in the failure of our single, supreme effort at self-liberation.

Even today, our sense of nationhood remains a fragile one. Not to speak of the secessionist rebellion in portions of the south, we have not been able even to agree on a national language, in the face of strong, linguistic rivalries that persist.

Ironically, the impact of modernity is aggravating the factionalism inherent in our society. As we move unavoidably from face-to-face relationships in the small-scale society to membership in the larger-scale society of the Filipino state, factionalism makes it that much easier for us to disregard our obligations to our countrymen in general—since the individual Filipino still recognizes no allegiance stronger than the one he owes to a small circle of relatives and friends, whose esteem he continues to value.

Compared to this particular allegiance, the sanction of public opinion is so diffuse as to be of little influence on individual behavior.

In a word, modernity has freed us from the traditional checks in the old community: but we have not been able to establish new rules of civility strong enough to check any behavioral excess. As a result, we all too often behave like strangers among other strangers—rather than citizens in their native state.

Nowhere has factionalism been more acute—and more destructive—than in national politics. As you know, it was the increasing rapacity of the factions contending for national power that brought about the downward spiral of social anarchy, which called forth crisis government in 1972.

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The Israelis, according to Barbara Tuchman, explain the factionalism of their political life as the natural consequence of long centuries without political power or responsibility. “They consider that the experience of self-government is gradually providing an enforced cure.”

Perhaps for us Filipinos also, the centuries of colonialism were an overly-long period of childhood. Only over the last generation have we been truly in command of our own fortunes. Perhaps the continuing experience of self-government will be as salutary for us, as it has been for the Israelis.

Perhaps the problems we are inflicting on ourselves today—the fragmentation of community life; cutthroat competition in commerce; the arrogance of our bureaucracy; the get-rich-quick ethic that all too often prevails in the economy—perhaps these are all transitional elements of our period of growing-up as a national community.

Yet we have no leisure to linger as a people in self-indulgent childhood.

We must establish new institutions of civility—with associated rights, obligations and values that Filipinos will generally accept.

We must give our national community a coherence that people can understand. We must found new standards of solidarity, in which our places are clear, and our goals are certain.

Above all, we must redefine for ourselves the meaning of national community: we must propagate a concept of the people that, in Walter Lippmann’s definition, embraces all at once the dead, the living and those yet to be born.

This is the task of the Filipino leadership—now and in the years to come.

This is the task to which this elite group must dedicate itself—lest all this self-celebration turns to ashes; and mocks our claim to being the best and the brightest in all this land.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on the First International Conference of Muslim Women in some Asian and Middle Eastern Countries, December 14, 1981

Speech of the President
First International Conference of Muslim
Women in some Asian and Middle Eastern
Countries
14 December 1981

In the Philippines, our way of welcoming friends and honored guests is to say, Mabuhay! Which means “long live”; on this occasion, I want to greet you “Assalamu Ala-Ikum Wara-Kamatulahi!”

I am sorry that my wife cannot be here, though she was most anxious to share with you this memorable day—which brings together Muslim women from many parts of Asia and the Middle East countries in a common endeavor to discuss the problems affecting themselves, their societies and the whole community of mankind.

I shall try to represent her views to you, as well as my own; though, of course, no matter how I may try, I cannot look half as pretty.

Let me begin by saying how pleased we are that you have chosen Manila for the site of your First International Conference. We regard your presence here as a recognition of the high and honored place that we Filipinos award to women; and an endorsement of our efforts to lift our Muslim communities to full social, economic and political development.

Islam, as you know, reached the Philippines as long ago as the fourteenth century—although some of our scholars now tend to support the theory that it came some 200 years earlier. Between 1380 and 1571, when the Spaniards took the Muslim settlement of Manila, the Muslim missions in the south expanded until they encompassed the Sulu archipelago and much of Mindanao island. Had they chosen to use force, as the Spaniards did in their conversion of the Filipinos, Islam might have penetrated much deeper into the Philippines.

But the Islamic-peoples of the Philippines explicitly obeyed the injunction against compulsion as a means of winning adherents. In our experience, therefore, Islam has been — and continues to be — a religion of peace, propagated not by force of arms or superior technology but by saintly Imams and Makdumin working alone among the people.

In all my readings in Philippines history, I have yet to come across any data that could support the common-enough western view of Islam as a militant and aggressive faith spread by fire and the sword. On the contrary, Islam in our country has helped preserve our Southeast Asian heritage; it has helped us hold on to our distinct identity throughout the centuries of colonialism.

Like the other great religions that came to Southeast Asia, Islam to a great extent adapted to indigenous practices, traditions and beliefs. This adaptation extended to social relationships prevailing even before the coming of Islam. Thus, to the conservative, Muslim Filipino women may seem somewhat unorthodox and even “modernist,” though this, of course, detracts not one bit from their adherence to all the basic tenets of Islam.

In Southeast Asia, women have always enjoyed an honored a very high-place in society, whether these communities be Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim or Christian. There have been periods in our regional history when women had ruled great empires and commanded mighty armies. The famous Moroccan traveler, Ibn Batuta, described the court of Princess Urduja of Luzon, which historians now believe to be mythical. But, in the Philippine south, we do know of societies where women led armies in war and ruled their people wisely.

One of these heroines was Pangiyon Inchi Jamila, mother of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II. In 1881, she was recorded as leading army against Spain, which had tried to install a pretender to the throne of Sulu; until in 1897 she was able to install her son as the rightful heir to the Sultanate.

A Muslim Filipino heroine of a gentler type was Hadja Mantaya Salih, a native of Basilan island off Zamboanga, who became the first Chief Nurse of the only hospital in the southern Philippines during the early American period. At about this time, Bai Matabay Plang was pioneering in education; she is truly one of the most outstanding women of the Philippines. And there are a legion of other Muslim Filipino women who have — long before “Women’s Lib” — distinguished themselves in business, management, politics, civic work, civil service, education, literature and other careers.

In the Muslim women of the Philippines, we see the felicitous conjunction of an egalitarian social culture and an equally egalitarian great religion. Our social institutions have reinforced the religious one in creating an open society that has allowed women of talent and energy to fulfill their life-missions as freely and as fruitfully as any man.

Over the past few years, the big lie that Islam is threatened in the Philippines has been circulated in the Muslim world by a small minority of rebels and secessionists in portions of our Muslim communities. Though these conspirators have been vocal in their sensationalism they have not succeeded in this effort — because the Muslim peoples have seen through them and their plots. They themselves are the gravest threat to Islam in the Philippines, for they have created havoc in the Muslim communities they have misled — by disguising their secular ambitions in the religious cause of Islam.

As the facts now stand, their pretensions to being leaders of the Muslim communities have been exposed. The majority of those who were misled have returned peacefully to the folds of national society. These adventurers try vainly to fan the spirit of rebellion-not so much in the Philippine south but in the capitals of the Islamic powers in which they seek patronage.

We may say, perhaps, that to some of them “rebellion” has become a source of livelihood. As a result, the “central committee” of the so-called Moro National Liberation Front has become a factious group: fighting over the spoils; leaving to government the task of rehabilitating, resettling and employing the victims of their violent mischief.

Others among the rebel — the radicals and ideologies-have allied themselves with communist guerrillas who have been trying to overthrow the Philippine government these last 15 years.

This alliance with our communists the radicals of the MNLF have entered into, even while exhorting the Muslim Filipinos—and the Muslim world—to support them in the name of religious solidarity. To us who are close to the scene, and of course know the true story, alliance merely confirms the MNLF’s ideological color, which is nowhere near that of the bright standard of Islam.

Even so, we continue to deal with them using both restraint and forbearance—recognizing as we do the complex and historic roots of discontent in our Muslim communities. Thus, we remain prepared to welcome them back into national society: even to tolerate their continuance in opposition, as long as they conduct themselves within the constitutional limits of political dissent.

I am sorry if I seem to digress: but, of course, peace is just as much the concern of women as it is of men, and it is of social tranquility in our Muslim communities in the south that I speak.

As you begin your conference, I ask you to add your collective voice — and it is a powerful one — to those of us who urge restraint and patience and understanding to men of whatever religion and whatever ideology in whatever part of the world, who have taken up arms to fight for what they see as their right.

It is proper and fitting for men to bleed and die for their honor and their loved ones' right to life. But the time must come when the bleeding, fighting and dying must end: and reconstruction, reconciliation and the works of peace begin again: work even more honorable and blessed, in which our women can lead and take part.

Thank you very much.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Speech of President Marcos on the 46th Armed Forces of the Philippines Anniversary, [December 21, 1981](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 46th Armed Forces of the Philippines Anniversary**

[Delivered on December 21, 1981]

I join the nation in congratulating the officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines on its 46th Anniversary. I join all Filipinos in acknowledging its forty-six years of dedicated and heroic service to people and country.

The years since 1935 have tested the mettle of this organization in the crucible of war and in the equally-trying times of peace.

Today, we can say with pride that the AFP stands as one of the pillars of national security and development.

The New Republic we have inaugurated; the crucial Martial-Law period we have weathered; the marked improvements in the life of the nation that we have achieved—all these could not have been possible without the participation and commitment of the armed forces.

This record, enviably by any standard, was achieved at great sacrifice. Many soldiers gave up their lives in combat-, many were maimed and crippled. To them goes the nation's enduring gratitude. This occasion as much in their honor, as it is for the living who must carry on the ideals they cherished.

The overwhelming majority of the members of the armed forces have consistently performed their duties in the highest traditions of the profession of arms. They and their kind constitute the backbone of this organization and the mainstay of national security. They are the ones for whom the praises and gratitude of our people must be publicly professed on this day.

I am gratified to note that the Chief of Staff, General Fabian C. Ver, has made one of his first priorities, the adoption of measures to enhance the morale and welfare of the individual soldier—by attending adequately to his basic needs, as well as improving his professional skill and expertise.

This is as it should be. The basic, indispensable element of any fighting organization is the individual soldier. No amount of machines and equipment—no matter how sophisticated—can make up for the inadequacies and shortcomings of its fighting men.

I would encourage General Ver to raise to the maximum, feasible limit his efforts to upgrade the morale and fighting spirit of our soldiers. Every officer should insure that he himself is fit to command his men—that he can motivate them by the example of his own professional conduct.

We shall also continue to upgrade the material readiness of the armed forces; to modernize its arms and equipment; and to improve its capability to take part in national development.

We have newly acquired from the United States, under the military assistance agreement, 43 assorted new heavy engineering equipment. This equipment will go to the army engineer brigades; it should boost the AFP's capability to undertake public works projects.

I would like to express here our sincere appreciation to the joint us military advisory group for accelerating the delivery of this equipment.

We have also newly acquired, through U.S. Military sales credit, fifteen helicopters. These versatile aircraft will greatly improve our battlefield mobility in counter-insurgency operations; and the AFP's capability to assist in disaster and relief operations.

We are starting to modernize the AFP Fixed Communication System countrywide through U.S. Military Grant Aid and Foreign Military Sales Credit. This will both improve command and control of field units; and provide a back-up to the national communication system.

At the same time we are accelerating our Self-Reliance Defense Posture Program. These material inputs must be paced by efforts to improve the quality of our soldiery—whose qualities should include professional competence and expertise; loyalty; love of service; an indomitable spirit, and oneness with the people. We must continue to ensure that the spirit and morale of the majority in the AFP are not dulled by the few in the organization who have abused their positions for selfish ends; consequently tarnishing the image of the entire organization. To tolerate these few in their ways would be to mock the noble work of the majority and, in the long term, to wreck irreparable harm on the organization and destroy popular faith and confidence in the AFP.

The internal threat that confronts us is made up of men and women of high motivation and conviction in their cause. We can prevail against them only if we have an equal—if not greater—motivation and conviction. The order of the day, therefore, is for the AFP to look to itself first; to set its house in order; to develop in every man—from the top echelons to the rank and file—the attitudes and orientation that will motivate them to render true service to our people; to identify with them, to be one with them in their labors, their aspirations and their achievements.

The secessionist rebellion in the south, weakened as it is, still is a serious threat. The local communist movement, in particular the NPA, is flexing its muscles in the more remote areas and continuing its effort to win over a mass-following. But, for as long as we have an Armed Forces solidly supported by the people, the final issue is never in doubt. We shall prevail.

But security—in its traditional sense of fighting the enemy—is not our only concern. Development merits equal—even greater—attention. Anyone who would evaluate the state of our security must do so in the context of total national development.

Yes, we have achieved gains, some of which are unprecedented. The guarded hopes with which we started out in 1972 have now been transformed into a strong confidence in our capacity as a people to account for ourselves. But, at the same time, we have set in motion rising expectations among our people—and these new expectations we must reasonably meet, if we are to keep this country on an even keel.

I cannot stress too strongly that the threat we face cannot be resolved by force of arms alone. We can wipe out all those who bear arms against the constituted authorities: but for as long as we do not address the causes which have given rise to them, for every enemy that will fall, another one will take his place.

This is why the armed forces has been increasingly involved in the works of peace and development—whether on its own, as a complement to its security missions, or as part of an overall national program. In this role, the AFP has acquitted itself well—exhibiting innovation, pioneering spirit, and a sense of urgency that our civilian agencies all too-seldom show.

What we seek are more than just the material edifices of growth and the physical transformation of the landscape. Above all, we seek the transformation of our people—to make them fully confident of their innate capacity to solve their own problems; to unite them in the tasks we have to do.

For the real fight in this country is—as it has always been—development. It is, as I have often pointed out, the fight against poverty, disease, ignorance and injustice. It is the problem of meeting rising expectations, of providing for basic needs, of improving the quality of people's lives. This is where we must concentrate our energies. If we fail in this, the most powerful armed forces in the world cannot assure us the security and stability we need.

I am happy to note that the AFP has always appreciated the problem of security in this light; and that it has responded accordingly. The general staff has just submitted to me its new strategy on internal security for the eighties—a plan which will enable the AFP both to deal more effectively with the internal threat and to take part more productively in national development. I wish to commend General Ver for this comprehensive plan. I expect its vigorous implementation. I will give it my full support.

Throughout our history, Filipino men-at-arms have always been in the mainstream of national life. Today, the times offer you even greater opportunities to relate yourselves more substantively and in wider dimensions to national goals.

Officers, men and civilian employees of the armed forces of the Philippines: I exhort you to strive for greater heights of service to our people and to our country. I am confident that, as always, you will respond in full measure. At the last AFP loyalty parade, I directed the ministry of human settlements to allocate 14,000 housing units to the armed forces partially to satisfy the clamor of military personnel for adequate dwellings. I, however, feel that such housing assistance is still inadequate and an increase in the present level of the soldiers quarters allowance is imperative.

I hereby sign the increase in quarters allowance of the officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, to be effective on January 1 of calendar year 1982.

In recognition of dedicated and valuable services rendered by our combat soldiers to the republic of the Philippines, I hereby approve and sign before you a proposal granting additional combat clothing to enlisted personnel, draftees and trainees assigned or detailed with units engaged in combat operations. This combat clothing shall be issued annually and shall be over and above that authorized by existing regulations.

Only recently, I approved the promotion of 407 field grade officers and 1,557 company grade officers. Since then, the retirement of some senior officers have created twenty-eight new positions and promotional vacancies in the senior ranks. In line with our policy of spreading promotion benefits to deserving senior officers, I hereby approve the promotion of _____ effective _____.

Finally, I wish to give you our best wishes—my own and that of my family, for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, to all of you in the Armed Forces.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Christmas Message of President Marcos, [December 25, 1981](#)

**Christmas message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To his fellow countrymen**

[Delivered on December 25, 1981]

My countrymen:

The Yuletide season is once more upon us. It comes at a time when uncertainties and apprehensions are arrogantly poised to mar the very meaning of this sacred season. Uncertainties that are universal and apprehensions that are entirely man made. Peace and the attendant search for man's guiding star are still illusive in the firmament of humanity. But after all, isn't man destined to suffer to atone for his sins and quantify that Friday in Calvary.

The message of Christmas is pure, simple and just: "man will find his peace." We have seen the wrath of God, we have seen the misdeeds of foul men, we have seen the goodness of man, we have seen the frailties of man. Christmas, like all Christian holidays, is a time for renewal, a time for faith, a time for giving, a time for receiving, and above all else, a time for love. Love is the eternal message. Christmas is the testament to that message. And so as we approach the birth of Christ, the Saviour, let us as a people and a nation, of whatever creed or clime, raise our voice in unison and pronounce to the community of nations around this Earth, a Merry Christmas and goodwill to men.

My family and I, the First Lady, Imee, Irene and Ferdinand Jr., join this nation in wishing you a bountiful Christmas... May all your hopes and wishes be fulfilled to the utmost. Merry Christmas.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Draft message of President Marcos on Manila International Film Festival, [December 28, 1981](#)

**Draft message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Manila International Film Festival**

[Delivered on December 28, 1981]

As an art and as an industry, the cinema has become one of the 20th century's most potent forces for bridging continents and furthering the cause of friendship and understanding among nations.

Through the film, peoples of the world share their perceptions of reality in a form that harnesses and heightens the power and vividness of the other arts. To the extent that the film transcends the barriers of race, creed, culture and ideology, and affords audiences in various parts of the world an insight into the ultimate oneness of their dreams and aspirations, then we can consider ourselves one step closer to the ideals of global peace and unity.

The Philippines, cognizant of the power and cogency of the film as an art form and as an instrument of peace among nations, is committed to the development of the film industry in all parts of the globe. The 1982 Manila International Film Festival is an affirmation of that commitment.

With the Manila International Film Festival, the Philippines sets up in Asia an international meeting place where filmmakers, film distributors and representatives of film audiences from all over the world can gather together, learn from one another, and ultimately work hand in hand in nurturing both the art and the industry towards greater verve and vitality.

To all participants in the 1982 Manila International Film Festival, welcome and Mabuhay!

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Commemoration Rites for Dr. Jose Rizal, [December 30, 1981](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Commemoration Rites for Dr. Jose Rizal**

[Delivered on December 30, 1981]

It is not only because of habit or for show that we gather here dutifully every year to pay homage to the memory of Dr. Jose Rizal.

Our life as a nation and as a people take meaning from the lives of our great men in history, and nowhere more truly than from the man who was martyred here in Bagumbayan 85 years ago.

There may be fashions and fads that occasionally may color our veneration of the man and the life, moments of reassessment and restudy of his precise place in our national history, but after such self-conscious moments of reexamination, we return to the one incontrovertible truth: that in Rizal we have an authentic hero of the race who spoke not only to his time but to our own.

In the truest sense of the words that we sometimes casually speak but only dimly understand, Rizal was the nation we are today. He was surely not alone in giving vision and life to the nation that eventually emerged in these islands, for many indeed have been the great men and women who labored to create the nation we were destined to be. But of Rizal perhaps we can say that his role was seminal in our turbulent emergence into nationhood; and more than that, he provided our people a measure for the achievement and possession of nationhood.

It is a paradox that this man whom we venerate more than any other hero in our history denied his support for our national revolution of 1896. And there is supreme irony and pathos too in the fact that the same revolution he denied would lead to his own martyrdom.

Yet he is not, I think, diminished by this lack of faith in revolutionary struggle, and by his belief that to make the Filipino nation, his people needed more time and needed to prepare themselves better.

For while we surely will ever venerate the fervor and valor of arms that marked our revolutionary struggle for independence, so also do we recognize now Rizal's prophetic vision of the exacting demands of nationhood, and of the need for our people to be unswerving and forthright in the exercise of independence.

Though there is great tragedy in the manner of his passing, and great drama in his signal moment in our national history, it is not as a man of action that we remember him, but as a man of ideas, as a man who awakened our people to visions of themselves they had not known before.

He is surely the most complex and multi-dimensional figure in our history. In a lifetime shorter than that of many of his contemporaries, he combined the role of critic and participant in the great events of his time, he was leader and scholar, scientist and novelist, and many other things besides.

Such a life cannot be summed up in one simple measure of a man's impact on history. Not one great passion, but many, dominated his rather brief life.

But in all these many directions to which his life had taken him, one stood out above all others: and that was his sense of a living tie between himself and the generations which were to come. For himself he did not dream of

seeing the Filipino nation being born during his lifetime; he could only see it dawning for those who were to follow him.

In this perhaps, he was limited in his inability to see the ferment that was churning in the society around him. But in this also is the incalculable legacy that he was to bequeath to the nation-builders of a later time: the insight that a nation is not really born in one great burst of passion, it too must be nurtured by methodical construction and study.

In the great collection of writings that he left behind, he examines over and over again the many questions that attend the task of nation-building.

For him, nationhood was not a question of rejecting the old for the new, or vice versa; all the past is the basis for beginning the future.

“Ours,” he wrote, “is a tremendous task. We young Filipinos are trying to make over a nation and must not halt in our onward march... We are anxious to learn of the past, which we need to understand in order to plan intelligently for the future.”

He shirked the course of revolution, and indeed he did not believe his people ready for independence. “I place,” he wrote, “as a prior condition the education of the people, that by means of instruction and industry our country may have individuality of its own and make itself worthy of these liberties.”

But he was not unaware of the other forces in his society that then were tending in another direction. “If force compels us,” he wrote “to be silent or misfortune removes us from public life — which is not impossible since we are mortal — then we know not upon what courses a younger generation, more numerous and aggressive than we are, and straining to take our places, will embark.”

Rizal’s answer to the challenge of change was reform not revolution, and this was specifically the result of his perception of the situation of his country and his people then, and we may say too that this was the response of a man of peace.

It is not given to us to say which of the two responses — reform or revolution — truly befitted the Philippines at the turn of the century; in the event the revolution did take place and became an integral part of our national history.

But this much may be said: that Rizal’s political ideas, his concept of process in a people’s gradual achievement and possession of nationhood, his trust in evolutionary growth — they have something enduring to say to the Filipino generations that came to birth with national independence already won.

Rizal believed in the unbroken link between past, present and future, and that progress is the result of understanding and nurture.

Progress, he states at every turn, will be the fruits of education and effort put together, and not by any magical means.

And to the end he was constant in the belief that creative effort, not destructive action alone make society hospitable to human life and community.

These ideas born in a time of ferment in our distant past have their own meaning and relevance to our own time — and particularly so, I would think, because we are faced not with the winning of independence, but with giving meaning and truth to our nationhood.

Rizal more than any great figure in our national history does not diminish in relevance because he rises beyond the great issues of his day to address the concerns of generations to come. Again and again, each generation of our people come in homage before Rizal and have something to learn and remember.

And so it is with us at this commemoration during this the first year of our New Republic.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1981). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos, [January 9, 1982](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines**

[Delivered on January 9, 1982]

Makasaysayan at maligaya ang mga sandaling ito na ating ipinagdiriwang ang tagumpay ng katarungang malaong inasam ng mga kasama nating naririto ngayon. Kahit natagalan bago natamo ang tagumpay, at pag-alinsunod sa kasabihang Pilipino: mahuli man ang magaling, maaaring ihabol din, lubos ang ating kasiyahang nadarama sapagka't alam nating sa wakas, ang daan-daan nating mga kasama ang magiging may-ari na ng lupang kanilang tinitirahan, at mula sa araw na ito, sumilay sa kanilang mga palad ang isang bagong buhay na lipos ng pag-asa at karangalan.

Ito ay araw ninyo, kayong lahat na malaong naghintay sa dakilang araw na ito kaya angkop lamang na ang ating mga kababayan at ang pamahalaan ay maging bahagi ng dakilang araw ng inyong tagumpay.

Natitipon tayo rito ngayon hindi lamang upang saksihan ang katuparan ng pangarap ng mga taga-Tunasan Homesite na tatanggap ngayong araw na ito ng titulo ng kanilang mga lupa. Naririto tayo ngayon, natitipon upang minsan pang patunayan ang ating pananalig na sa ating bansa, sa lilim ng Bagong Republika, lubos tayong nananalig sa katarungang panlipunan at sa simulaing pagkalooban ng lupa ang walang lupa at bigyan ng bahay ang walang bahay. Magkasama tayo sa panata na saan man patuloy na umiiral ang kawalan ng katarungang panlipunan, sama-sama tayong magsisikap upang malasap ng balana ang katarungang panlipunan; na saan man may alitan tungkol sa lupa, maagap at matatag tayong klkilos upang magkaroon ng makatarungang lunas ang suliranin; at sa lahat ng mga sigalutang ito, ang karapatan ng lalong nakararami ang mamamayani.

Ang mga ugat ng suliraning bumalam nang maluwa sa pagkakaloob ng titulo sa mga tagarito sa Tunasan Homesite ay nagmula pa nang nakalipas na mga panahon na tulad ng iba pang bahagi ng ating bansa, ang malalawak na lupain ay pag-aari ng mga prayle nang Panahon ng Kastila.

Noon pa mang mga panahong iyon, kakuwa at kawalang katarungan na ang may-ari ng lupaing Pilipino ay mga banyaga.

Sa loob ng maraming dantaon, salin at salin ang lupaing ito sa mga tagapamahalang prayle, nguni't kailanman, hindi ito nagiging pag-aari ng mga kamay na bumubungkal dito nang masinop. At kahit nang ang pamahalaan ay matatag na sa layuning bilhin ang malalawak na asyenda upang ipamudmod sa mga naninirahan dito, malalaki at marami pa rin ang sagabal at hadlang.

Ito ang karanasan ng mga taga-Tunasan Homesite na sa mga sandaling ito ay nagwakas ang apatnapu't dalawang taon ng kanilang pakikipaglaban.

Malaking karangalan ng inyong lingkod na ang dakilang sandali ng tagumpay sa inyong pakikipaglaban ay naganap sa panahon ng aking pamamahala. Ang ikinalulungkot ko lamang, ang marami sa inyong mga ninuno at magulang ay wala na ngayon upang maging saksi ng katuparan nang malaon ninyong pangarap at tagumpay.

Nang bilhin ng pamahalaan ang lupaing ito noong 1939, ang tanging hangarin ay maipamigay ito sa mga dukha. Nguni't, nagkaroon pa rin ng mga sagwil at pag-aatubili kaya halos kalahating dantaon ang nagdaan bago natupad ang layunin.

Ang tangi kong dalangin sa makasaysayan at maligayang sandaling ito ay walang iba kundi mahalin at sinupin sana ng mapapalad na nagtamo ng titulo ang lupang itong malaong inasam ng inyong mga ninuno, at yaong mga hindi

naging mapalad naman na tulad ninyo, sana, balang araw, maging kanila rin ang lupang tinitirikan ng kanilang mga tahanan.

Iyan ang aking pangarap, at habang makakaya ng pamahalaan, walang sisikapin ang inyong lingkod kundi bigyang katuparan ang pangarap na ito. Walang sisikapin sa tuwina ang inyong lingkod kundi gamitin ang tungkuling ibinigay ninyo sa akin upang matupad ang pangarap ng bawa't Pilipino na magkaroon ng sariling lupa at tahananang magiging pugad ng kaligayahan sa lahat ng sandal.

Marami pong salamat!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Extemporaneous Address of President Marcos on the First Manila International Film Festival, [January 18, 1982](#)

**Extemporaneous Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the First Manila International Film Festival**

[Delivered on January 18, 1982]

Master of Ceremonies, Mr. Jack Valenti, Your Excellencies, the Heads of the Foreign Delegations, Your Excellencies, the Diplomatic Corps, Foreign Guests, Fellow Administrators in Government, Countrymen, My Friends:

Allow me first of all to extend the gratitude of the entire Filipino people to our foreign guests who have come from all corners of the globe to participate in the Film Festival under the sponsorship of the people of the Philippines. I am certain I speak the sentiment of all our people when I say to them we give not only the usual greetings of Mabuhay but the gifts of hospitality and affection from our hearts which extends the message to them that it is our hope that their stay in our country will be both pleasant and productive.

I must extend special gratitude to Mr. Jack Valenti for his generous words for me and the First Lady. I do not deserve his accolade but all modesty aside, I believe I can join him in extending congratulations to the First Lady for having finished this imposing building where we hold the ceremonies for this Film Festival. I could not believe and up to now I cannot believe that we are actually holding this opening ceremonies in a building that was been finished a few hours back. Mr. Jack Valenti, I understand, threatens to import the First Lady to the United States to help finish some of the unfinished projects in that great country. On this matter, we may draw the line.

But at the same time let us also recognize and give appreciation to the men and women who have contributed their share of devotion and hard work to accomplish this impossible task – the engineers, the architects, the foremen, the craftsmen, the workers and the thousands who are part of this great achievement.

You may wonder what a politician is doing in a film festival. First of all, it is imperative that a national leader has to take deep interest and keep step with the dominant popular art. Of course, this is probably the reason that my Economic Ministers have taxed the film industry so heavily as your industry has stated. Rest assured, however, that the matter is under constant and serious review. In years past politicians had to master the art of theatrical histrionics and oratory but now audio visual – basically film art – is the medium for the entertainer and the politician. As some observers say there really is not much difference between the two. You are well aware that ignorance of or incompetence in your art has been fatal to some otherwise great politicians.

Civilizations as you know are characterized by their technologies. I need not tell you how the plow, the wheel, the steam engine, the splitting of atom has revolutionized man's way of doing things. Much to our subject the printing press which was invented in China in the 9th century and became known in Europe as the Gutenberg Revolution in the 15th century started the democratization of knowledge and communication. Before then, knowledge was the privilege of the elite, mostly the priestly and imperial elite. It must be said of printing that it paved the way for the French and Russian Revolutions. Now that the 1839 invention of the Frenchman Daguerre has further revolutionized communication we can certainly ask what revolution in turn will this art precipitate.

But I would like to think that it will reinvigorate or recreate societies rather than destroy them; reconcile social classes instead of pitting one against the other and that it will unite rather than divide human beings and nations all over the world.

There is perhaps in our time no medium more powerful or immediate and pervasive in its impact on human society as the cinema. It is the great paradox of art and literature that what is accomplished in solitude and even in seclusion from the public must also be the most public of all creations.

The historian Barbara Tuckman not long ago suggested that if we pause to record mankind's greatest moments against our present despondency and pessimism, we must count among the milestones of man's achievements, his ingenuity to entertain and amuse himself and to create works of great brilliance and delight. And she regards entertainment and art as among mankind's greatest achievements, which balance what sometimes appear as the severities of human experience today.

And what is the relevance of film festivals to our despairing world? No one believes though it would be nice if it were so, that the very first international film festival to be held in what is sometime referred to the Third World, will do anything revolutionary to the art of cinema in our time. Art we are always reminded is not impressed by awards. In fact genius, so the writer reminds us, scoffs at man-made honors, titles and awards of recognition.

But as in all activities cinema is inhabited by humans with all too human needs, the need of filmmakers and craftsman, artists and financiers for some kind of recognition that their work touches the life around them;

It is for this and for nothing else, that film festivals may be said to have relevance and meaning in our modern world.

It was the historic role in ancient and modern society for the leader to interpret experience and to help people understand the purposes of human activity and their objectives. Thus the leader or medicine man had to be the big orator and facile writer to articulate the vague groping yearnings of the mute and silent multitude. They had to interpret into recognizable and acceptable terms the hazy dreams of nationhood, of unity and integration. They had to draw in inspiring form the victories of the past so they may gain pride and dignity as a people; to create in palpable form the visions of achievement and even greatness.

This has been taken over by the creative writer and artist and now by the cinema and it could well be that our time more than any previous era, our world with all its challenges and burdens, its anxieties and presentiments has never been in greater need of the creative artist to provide illumination and insights. Otherwise the world might dissolve into virtual incoherence and confusion.

More and more, for good or bad, whether we like it or not, we see the cinema shaping human destiny.

But then perhaps what politicians and statesmen have failed to attain in their exercise of national and international authority uniquely in its own pervasive way the cinema will achieve.

By establishing the common denominator of cultures and civilization; by setting values acceptable to all peoples and races; by making aspirable all the hopes and dreams of all the peoples including the less fortunate and making universal the inspiration, enlightenment of all men, the cinema may yet fulfill man's dream of a united world. This Film Festival may therefore be the proper prologue to an industry and art that transcends the boundaries of nations and belongs to all humanity. Of what better proof is there than that gathered here in our humble city of Manila are the creative artists, geniuses, talents, producers, craftsmen, writers and the film makers of the world, come to speak the universal language of art and culture.

May they attain this dream!

Thank you.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos at the inauguration of Dagat-Dagatan Memorial Park, [January 28, 1982](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inauguration of Dagat-Dagatan Memorial Park**

[Delivered on January 28, 1982]

Sa seremonyang ito ay muling pinatitibayan ang katuparan ng pangako ng ating pamahalaan na mabigyan ng lupa ang mga maralita sa kalunsuran.

Makahulugan ang pagpapasinaya ng parkeng ito, gayundin ang pagkakaloob ng mga titulo ng lupa sa may apat-na-libong mamamayang naninirahan sa bahaging ito ng Navotas.

Ang nadarama ninyong kasiyahan sa pagtapos ng parkeng ito at pagtanggap ng inyong titulo ng lupa ang siya ring nadama ng libu-libong iba pa na tumanggap ng mga biyaya sa ilalim ng programa sa pabahay sa Metro Manila na nagbigay din ng pag-asa sa marami pang mamamayang tatanggap din ng ganitong biyaya.

Walang ibang higit na nagpapatingkad sa paninindigan ng ating pamahalaan na matugunan ang pangunahing pangangailangan ng mga maralita kundi ang patuloy na pag-uukol ng pansin at pagpapahalaga sa ating programa ng pabahay, lalung-lalo na sa mga dahop na pook.

Sa kasaysayan ng ating lungsod, marami nang mga pinuno ang nagsikap para malutas ang problema sa pabahay subali't ang lahat ng ito unthunting nawalang saysay at hindi nagkaroon ng katuparan.

Hindi mangyayari ito sa ating mga programa sa ngayon.

Nang simulan natin ang pagsisikap na muling paunlarin ang lungsod ng Maynila at mga karatig-pook, marami ang mistulang hindi naniniwala sa tagumpay ng hakbanging ito. Mayroon ding naniniwala na walang magagawa para malutas ang malaking suliraning ito ng kaMaynilaan.

Ngayong araw na ito, maituturo natin sa kanila ang kaunlarang nagawa natin dito sa dagat-dagatan upang patunayan ang katapatan ng mga pangako at ang bisa ng mga pagbabagong ating inilunsad.

Sa loob ng maraming taong nakalipas, paulit-ulit nating pinasinayaan ang maraming bahagi ng proyektong ito, gayundin ang iba pang proyekto sa metro manila. Nagpapatunay lamang ito na ang ating pagsisikap ay hindi minsan lamang kundi patuluyan upang matulungan ang mga maralita at mabagong anyo ang mga pamayanan.

Sa lupaing ito sa baybayin ng look ng Maynila, natamo natin ang isang bagay na dati-rati'y itinuturing nating imposible o mahirap mangyari: ang pag-unlad ng mga pamairlayan ng tao at ang pagsulong ng katatagan ng komunidad sa bahaging ito ng ating lungsod.

Sa loob ng nakalipas na isang taon, ang inyong lingkod at ang unang ginang ay nakapagkaloob na ng 10,900 titulo ng lupa sa mahihirap na pamilya. At ngayong araw na ito ay 4,000 mamamayan ang pinagka-looban namin ng mga titulo ng lupa.

Dahil dito, masasabi nating ito ay isang katibayan ng kaunlaran ng mga dahop na lugar.

Katibayan din ito ng pagpapabuti kg katayuang sosyal at pagkakaloob kg mga pangunahing pangangailangan sa mga pamayanan sa Metro Manila. Mas mabuti ngayon ang ginagawang pagpapaunlad at pagpapalano ng lungsod kaysa noong araw bagaman natitiyak ko na aaminin ng unang ginang at mga alkalde na marami pang bagay na dapat gawin.

Ngayon ay masasabi natin ang tunay na kahulugan ng pag-alagata sa kapakanan ng mga maralita at dahil dito ay dapat lamang suportahan ang ating mga programa.

Ang pagpapaunlad ng mga dahop na pook ay patunay ng pagsisikap ng ating pamahalaan na maipamahagi ang mga biyayang dapat tamasahin ng bansa na si yang bunga ng kaunlaran.

Habang sinisikap nating paunlarin ang buong bansa, hindi natin maikakaila na ang progreso ay walang kabuluhan kung hindi mabibiyayaan ang mga maralita nating mamamayan. Ito ang pangunahing layunin ng ating programa sa pabahay sa Metro Manila.

Gayunman, hindi tayo dapat makuntento sa pagkakaloob lamang ng tirahan sa ating mga mamamayan. Dapat din nating bigyang-pansin ang pagkakaloob sa kaimila ng ikabubuhay.

Dalawa ang layunin ng ating programa para sa mga mahihirap: ito ay ang pagpapaunlad ng lupang tirahan at pagkakaloob ng hanapbuhay sa ilalim ng kilusang kabuhayan at at kaunlaran o K-K-K.

Sa maikling salita, layunin mating magtatag ng isang pamayanang makatitindig sa sarili mula sa mga dating slum areas o pook ng mahihirap.

Sa kabuuan, ang konsepto ng kaunlaran ay wala sa mga statistics kundi nasa mga biyayang naibibigay sa mga pamilya at komunidad. Naniniwala kami na ang tinatawag na Quality of Life, tulad ng malimit banggitin ng ating unang ginang ang siyang pinaka-isyu kapag napag-uusapan ang kaunlaran o development.

Gaano man kalaki ng mga problema na dapat lutasin sa pagsisikap nating mapaunlad ang Metro Manila, masasabi na natin ngayon na hindi nabigo ang ating mga pangarap at pagsisikap.

Gaano man kalaki ng mga problemang kinakaharap natin, malaki ang pag-asa nating ang lahat ng ito'y malulutas para sa mas magandang kinabukasan.

Ang Dagat-Dagatan ay patunay ng potensiyal ng bawa't Pilipino na umunlad para sa kanyang kapakanan at sa komunidad.

Sa lugar na ito ay nasaksihan ninyo ang mga paghihirap ... At sa pamamagitan ng tulung-tulong nating pagsisikap ay narito na ngayon ang bagong pag-asa. Ito ang kailangan natin para sa isang mas matatag at maunlad na bansa at lipunan.

Ang lahat ng ito ay naging katotohanan dahil sa pakikipagtulungan ninyo sa ating pamahalaan. Makakamit natin ang anumang tagumpay sa pagtutulungan natin sa isa't isa.

Sana sa mga susunod pang okasyon ay muli tayong magkasama-sama tulad din ng makabuluhan at maka-hulugang selebrasyong ito.

Salamat po.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos before the Career Executive Service Alumni Association, [February 4, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Career Executive Service Alumni Association**

[Delivered on February 4, 1982]

It is a pleasure to meet with my colleagues and fellow workers in government, on this occasion marking the first anniversary of your association.

It was a bit confused at first when I was told that this is the first anniversary for the Career Executive Service Program, for I well remember the occasion when the program was launched. I was the guest of honor then, and that was nearly a decade ago. But Minister Dumlao assures me that there has been no mistake: your alumni association was just belatedly formed, and it is the association's founding day which we observe today.

You remember the saying, "better late than never," so that is what I will say of the formation of your association, and in that same spirit I eagerly join you for this anniversary observance.

You constitute a vital cog in the government service, to whom we look for efficiency and competence in the administration of government policies and programs.

It is not always realized that for the effective functioning of government you need basically two elements to work well together, politics on the one hand which organizes powers and shapes public policy; and you need on the other what is called "bureaucracy" or "administration" which is the process of executing public policies after legislators and politicians have hammered them out.

In our country, the shaping of public policy is a very visible thing; but the execution of policy, once it passes from the hands of ministers to the multitude of units in our government system, becomes a veritable blur.

And when I think of this, I think sometimes of an old complaint from one among your ranks, who shall go unnamed and who said: "our ministers have all the glamor, but we in the middle levels of the service get only the flak, especially when things don't work out very well."

It was mainly because of this that modern representative governments developed the concept of a career service to man the ramparts of the government bureaucracy, and to complement the decision-making role of the cabinet ministers which logically must be a reflection of the political beliefs and goals of the incumbent leadership. This is so in the United Kingdom and the Republic of France, where you have two of the most effective models of government bureaucracy working at its best, though the political situation itself has often been visited by whirlwinds. And when we speak of inefficiency and instability of government in the less developed countries, we are finally pointing to a very basic failing: the failure to mold a government bureaucracy that is effective, competent, and free of domination by politics.

These considerations led us to establish the Development Academy of the Philippines as a training ground for our government's corps of officers and supervisors. And specifically, the academy developed the career executive service development program to retrain and tool our deputy ministers and bureau directors, who are so important to the execution of policy in practically every ministry and agency of government.

Now several years after the launching of the C.E.S. Program, we can not be in doubt that it has produced results. At the very least, it has graduated over a thousand of you who constitute this association. Hopefully, your graduation

from the program has also meant some kind of new energy and greater capability in the administration of government policies and programs.

And it is in this latter light, that I would like now to focus my remarks at this commemorative occasion on a vital government policy and program, and the role that you have to play in it. I refer to our Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran movement.

I need not discuss here anymore the various policy considerations and objectives that led us to the formulation of this major national program. It will suffice to state here that the Kilusan is critical to the creation of employment opportunities and the promotion of productive economic activities at the level of our local communities. We see in the K.K.K. not merely a timely response to the problems and anxieties of the hour, but a long-term answer to the underdevelopment of our rural sector.

We have framed the policy. We have blueprinted the program. We have worked upon the organizational structure for this all-encompassing movement.

The test before us now is to make it work.

As a national movement, the K.K.K. involves practically every agency and ministry of government, as well as the chain of local governments throughout the country. There is a role for every unit to play; and there is an equally indispensable role for the private sector to perform.

But there is a basic danger to every big program which we must guard against. This is the tendency to presume that because all are involved, one can safely be oblivious or negligent about his part in the program. This is the danger that in the vision of the forest, we may not perceive the role of every tree in forming the greenery.

In all honesty, it must be said now that the starting thrusts of the K.K.K. have been mainly the efforts so far of a few sectors of the bureaucracy who have worked aggressively to get the program going. Support from the rest of the service has been more rhetorical than real.

Let us also say that there are a great number of people in the bureaucracy, including possibly the many who are now here gathered, who have not yet warmed up to the idea that the K.K.K. is the priority development program of the national government.

I do not know how to put this in more emphatic terms, but regardless of what agency you represent, no one among you can circumvent accountability in the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. All of us, no matter how defined our official functions may be, will account for our participation, or lack of it, in this common effort to promote national productivity.

I am glad that at this point in time, there is no significant problem that has yet arisen out of the initial jolt of energy in the implementation of the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. However, I view these initial efforts as nothing more than the planting of a good seed.

At this point, the test of your worth as career government executives begins.

We have reached the point when we must assess each other frankly, both as friends and as public servants. In this assessment, we need to measure our participation, individually, as a government official aggressively implementing the K.K.K. Program; and collectively, as a team working to galvanize the people and the bureaucracy in the sustained implementation of the national livelihood program.

I understand that your organization, the Career Executive Service Development Program Alumni Association, has a chapter in each of the 13 regions of the country.

I would like to see your association go into the one-team concept, eliminating that curse of civil service—the red tape—in the process of energizing our government offices in whatever integrated regional development approaches you may formulate to ensure the successful implementation of the K.K.K.

There are innumerable ways whereby government agencies and units can get involved. A cursory review alone of the various program prototypes for K.K.K. projects, and the many aspects of the program, shows how every agency of government can provide inputs and support to the program. Our ministries and agencies in the social development sector can be engaged in harnessing and enhancing the capabilities of communities and social sectors to participate productively. Our general government ministries—justice, defense, information, foreign affairs—can be involved in creating conditions for the proper understanding of the movement at home and the necessary support of it abroad, especially in the vital aspect of creating markets. And our economic ministries and agencies logically must be involved in this movement which forms an essential part of our national development strategy.

Clarifying how such involvement can be turned into productive endeavors is the role I think of our ministers and the middle levels of managers in our government bureaucracy. You have to frame the strategy for your specific involvement, and once that is crystallized, you must ensure the proper execution of your K.K.K. support projects.

The role of government in the Kilusan is essentially that of coordination, monitoring, and supervision, from national to local level. The role of the private sector is of turning the movement into entrepreneurial activities of production and gainful employment.

We look to the entrepreneurial spirit resident in every individual and community as the essential ingredient that will make the K.K.K. come alive. For if that spirit cannot be raised, the Kilusan would fail. If government itself must undertake the individual projects, there would be no sense in calling it a movement, and no need for the Kilusan at all. It would be a bureaucratic program altogether.

We know however that our people and our local communities do not lack desire or will to engage in activities that will promote their welfare. What they need is guidance and assistance, and this is what we in government are pledged to provide: assistance in financing, assistance in technical requirements, assistance in determining the feasibility of projects, assistance in selecting projects that will truly benefit the enterprise and the community.

When I say now that you in the career executive service are indispensable to the success of the Kilusan, I am specifically saying that you constitute the force of government support to K.K.K. participants—that only by your own active involvement, can we begin to redeem the pledges and promises we have made in this all-important movement.

So I appeal to you now to work not individually but together in answering this call to action.

And I appeal also to your association to lead in bringing this about.

Through your Association President, Deputy Minister Dumlao, we will monitor henceforth your program of activities.

All this really brings us to the fundamental principle that underpins the successful work of government. It is that every government must have both of leadership and management. James Macgregor Burns put it very well when he wrote that leadership is essentially concerned with “goals rather than methods, change rather than stability, context rather than process, innovation rather than routine, on creativity rather than adaptation.” The government bureaucracy is concerned with the reverse: it looks to the efficient execution of policy already shaped and programs already formulated, and to keeping the machine of government running and in tune with the directions provided by the national leadership.

Our work is complementary, and essential to each other. Within the framework of the K.K.K., the tie is crucial. Within the framework of our whole government, the bond is a matter of success or failure.

Let us therefore make of this occasion an opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to our respective roles in government, and let us view the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran as a national program in which all of us are being tested. And let us pray and work so that we will pass the test.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 80th Anniversary of the Bureau of Customs, [February 10, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 80th Anniversary of the Bureau of Customs**

[Delivered on February 10, 1982]

Once again we are gathered here today to commemorate the anniversary of the Bureau of Customs. This is not an ordinary celebration because your Bureau turns 80 today, thus making it one of the oldest institutions of government. So while I congratulate you on this significant milestone in your history, I would like to express the wish that age will not weigh heavily on you and that instead the long years of experience will guide you to ever greater heights of achievement in the years to come.

In celebrating your 80th year, you are actually marking only the formal organization of your Bureau.

The tradition of a Philippine Customs Service actually dates back many centuries before then, when the first foreign traders started the practice of bringing gifts and paying tributes to the Rajas and Datus in exchange for the privilege of doing business with our forebears. In Spanish times, our colonizers also instituted a 10 percent levy on all goods being shipped in or out of the country and finally, the Bureau of Customs formally came into being with the promulgation of Administrative Act No. 335 on February 6, 1902.

I have tried to trace briefly the history of the customs service not only to emphasize the historical precedents that form the basis for the practice of exacting levies on foreign trade but also to underscore the vital importance of the role that you in the Bureau of Customs play in the life of the nation. While we can only surmise now as to how our ancient Datus or even the Spanish administrators put to use the duties that they imposed on our country's export and imports, today we can say with certainty that every peso you collect goes to the improvement of the quality of life of our people. That your organization has endured for so long, is already clear and ample proof of the essential nature of the task our government and people has entrusted to you.

In a very real sense you make government run and propel our economy to growth and greater progress. Let me therefore congratulate you for making the last decade the most fruitful ever in the entire history of the Bureau of Customs.

The passing of another decade inevitably invites comparisons with previous ones and I am proud to say that during the last ten years, the Bureau of Customs has collected more than the total collections of the previous 70 years combined. You will recall that until 1971, the bureau could never collect one billion pesos in a single year. We passed the one billion mark in 1971, and since then we have increased that figure more than 10 times over with collections of P11.45 billion in 1980 and P10.79 billion last year.

This remarkable record was achieved through the institution of various measures designed to simplify procedures and reintroduce efficiency and honesty as the work ethic of the personnel in the Bureau of Customs. I suppose it was not mere coincidence that the most dramatic rise in the collections of the Bureau of Customs came in the year following the purge of the bureaucracy which we undertook in September 1972. In 1973, with the country already under Martial Law, collections totalled P2.19 billion. This amount increased to an astonishing P5 billion in 1974, an increase of 128 percent that has remained unmatched up to this time. The conclusion is sad, but there it is for all of us to see. But I am happy to note that the momentum of that record performance has been sustained up to this day and the ideals of the reform movement continue to motivate our customs personnel today.

Last year, we had a different story. For the first time in recent years collections actually fell 6 percent from the record 1980 collection of P11.45 billion to only P10.8 billion. But before anyone draws any unhealthy conclusions

about the shortfall, let me hasten to explain that 1981 was a particularly difficult for our exports, the lowering of tariff rates on certain commodities, the shift in the composition of Philippine imports towards essential and therefore low-tariff goods, like oil, have all contributed to the weakening of our foreign trade and thus the resulting decrease in customs collections. In fact, we projected that in 1981 revenues from the Bureau of Customs would amount to not more than P11 billion because of our trade difficulties. So we were well within our target for the year, and I do not believe it would be fair to consider this as a reflection of some kind of slackening in the efforts of the Bureau.

In fact, in the area of law enforcement, the bureau passed the year with concrete achievements. The National Customs Police intercepted and recovered highly dutiable goods which were brought into the country through fraudulent means; and from these efforts government realized a total revenue of P180.3 million through the imposition of additional levies and outright confiscation. Another law enforcement arm of the Bureau, the customs investigation and intelligence division, seized some P128.5 million worth of goods also during the year. These figures do not even include the cost of other commodities seized from the Manila International Airport and other ports in the provinces, but still they already represent a substantial increase over the 1980 total of P163 million.

While these figures are quite impressive by themselves, I consider it even more significant that the Bureau of Customs has time and again succeeded in checking the flow of prohibited items, like guns, bombs and explosives as well as harmful drugs. This is one area where I would urge every man and woman in the service to exercise extreme vigilance. And as I commend your past performance, I also expect all of you to join in the campaign to stop the importation of these dangerous items.

As you begin another decade of service to the nation, let us all pledge to uphold the highest standards of morality and integrity in government. By the very nature of your task, you are regarded as the barometer of morality in government. By and large, you have succeeded in rehabilitating your public image. But we must relentlessly pursue the objective of restoring in full our people's confidence in you and in your Bureau. And this you can only achieve when every one cooperates towards its fulfillment.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos before the PMA Alumni Association, [February 17, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the PMA Alumni Association**

[Delivered on February 10, 1982]

This annual fellowship luncheon of the Philippine Military Academy Alumni Association coincides with the 77th Foundation Anniversary of our country's premier institution for military training. And if it's true what they say in numerology that there is significance in numbers, then perhaps this is a particularly auspicious time for us to meet and renew the ties we bear with one another.

I look upon this community as a vital force in the life of our nation, not only as an indispensable part of our military service and its history, but also as a creative source of leadership in many sectors of our society. You are all alumni of an institution of learning with a long and illustrious existence. Not only has the Philippine Military Academy given us a distinctive breed of military leaders and fighting men to meet the direct exigencies facing our nation in times of open conflict; PMA Alumni have ever been a steadfast source of inspired and effective leadership in times of peace. Today, we find them in the highest levels of government service, in private enterprise as well as in the various echelons of the military service. We need look no farther than this gathering of its alumni for ample proof of the academy's distinguished tradition of excellence and dedication in the service of the nation.

On this day of commemoration, therefore, I congratulate the academy and you, who symbolize the embodiment of its highest ideals.

When I address you last year, it was on the eve of our holding of Presidential Elections and the subsequent founding of our new Republic. I spoke then of the need for our people to come together in a decisive effort to erect normal democratic government in our country.

Today, a full year later, we can surely say that our audacious program of normalization and the establishment of our new republic have proceeded in pace with our goals and expectations. Contrary to the skepticism of others, we have made a fresh start. Where yesterday, many were apprehensive that the end of crisis government could trigger new perils for the nation, today we bear witness to the clear advances we have made in normalizing political processes and in strengthening the apparatus of normal democratic government.

Clearly, the nation has not been set back by the termination of Martial Law. Instead, we have been able to demonstrate that the reforms and changes we struggled for during the period of recovery and stabilization, can be conserved and enhanced. We have shown that democratic government need not be ineffective to meet challenges and problems, whatever the kind.

But let us never presume that effective government is something that flows naturally from conditions in society. For it is true, as it has ever been, that effectiveness is won only by effort and vigilance.

We have won for ourselves a degree of political stability unparalleled in our recent national history, but that same stability continues to be challenged by the various problems which we must face in our quest for development, and by various forces which however weak or fragmented today continue to work against the state.

I have said before and will say again that fundamentally the threats to our national security are internal not external to us. Insurgency and rebellion are the malaise that afflict everywhere developing societies like ours, which still must struggle for their true course towards the future. And these phenomena do not disappear even after democratic political orders succeed in meeting their attempts to overthrow government. They continue their work within

society, and if it so happens that the members of society and the government become complacent, they rise anew to challenge the very safety of the nation.

We find ourselves at such a point today. After the setbacks suffered in recent years by the subversives and insurgents, there have followed a renewed effort to rebuild and reinforce their decimated ranks. And we detect today the signs of resurgent agitation and rebellion in some parts of the country, no doubt taking advantage of the normalization measures we have instituted.

There is no question as to the capability of our armed forces and our government to meet these new threats. But it is important to remind ourselves that there is only security in the steadfastness of our vigilance, and in the resolution of our efforts to meet insurgency in the countryside and in the cities. In the military as well as in government, resolution must never waver in our supreme goal of strengthening our new republic against the threats of all who aspire to bring it down.

And we all know exactly what this means.

It means first of all capability to meet every armed threat against the state with the preparedness of our military forces; but it also means and should mean, the even more demanding work of proving the efficacy of our political system in resolving national problems and in advancing the aspirations of our people. For insurgency never challenges simply the armed might of the state; even more so does it undermine and challenge its fundamental ideals and goals. The struggle in short is finally and truly an ideological one. And only a society that believes in itself can successfully resist the pressures of a dedicated band of subversives.

For this very reason, our entire national program under our new republic is founded on an authentic ideology and vision of our national future. And it is a key part of national policy to meet the challenge of insurgency with programs not only for pacification, but programs for the progressive development and liberation of our local communities. In those isolated parts of the country, where insurgents have traditionally and presently built their most potent threats, we have focused our energies on developing the productive capacities of our people for their welfare and that of their communities.

And if, as we believe, we have succeeded in freeing so many areas from the grip of insurgency and rebellion. We have succeeded thus socio-economic programs.

This policy has always implied that our men in uniform, and especially our officer corps, should be imbued with an appreciation of the military life and of the civic life. They are believers in the supreme dictum that national development is the key to national security and stability. And there is nothing that does the recent history of our Armed Forces more proud than their achievements in developmental endeavors, alongside with their heroic work in the military sphere.

Last year at your convention, I had the occasion to suggest that the Armed Forces, as an establishment, and its officials and men in their individual capacities should direct their unique abilities and resources towards a major contribution in the achievement of our economic development goals. I am gratified to learn of the immediate response that the PMA Alumni Association has given to this call through its establishment of the PMAAA Development Foundation. That you have conceived it in relation to the objectives of the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran is very opportune indeed. It would not come as a surprise to me if the association were to develop their own prototype of an effectively managed; modest-sized livelihood project that would be replicable not only among its membership but in other parts of the country as well. Various PMA Alumni have proven their superior abilities in large-scale operations now as they have in the past. I Am confident that they can perform just as well along more modest proportions.

With as much confidence as I have depended on you for your cooperation in the past you can count on the assistance of the Office of the President in your noteworthy endeavors. Let your achievements in this important area prove to one and all that the Filipino soldier is equal to all not only in the field of battle but also as effective agents of change and development in our march toward our destiny as a nation.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the awarding of land titles to residents of Barangay Maimpis, [February 27, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the awarding of land titles to residents of Barangay Maimpis**

[Delivered on February 27, 1982]

Ako ay nagalak na makapiling ang mga naninirahan sa Barangay Maimpis, San Fernando, Pampanga. Sa pagkakataong ito ay muli nating ipinagdiriwang ang pagpapalaya ng mga karaniwang mamamayan mula sa pagdarahop na malaon nang saksi sa bisa ng palatuntunang ito. Kayong mga mamamayan ng Barangay Maimpis ay bumubuo sa isang maringal na halimbawa sa maaaring maging bunga ng anumang pagsisikap na pinagkakaisahan ng pamahalaan at ng mga mamamayan. Ang pagpapalaya ng mga mamamayang tulad ninyo ay ang pangunahing simulain ng ating Bagong Republika. Mabuhay ang mga mamamayan ng Barangay Maimpis! Mabuhay ang Bagong Republika!

The New Republic cannot and will not turn its back on the struggle of the impoverished. Today, we rededicate ourselves to that struggle. The achievement of Barangay Maimpis stands as an affirmation of what the government and the citizenry can accomplish when they are firmly convinced and steadfastly united behind the correctness of a cause. In this case, that cause is the liberation of ordinary citizens from the bondage of poverty. In this case, we have waged together a determined struggle in the face of formidable odds. In this case, we have achieved victory. And halimbawa ng Barangay Maimpis ay tanda ng ating pagwagi laban sa pagdarahop na matagal nang gumagapi sa mga maliliit.

Poverty is not a natural state. It is not a condition that has been predetermined by some divine authority. Poverty is not a fact of life in the face of which we are helpless. Poverty in any society is a disease and as such it can be cured. Ang pagdarahop ay hindi isang kalagayang itinakda ng anumang poon; bagkus ito ay isang sakit ng lipunan. Kung saan may pagdarahop, nandoon din ang isang lipunang nangangailangan ng pagbabago. Ang pagwasak sa tanikala ng pagdarahop na pumupulupot sa mga maliliit ay ang pangunahing adhikain ng ating pamahalaan; sapagkat ang mga mamamayang ito, kung tutuusin, ay ang dahilan kung bakit ang ating pamahalaan ay itinatag.

The needs of the poor constitute the priority concern of government. We have instituted a number of programs designed to give ample opportunity for total human fulfillment especially to the most disadvantaged sectors of our society. In this effort, the immediate task involves providing for the basic needs of the poor including food, clothing and shelter. By far, the greatest investments have been made in the construction of low-cost housing facilities.

The government's housing program, while varied in its approaches, responds nevertheless to the most critical need of the poor: land for a sense of security; shelter for protection from the elements; a community and environment for ample human development; and livelihood for the instruments that would finally smash the cycle of poverty. These thrusts are evident in Barangay Maimpis, a former landed estate filled with the history of our poor. Maimpis is a legacy of a past when our forebears were shackled to the land they tilled for others. Today, however, we are writing off this tragic entry in our history. Today, our farmers have not only become owners of the land they have traditionally tilled, they also have become owners of the land on which they have built their homes. On this occasion, the awarding of titles to the family-beneficiaries of Barangay Maimpis signifies the continuing thrust of the new republic to restore to every Filipino his dignity.

For decades, our national leaders had promised land for the landless. Administration after administration, president after president vowed to give land to the poor. But these aspirations remained frustrated until the new society and its successor, the New Republic finally launched a massive land reform program that has achieved more than the effects of three previous measures. The American regime's attempt to parcel out the former friar estates, the laws enacted in 1954 and 1955 redistributing land to surrendered H.M.B. guerrillas, migrants and slum dwellers, and the

so-called Land Reform Program of 1963 all failed because: they lacked the necessary political support from national leaders who remained beholden to landed interests. In the face of these setbacks, the Institution of Land Reform in 1972 stands as a major breakthrough because it not only represents an unprecedented act of political will to finally initiate radical change in our society; it moreover, extended to millions of farmers the opportunity to share in the justice and prosperity which for centuries had been denied them. In the most fundamental and undisputable terms, the Land Reform of 1972 transformed millions of former tenants into landowners.

There is no doubt that after nearly 10 years of implementation, the achievements of our land reform program have surpassed our most conservative expectations. But that must not be taken to mean that our task is finished; that we have done everything we could possibly do to give justice to the age-old dreams of our people. Instead, we must learn to view land reform as an ongoing process, a state of perpetual social change where the accomplishment of one phase serves to inspire us to reach out for more. The enslavement of our people to the land they tilled for others had been far too protracted to be remediable in just 10 years. The nature of our land problem is so complicated that it would require a long term solution and an even more far-sighted commitment from the national leadership.

It is because of these considerations that the government recently—last January 9, to be exact—committed to expand land reform to include the awarding of homelots in former haciendas to bonafide residents. This program is designed to anticipate and prevent the degeneration that has fallen upon many of these vast estates. It will develop old haciendas into liveable human settlements before they evolve into slums. It confronts once and for all the problem of tenancy even as it rectifies the inequities of traditional landownership which has historically plagued Philippine society.

From hereon, this program shall be known as the National Bliss Program for Communities in Landed Estates. The letter of instructions which shall put this program into effect contains the following salient policy-components:

First, it shall be the policy of government to protect the rights of bonafide residents in landed estates over the homelots they have been occupying for many years.

Second, the objective of the policy is to resolve the issue of land tenure and to provide the residents of landed estates the opportunity to own the lots on which they have built their homes.

Third, the owners of landed estates shall be prohibited from evicting tenants and their families from their homelots without the residents' concurrence and clearance from the national housing authority.

Fourth, the N.H.A. shall evolve this program in coordination with local governments. The implementation of the National Bliss Program for Communities in Landed Estates will be funded under its corporate program on a year-to-year basis.

Fifth, the yearly funding requirement of the program, as may be determined by the N.H.A., shall be incorporated in the national budget. In addition, the N.H.A. shall be permitted to float housing bonds, as authorized under decree 757, as a long-term source of funds.

Sixth, local governments, with the assistance of N.H.A., shall undertake the improvement of these tenant/farmer communities in the context of the Slum Improvement and Resettlement Program as provided under LOIs 555, 557, and 686.

Seventh, the N.H.A. shall extend technical and funding assistance to local governments as contemplated under the aforementioned program.

And eighth, the N.H.A. shall acquire the estates or portions of estates involved in this program. Such land shall be subdivided and awarded to qualified beneficiary-families who shall pay the cost of land and its development through monthly amortization payments.

The National Bliss Program for Communities in Landed Estates is an example of the effort to redress age-old grievances through the discipline of clearly formulated goals. What it seeks to finally resolve is the issue of land tenure, long the cause of much popular discontent in our country. What it proposes, in turn, as a solution is a scheme that offers the opportunity for tenants to finally acquire the land they occupy, without sacrificing to any significant extent the interests of all the parties involved. Moreover, this program will reinforce the people's confidence in the possibility of positive change through what is essentially their own effort. It reinforces the Filipinos' belief in themselves, in their capacity to achieve what for ages had seemed so distant and out of their reach.

As in all other housing programs, the National Bliss Communities for Landed Estates shall be involved in the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. We shall continue to adhere to the concept that the provision of shelter alone does not make for adequate human settlements. The housing programs aim for the development of dynamic, enterprising and self-reliant communities where every member has access to livelihood opportunities and where the physical economic as well as social environment stimulates productivity.

Our reform programs do not only aim at settling centuries-old grievances, they also seek to engender in every citizen a sense of civic responsibility and a personal commitment to the affairs of the entire community. Only freemen can develop such an attitude. Only freemen would have any sense of responsibility to maintaining the structures that we are now erecting. Only freemen can truly wage a struggle such as ours.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

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**Address
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His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
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At the distribution of land titles to residents of Barangay Maimpis**

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Ako ay nagagalak na makapiling ang mga taga-barangay Maimpis, San Fernando, Pampanga. Sa pagkakataong ito ay muli nating ipinagdiriwang ang katubusan ng mga mamamayang sa pagka-alipin sa lupa. Kayong mga taga-Maimpis ay bumubuo sa isang maringal na halimbawa na bunga ng pagsisikap ng pamahalaan at ng mga mamamayan. Ang katubusan ng mamamayang tulad ninyo ay ang pangunahing simulain ng ating Bagong Republika. Mabuhay ang mga taga-Maimpis! Mabuhay ang Bagong Republika.

Ang Bagong Republika ay nakahandang tumulong sa mga mahihirap. Ngayong araw na ito ating sariwain sa isip ang pagsisikap ng mahihirap nating mga kapatid. Ang tagumpay na natamo ng barangay Maimpis ay halimbawa kung anong klaseng gobyerno at mamamayan ang kailangan upang mag-tagumpay ang simulain. Sa pagkakataong ito, saksi tayo sa katubusan sa kahirapan nang karaniwang mamamayan. Tayong lahat ay taos-pusong nagsikap na matamo ang matayog na adhikain. Ang ehemplo ng Barangay Maimpis ay tanda ng ating tagumpay laban sa pagdarahop na matagal nang gumagapi sa maliliit.

Ang kahirapan ay hindi natural na pangyayari. Ito ay kalagayang hindi takda ng makalangit na kapangyarihan. Ang karalitaan ay maaaring lunasan. Ang karalitaan sa alin mang lipunan ay isang karamdaman maaaring lunasan. Ang pagdarahop ay hindi isang kalagayan itinakda ng ano mang pook; bagkus ito ay sakit ng lipunan, kung saan may pagdarahop, nandoon din ang isang lipunang nangangailangan ng pagbabago. Ang paglagot sa tanikala ng pagdarahop na nakapulupot sa maliliit ay ang pangunahing adhikain ng ating pamahalaan; sapagkat ang mga mamamayang ito, kung tutuusin, ay ang dahilan kung bakit itinatag ang ating pamahalaan.

Pangunahin sa pamahalaan ang ukol sa suliranin ng maralita. Marami na tayong nagawang programa upang bigyan katuparan ang mga pangarap ng kapus-palad nating mga kababayan. Sa pagsisikap na ito, unang-unang pinag-ukulan ng pansin ang pagkain, damit at tahanan. Higit na malaki ang halagang naiukol natin sa pagpapagawa ng mga bahay na abot-kaya ng karaniwang tao.

Ang programa ng pamahalaan sa pabahay, bagaman iba ibang paraan, ay tumutugon sa mahalagang kailangan ng mga dukha. Ang lupang matatawag na kanila; ang tahananang silungan nila at ng kanilang mga mahal sa buhay; ang barangay at kapaligiran may sapat na kaluwagan sa buhay; at pagkakakitaan na mahalagang sangkap ng tao upang mabuhay nang marangal at makaahon sa karalitaan. Ang mga ito ang ito ang makikita sa barangay Maimpis, isang dating asyendang ang naninirahan ay mga maralita. Ang maimpis ay mana natin sa nakalipas nang ang ating mga ninuno ay nakatanikala sa karalitaan at nakagapos sa lupang kanilang binubungkal. Ngun't ngayon? Sinusulat natin ang isang bagong yugto ng kasaysayan na siyang magwawakas na malungkot na kabanata ng nakaraan. Ngayon, hindi lamang may-ari ng lupang kanilang binubungkal ang ating mga magsasaka, sila na rin ang may-ari ng lupang tinitirikan ng kanilang mga tahanan. Sa araw na ito, ang pamimigay ng titulo ng lupa sa mga taga-maimpis ang katibayan ng patuloy na pagsisika ng bagong republika na ibalik katutubong dangal ng bawa't Pilipino.

Sa loob ng maraming taon, ang ating mga pambansang lider ay nangako ng lupa sa walang lupa. Bawa't administration at bawa't pangulo ay nangako ng lupa sa walang lupa. Subali't ang mga pangarap na ito ay nanatiling mangarap na unsiyami at bigo. Subali't nang matatag ang Bagong Lipunan at ang Bagong Republika, puspusan at totoo ang ginawa ang palatuntunan ng reporma sa lupa kaya nalampasan ang lahat ng nagawa ng mga nauna ritong pangasiwaan. Tinangka ng Pamahalaang Amerikano na ipamigay ang mga dating lupang mitra; sa bisa ng mga batas na pinagtibay noong 1954 at 1955 na namamahagi ng lupa sa mga dating HMB, gerilya, at mga dukhang naninirahan sa pook-maralita, gayundin ang tinatawag na programa ng reporma sa lupa ng 1963, na pawang nabigo

sapagka't kulang sa tulong ng mga pambansang lider na may utang na look sa may-ari ng malalaking asyenda. sa harap ng mga sagabal na ito, ang reporma sa lupa noong 1972 ay nanatiling matatag sapagka't sagisag ito ng walang katulad na hangaring magkaroon ng marahas na pagbabago sa ating lipunan; at higit sa lahat, milyun-milyong magsasaka ang nagkaroon ng pagkakataong lumasap ng biyaya ng katarungang panlipunan at kasaganaang sa loob ng maraming dantaon ay ipinagkait sa kanila. Ang pinakamahalaga at hindi matatawarang tagumpay ng reporma sa lupa ng 1972 ay ang katotohanang milyun-milyong magsasaka nating dating kasama lamang ang ngayon ay may-ari na ng lupang kanilang binubungkal.

Walang alinlangan na sa loob ng halos sampung taon, ang mga nagawa ng ating reporma sa lupa ay higit kaysa sa ating inaasahan. Nguni't, hindi pa tapos ang ating sinimulang gawain; kailangang patuloy pa rin tayong kumilos upang malasap at matamo ng ating mga kababayan ang kanilang malaon nang unsiyaming pangarap. Dahil dito, ang reporma sa lupa ay kailangang ituring nating isang programang hindi natatapos habang hindi lubos na nagagawa ang lahat ng nais nating gawin. Ang pagka-alipin ng ating mga kababayan sa lupang kanilang binubungkal sa loob ng maraming taon ay nalunasan natin halos sa loob lamang ng wala pang sampung taon. Ang ating suliranin sa lupa ay masalimuot at hindi madaling lunasan at lalong hindi malulutas ng isang punong hindi nakapukol sa malayo ang pananaw.

Dahil dito kaya noong Enero 9, ang ating pamahalaan ay naglunsad ng higit na malawak na programa ng reporma sa lupa upang ibigay ang lupang tinitirikan ng bahay nila sa mga nakatira sa dating mga asyenda. Ang layunin natin sa programang ito ay upang lunasan ang suliranin ng mga maluwa nang naninirahan sa mga asyenda. Makatutulong ito upang ang mga dating asyenda ay maging pugad ng kasaganaan at mainam na pamayanan sa halip na maging pugad ng karalitaan. Minsan pa, ang suliranin dito ay ang pakikisama at ang pagmamay-ari ng lupa na siyang ugat ng dantaong suliranin ng lipunang Pilipino.

Mula ngayon, ang programang ito ay tatawagin nating National Bliss Program for Communities sa mga asyenda. Ang mga liham-tagubilin na maglulunsad ng programang ito ay magkakaroon ng mahalagang sandigang patakaran.

Una, magiging patakaran ng pamahalaan na pangalagaan ang karapatan sa lupang tinitirikan ng bahay ng mga tunay na naninirahan sa mga asyenda sa loob ng maraming taon.

Ikalawa, ang layunin ng patakarang ito ay upang lutasin ang suliranin at bigyan ng lupa ang mga nakatira sa asyenda na malon nang nagtayo ng bahay sa mga pook na nasabi.

Ikatlo, ang mga may-ari ng malalaking asyenda ay pagbawalang paalisin ang mga nakatira sa kanilang mga lupa nang walang pahintulot ang National Housing Authority.

Ikaapat, ang NHA ang gagawa ng palatuntunang ito sa pakikiisa ng mga Pamahalaang Lokal. Ang pagpapatupad ng Pambansang Programa ng Bliss ukol sa malalaking asyenda na lalagyan ng pondo sa pamamagitan ng programang salig sa taunang patakaran.

Ikalima, ang kailangang salapi taun-taon ukol sa programang ito ay itatakda ng NHA ay isasama sa pambansang badyet. Bukod dito, ang NHA ay bibigyan ng pahintulot na maglabas ng mga bonds ukol sa pabahay sa ilalim ng Kautusan 757 na siyang pagkukunan ng pondo nito.

Ikaanim, ang mga pamahalaang lokal, sa tulong ng NHA ang gagawa ng pagtulong sa mga magsasaka at mamamayang ito sang-ayon sa palatuntunan ng Slum Improvement and Resettlement Program gaya nang nasa LOI 555, 557 at 686.

Ikapito, tutulungan ng NHA at bibigyan ng kaukulang pondo ang mga pamahalaang lokal gaya nang nasa palatuntunang ito.

At ikawalo, ang NHA ang mamimili ng asyenda o bahagi ng asyendang kasama sa programang ito. Ang lupang ito ay hahatiin at ibibigay sa mga may karapatang pamilya na siyang maghuhulog ng bayad buwan-buwan.

Ang pambansang programa ng Bliss ukol sa mga lupang tayuan ng bahay ay isa lamang sa ating mga ginagawa upang lunasan ang ating nag-ugat nang suliranin sa lupa sa bisa ng mga tiyakang hakbang. Ang nais nating lutasin ay walang iba kundi ang dantaon nang ugat ng kawalang kasiyahan at ligalig sa ating bansa. Ang gagawin natin ay isang lunas na magbibigay ng pagkakataon sa mga kasama na balang araw ay maging tunay na kanila ang lupang kanilang tinitirikan ng bahay nang hindi naman pipinsalain ang karapatan at kapakanan ng iba. Higit dito, ang programang ito ang lalo pang magbibigay ng sigla sa ating mga kababayan upang lubos silang magtiwala sa pagbabagong magagawa nila sa tulong ng sariling sikap at punyagi. Ito rin ang lalong magpapatatag sa pananalig ng Pilipino sa kanyang sarili, sa kanyang kakayahan na makamit ang mga pangarap na dati-rating tila abot-langit na hindi kayang abutin.

Tulad ng iba pang progama sa pabahay, ang Pamayanan ng Bliss sa mga asyenda ay kasangkot din sa ating kilusang kabuhayan at kaunlaran. Itutuloy natin ang nasimulan nang patakaran na hindi sapat na bigyan lamang ng bubong na sisilungan ang mga tao upang masabing sila ay nasa isang tahanan. Ang mga programang ito sa pabahay ay ukol sa isang pook na maunlad, may pinagkakakitaan ang mga tao at umaasa sa sariling talino at kakayahan sapagkat bawa't mamamayan ay may sariling pagkakataon sa hanapbuhay at bawa't isa ay kapaki-pakinabang na bahagi at sangkap ng pook na kanyang ginagalawan.

Ang ating palatuntunan ng pagbabago ay hindi lamang nakatuon sa layuning lutasin ang dantaon nang nag-ugat na mga suliranin ang layunin nito ay walang iba kundi ipunla sa puso at isip ng bawa't mamamayan ang kanyang mga saguting pambayan bilang bahagi ng lipunan at pook na kanyang ginagalawan. Tanging malalayang nilikha na may diwa ng pananagutan upang alagaan at sinupin ang balangkas ng katatagang itinitindig natin ang maaaring makagawa ng mga ito. Tanging malalayang nilikha ang tunay na makagagawa ng pakikibakang ating inilunsad at ginagawa ngayon.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos at the Second National Convention of Municipal Mayors League of the Philippines, [February 28, 1982](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Second National Convention of Municipal Mayors League of the Philippines**

[Delivered on February 28, 1982]

Mahigit sa apat na taon na ang nakaraan mula nang huling magpulong ang Municipal Mayors League o ang samahang ito ng mga Alcalde-Munisipal, at masasabi kong ako'y natutuwa at ang inyong samahan ay aktibo pa rin.

May nagsasabi tuloy isang bagay lang ang makapagpapasigla sa mga pinunong lokal na magkaroon ng kumbensiyon sa panahong ito at iyan ay ang nalalapit na namang eleksiyon. Kung tutuusin may katwiran ang nagsabi pero hindi ang inyong mga puesto ang nakahanay sa mga eleksiyong gaganapin sa susunod na dalawang taon; at may nagsabi pa na kapwa niyo alkalde na magpupulong lamang kayo kung talagang may importante kayong pag-uusapan. Alam nating lahat na may mga mahalagang bagay na dapat talakayin ang mga pinunong-lokal natin ngayon.

Ano man ang tunay na dahilan nang hindi niyo malimit na pagpupulong, at ang bigla ninyo ngayong pagdaraos ng kumbensiyon dito sa Maynila, masasabi kong napapanahon ang inyong pulong, at ang pagharap ko ngayon sa inyo ay malaking pagkakataon para mapag-usapan natin ang mga importanteng problema at mga paghamong may kaugnayan sa ating mga pamahalaang lokal.

Nais kong banggitin na nang pormal na maitatag ang Municipal Mayors League noong Disyembre 15, 1976, at nang magdaos ito ng Unang Pambansang Kumbensiyon noong Nobyembre 28, 1977, ang ating bansa ay nasa ilalim pa ng tinatawag na crisis government. Ngayon, makaraan ang apat na taon, naipatupad natin ang ganap na transisyon o lubusang pagbabago mula sa tinatawag nating emergency government patungong normal na pamahalaang demokratiko. At ang makasaysayang bahaging ito sa ating bansa ay sumaksi at bumalik sa mga problema at oportunidad para sa ating bansa at sa mga komunidad lokal.

Nagpupulong din kayo sa panahong nagaganap ang mga pangwakas sa deliberasyon sa ating Parlamento o Batasan ukol sa panukalang Local Government Code, na inaasahan nating lilinaw sa mga tungkulin at kapangyarihan ng ating mga pamahalaang lokal sa harap ng mga paghamon at mga problema sa ating panahon. Naririto kayo ngayon dito sa Maynila na may iba't ibang mungkahi o panukala sa iba't ibang isyu na mahalaga sa interes o kapakanan ng ating mga pamahalaang lokal.

At masasabi ring nasa gitna tayo ngayon ng isang pambansang pagsisikap na nagtatampok sa kahalagahan ng ginagampanang tungkulin ng ating mga kanayunan sa mga gawaing pangkaunlaran sa buong bansa. Tinutukoy ko ang Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran na isa sa pangunahing paksa o agenda ng inyong pulong ngayon.

Nais kong isa-isahin ko sa inyo ang ukol dito, sapagkat ang isyung ito ay parehong mahalaga sa inyo at sa ating mamamayan, at dapat nating samantalain ito sapagkat bihirang pagkakataon ang ganito na tayo ay nagtitipun-tipon.

Una kong babangitin ang sitwasyon pulitikal sa ating bansa ngayon, at ang iba't ibang patakaran ng gobyerno na may kaugnayan sa oposisyon, lehitimo man o hindi.

Nais kong banggitin agad, na walang duda na sa ganap na pagkakatatag sa normal na demokratikong gobyerno natin, matapos ang mga susog o enmienda sa Konstitusyon noong Abril 1981 at sa pagkakatatag sa ating Bagong Republika noong Hunyo ng nakaraang taon, ganap nating kinilala ang organisasyon at mga aktibidades o gawain ng lehitimong oposisyong pulitikal sa ating bansa.

Ano ang ibig talagang sabihin nito?

Una, ang ibig sabihin nito ay malaya ang sinumang mamamayan na magtatag at bumuo ng mga partidong pampulitika o kilusan na nais humamon sa lideratong pampulitika ng gobyerno sa pamamagitan ng demokratikong pamamaraan. Ang oposisyong pampulitika ay lehitimo at pinangangalagaan o protektado ng Konstitusyon at ang ating mga batas, lalo na kung ang mga layunin nito ay nakatuon sa pagkakaroon ng kapangyarihang pulitikal sa pamamagitan ng eleksiyon o halalan.

Sa bisa ng ganyang proteksiyon o pagkilala, naging maluwa tayo sa mga gawain ng oposisyon, kabilang ang mga paninirang puri, o mga tuligsa laban sa administrasyon. Walang restriksiyon sa anumang kagustuhan ng oposisyon na gamitin ang media sa kanilang opinyon, maging magtatag sila ng kanilang sariling media o gamitin ang mga umiiral na. Kaya nga lang, ang paghahayag nila ng opinyon ay hindi kailangang lumabag sa anumang umiiral na batas ukol sa libelo o kahalintulad nito, at ang mga ito, alam nating lahat ay nasa diskresyon ng ating mga Hukuman.

Gayunman, ibang bagay na kung ang oposisyon ay gagamit ng dahas sa kanilang kagustuhang magkaroon ng kapangyarihang pulitikal. Kapag nagkaganito, ito'y hindi makatwirang puersa sa ating sistema pulitikal, at nararapat lamang na gamitin ang batas laban sa kanila.

Tila hindi gaanong nauunawaan, sa aking palagay, ang eksaktong mga probisyon ng ating Anti-Subversion Law o mga batas laban sa subersiyon, dahil may isang miembro ng Batasan ang nagharap ng isang bill na humihiling sa legalisasyon ng Partido Komunista.

Bagamat ang ating Anti-Subversion Law o ang Republic Act No. 1700 ay malinaw na nagbabawal sa Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas at kahalintulad na mga asosasyon, ito'y nasusugan o na-enmiendahan ng Presidential Decree No. 885, na malinaw na bumago sa ating naunang batas maliban sa mga gawaing naganap bago magkabisa ang Revised Anti-Subversion Law. At ang decree o batas na ito ay hindi nagtataglay ng tulad ng nasasaad sa lumang batas na nagbabawal sa Partido Komunista, pero isa lang deklarasyon na nagbabawal sa mga organisasyon o samahang subersibo na may layuning magpabagsak sa gobyerno ng Republika ng Pilipinas o ihiwalay ang bahagi nito.

Malinaw kung gayon, na walang hadlang legal para sa pagtatatag ng isang partido komunista na may layuning magkaroon ng poder o kapangyarihang pampulitika sa kaparaanang parlamentaryo o maka-demokratiko. Ang ipinagbabawal ay ang karahasan o ang pagsasabwatan para gumamit ng karahasan. At ang subersiyon ay binubuo ng iba't ibang gawain na may layuning magpabagsak sa isang gobyerno maging sa pamamagitan ng lakas, dahas, panlilinlang o ng iba pang ilegal na paraan ("by force, violence, deceit or other illegal means" (Sec. 2, PD. No.885). At ang isang labag-sa-batas na samahang subersibo ay maaaring isang asosasyon, organisasyon, partido pulitikal, o grupo ng mga taong itinatag sa layuning ibagsak ang gobyerno ng Republika ng Pilipinas. (Outlawed organization, political party, or group of persons organized for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the Republic of the Philippines").

Ang linyang humahati sa lehitimo at hindi lehitimong oposisyon ay nakasalalay sa kung anong paraan ang ginagamit nito sa pagkakaroon ng kapangyarihan o poder pampulitika. Pero ang ating Anti-Subversion Law ay malinaw na nagtatakda sa Seksiyon 6, na walang bahagi ng batas ang ituturing o ipakakahulugang pagsikil sa kalayaan ng pag-iisip, pagtitipun-tipon, at asosasyon sa mga layuning hindi labag sa batas tulad ng ginagarantiyahan ng Konstitusyon. Our anti- our Anti-Subversion Law specifically provides in Section 6, that nothing in the law shall be interpreted to mean "a restriction on freedom of thought, of assembly and of association for purposes not contrary to law as guaranteed by the Constitution."

Mahalagang isaisip nating lahat ang pagkakaibang ito, dahil malinaw na kailangan natin ang paglilingkod ng isang malakas at matatag na lehitimong oposisyong pulitikal, para sa mas epektibong sistema pulitikal sa ating bansa, hindi lamang sa panahon ng mga eleksiyon, kundi sa palagiang pagsusuri sa mga patakaran at gawain ng ating gobyerno. At habang nagkakaiba ang mga programa o plataporma ng mga partidong pampulitikang ito sa pangangasiwa ng gobyerno, lalong nagkakaroon ng ibayong pagkakataon ang mamamayan sa pagpili ng kanilang ilalagay sa puesto.

Maitatanong marahil kung ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas o kahalintulad nitong organisasyon na nagtataguyod ng komunismo, balang araw ay makikilahok sa sistema parlamentaryo at tuloy kalimutan na ang pinakalayunin nitong ibagsak sa pamamagitan ng dahas ang gobyerno. Pero malinaw, aming uulitin, na ang ating Anti-Subversion Law ay hindi ganap na nagbabawal sa anumang umhral na organisasyon.

Napakahalaga ng bagay na ito hindi lamang sa pamahalaang nasyonal kundi gayundin sa ating mga pamahalaang lokal, sapagkat nasa kanayunan o mga komunidad lokal nakatuon ang panganib ng subersiyon at insureksiyon. Magiging lalong mabisa ang pagtugon natin sa mga panganib na ito na dulot ng subersiyon kung malinaw sa atnang mga batas ukol dito at dapat tandaan na hindi dapat supilin ang mga lehitimo o makatwirang mga pahayag o opinyon ng oposisyon na malinaw na pinangangalagaan ng ating Konstitusyon.

Sa pagsisikap nating mapag-isa ang mga batas na magbibigay ng bagong-buhay sa ating pamahalaang lokal, ang pinakalayunin ay para mapatatag ang sistema ng ating gobyerno lokal, at maitampok ang kakayahan ng bawat gobyerno lokal sa buong bansa. Ang progresibong kilusang ito tungo sa ibayong awtonomiya lokal ay bunga ng matagal nang hinaing at reklamo ng mga pinunong lokal, at ganap kong nauunawaan ang inyong kapakanan habang papalapit tayo sa ganap na pagpapatibay ng Local Government Code.

Dalawang isyu ang napakaimportante sa inyo ngayon, dahil nahahati ang opinyon ukol dito. Natanggap ko ang inyong mga resolusyon, una, tungkol sa kuwestiyon sa kapangyarihan ninyong magtalaga ng mga Municipal Treasurers at Assessors at ikalawa, tungkol sa poder ninyo sa superbisyon o operational supervision and control sa mga tauhang lokal ng Integrated National Police.

Sa unang isyu, ay nahaharap sa atin ang katanungan kung paano talaga pangangasiwaan ang pananalaping pampubliko: ito ba'y tungkuling maibabahagi sa iba't ibang antas ng gobyerno, tulad ng pagtingin ng ating mga pinunong lokal o ito ba'y pambansang gawain at kailangang sentralisadong pangangasiwaan ng pambansang gobyerno, tulad ng paniwala ng ating Ministry of Finance.

Bagama't alam kong lubusan ang posisyon ng mga pinunong lokal ukol dito, sa aking paningin ang public finance o pananalaping pampubliko, sa sakop ng ating Konstitusyon at ng ating mga batas, likha na iisa, sapagkat ito'y tumutukoy sa kabuuan ng tinatawag na public revenue, public expenditure o mga gastusin, public debt o mga pagkakautang, fiscal administration fiscal policy, o mga patakaran at pangangasiwa sa pananalapi ng publiko. Tulad ng sinabi ng ating Prime Minister at kasalukuyan ding Minister of Finance, there is in our system a total resource approach na tinutukoy ng Konstitusyon sa mga probisyon nito sa tinatawag na budget process.

Bagamat ang nasabi ring Konstitusyon ay kumikilala sa kahalagahan ng awtonomiya lokal, limitado ang pagpapakahulugan sa katagang awtonomiya kung ang pag-uusapan ay ang pananalaping pampubliko. Ang katotohanan nito, ay hindi dapat ituring na ganap na malaya mula sa kontrol o superbisyong nasyonal ang awtonomiyang lokal.

Sa punto de vista ng isang nangangasiwa, isa nang patakaran kong anong bahagi ng gobyerno ang may tungkulin at responsable sa pananalapi; at ito ay ang gobyerno nasyonal. Ang patakarang iyan ay alinsunod sa mga kabutihang maidudulot kung sentralisado ang pangangasiwa sa salapi ng publiko, at sa malalaking problemang maidudulot kung ang tungkulin sa pananalapi ay hahawakan ng mga pamahalaang lokal.

Alinsunod sa batas at mabuting pangangasiwa ay kailangang panatilihin natin ang kasalukuyang pagtatakda sa mga tungkulin o responsibilidad ukol sa pananalaping pampubliko.

Nais kong idagdag, at dapat nating pakatandaan na ang iba't ibang antas o sangay ng gobyerno ay dapat magtutungan, at hindi kailanman dapat magsalungatan. Sa ganyang paraan, ang buong gobyerno ay lalong tumatatag, lumalakas. At anumang paniniwalang ang awtonomiya lokal ay lubusang malaya at may watak-watak na layunin ay makapagpapahina lamang sa lawak ng kapangyarihan at tungkulin ng mga pamahalaang lokal. Lalong tumatatag at nagiging progresibo ang awtonomiya lokal kapag itinuturing nito ang gobyerno nasyonal bilang mabisa o epektibong kasama nito sa isang mahalagang gawaing pangkaunlaran, tulad ng nauukol sa pananalapi.

Kaugnay rin nito, sang-ayon din ako na ang pagtatalaga ng mga Local Fiscal Officers ay manatili sa poder ng Presidente at ng Ministry of Finance bilang pag-alinsunod sa ating patakaran ng sentralisadong pangangasiwa ng gobyerno nasyonal ukol sa pananalaping pampubliko. Ang pagtatakda ng kaibang patakaran ukol dito ay makakaapekto sa pinaiiral na oryentasyon sa paglilingkod sa gobyerno.

Tungkol sa isyu ng pagkontrol ng mga pamahalaang lokal sa mga tauhang lokal ng Integrated National Police, panig ako sa pagpapalawak ng kasalukuyang patakaran lalo na sa mga magugulong lugar. Sa ilalim ng patakarang ito, na malinaw na itinatakda sa Presidential Decree No. 1162, na nilagdaan ko noong Hunyo 8, 1974, ang mga Gobernador, at mga kinauukulang Alkalde ng siyudad at bayan-bayan ay maaaring bigyan ng kinakailangang kapangyarihan na may kaugnayan sa pagtawag o paggamit ng mga tauhan ng Integrated National Police sa kanilang mga hurisdiksiyon para mapanatili ang kaayusan sa kanilang mga lugar.

Sa layuning mapalawak ang patakarang ito, ang pulisya at ang National Civil Home Defense Forces, sa rekomendasyon ng Minister of Defense at ng Chief of Staff, ay maaaring ipailalim sa superbisyon ng mga pinunong lokal, kung hindi man command ay sa pamamagitan ng pagkontrol.

Ang paraang ito ay higit na makatwiran, sa aming palagay, kung ikukumpara sa kahilingan ninyong dagliang operational control at superbisyon sa pulisya. Nais kong maging prangka sa inyo, nag-aalinlangan akong ilipat nang lubusan ang tungkuling pampulisya sa mga pinunong lokal, lalo't iisipin ang mga naranasan natin noong mga nakalipas. Pero hindi naman nangangahulugan, na ganap kung sinasalungat ang opinyon na darating ang panahon na ang gawaing pampulisya ay muling balikatin ng mga pamahalaang lokal. Pero kailangan ang maingat at unti-unting hakbangin ukol dito, at dapat umaksiyon alinsunod sa sitwasyon.

Pangwakas, nais kong bigyang-diin, na patungo tayo sa isang konsepto ng pamahalaang lokal na kakaiba kaysa nakaraang sistemang naranasan natin, na kung maaari ay mas malawak at maunlad kaysa kasalukuyang sistema. Sa ngayon, ang higit nating dapat pagtuunan o bigyang-prioridad ang mga bagay-bagay na higit na nangangailangan ng mas matatag at mapanlikhang liderato sa ating mga kanayunan at mga local communities. Unang-una rito ang papel na dapat gampanan ng mga pinunong lokal sa ating pambansang Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran.

Sa balangkas ng organisasyon ng KKK, ang Alkalde Munisipal ay may napakahalagang tungkulin sa pagpapalaganap ng hanapbuhay sa kanyang komunidad. Kung kaya't siya ang namumuno sa Municipal Development Council, na isang lupong lokal na responsable sa pakikipag-ugnayan sa iba't-ibang programa't operasyon ng mga ahensiya ng gobyerno sa kanyang nasasakupan, may pananagutan siya na alamin kung anu-ano ang mapagkakakitaan ng kanyang kababayan sa kanyang nasasakupan, at nasa kanyang poder ang pagbibigay ng mga detalyadong mga alintuntunin sa pagtatatag ng iba't ibang proyektong pangkabuhayan sa kanyang pook.

Ito ay isang bagong tungkulin, bukod sa tradisyunal na gawain ng mga pinunong lokal. Dati-rati, ang lideratong lokal ay kulang sa pananaw ukol sa kabuhayan ng kanilang nasasakupan. Malimit ay nagkakasya na lamang ang ilang pamahalaang lokal sa pagkontrol at pagpapalisensiya sa ilang negosyo, at bibihira ang pagsusumikap ng makapagtayo ng mga mapagkakakitaan para sa kapakanan ng kanilang mga kababayan.

Ang KKK ay isang paghamon sa imahinasyon at determinasyon ng ating mga kanayunan na maging masagana at maunlad. Ang paghamong ito ay unang-uang dapat tugunin ng mga pinunong lokal.

Ang KKK ay sumasagisag sa ikalawang bahagi ng kasalukuyan nating mga pagsisikap na muling itayo at bigyan ng panibagong-sigla ang ating lipunan. Kailangan nating pagtuunang-pansin ngayon ang mga proyektong pangkabuhayan na makapagpapa-ginhawa sa kabuhayan ng ating maliliit, ng mahihirap nating kabarangay. Matapos na naging matagumpay tayo sa pagpapatatag sa kalagayang pampulitika ng bansa, na muntik nang manganib, halos sampung taon na ang nakalilipas, ang kailangan natin ngayon ay ang pagpapatatag sa ekonomiya o kabuhayang-bansa. Nasa KKK ang pinag-isang mekanismo na muling magbibigay-sigla sa matamlay na nating ekonomiya sa mga kanayunan, hanggang sa ang buting maidudulot nito ay maging pinakatampok na bahagi ng nagaganap na kaunlaran sa bansa sa kabuuan. Ang reaksiyon na natatanggap natin ukol sa kilusan mula sa iba't ibang bahagi ng ating bansa mula nang ilunsad ito pitong buwan na ang nakararaan ay magandang indikasyon na matagumpay ang

naturang kilusan. Ngunit, naniniwala kami na ang KKK ay isa pa lamang sanggol, kung kaya't nangangailangan ng ibayo pang pag-aruga o pagkalinga upang maging ganap na tagumpay.

Dahil dito, itinuturing namin ang bawat isa sa inyo bilang punong tagapangasiwa o Chief Administrators ng mga pamahalaang lokal na unang-unang mag-aruga o kakalinga sa ating kilusan. Totoong ang buong kilusan ay nangangailangan ng malawakang pagtutulungan na ipatutupad sa lahat ng antas o bahagi ng ating gobyerno, pero kayo bilang halal na kinatawan ng inyong mga komunidad ay unang-unang makakaalam sa mga pangunahing pangangailangan ng inyong mga kabarangay. Kayo ang nasa unang hanay sa patuloy nating pagsisikap na matamo ang pambansang kaunlaran. Sa inyo kami aasa sa aktual na pagpapatupad ng mga patakaran at programa na nagmumula at itinataguyod ng gobyerno nasyonal. Ang katotohanan, nakasalalay sa inyo ang tagumpay o pagkabigo ng KKK sa inyong mga lugar, samantalang nasa gobyerno nasyonal ang liderato at direksiyon.

Bilang pangwakas. . . . nais kong banggitin ang ganito:

Papasok na tayo sa isang bagong yugto ng ating pambansang pamumuhay at pangangasiwang pampamahalaan, lalo ngayong nangangailangan ng mas malawak na liderato't imahinasyon ng ating mga pinunong lokal. May mga oportunidad at mga paghamong dapat tugunin ng ating komunidad lokal, at nasa pagtugon ng mga hamong ito't pagkakataon nakasalalay ang kaunlaran ng bawat komunidad.

Pinag-ibayo at pinag-iibayo pa ng gobyerno nasyonal ang tulong o suporta nito sa mga kanayunan o komunidad-lokal.

Sa panukalang Local Government Code, na malamang magiging ganap nang batas bago matapos ang kasalukuyang sesyong regular ng Batasan, ay inaasahan kong makalilikha ng isang bagong balangkas para sa lalong ikatatatag at pagiging epektibo ng pamahalaang lokal sa buong bansa.

Masasabi nating, ngayon lamang nabigyan ng ibayong pagkakataon at mga paghamon ang ating mga pinunong lokal para sa makabuluhang mga pag-aksiyon. At ngayon lamang masasabi nating napakaraming pagkakataon para sa mga pinunong lokal natin na maipakita ang kanilang kakayahan at dedikasyon sa tungkulin.

At sa aking pagtatapos, hayaan ninyong umasa ako na lahat kayo ay makatutugon sa mga bagong paghamong ito sa tungkulin, at sa muli nating pagpupulong, ay buong dangal niyong maipakikita ang inyong mga nagawa. Hindi lamang sa inyong liderato Sa inyong komunidad At sa inyong kabarangay Kundi sa buong bansa.

Salamat po at magandang umaga sa inyong lahat.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Message of President Marcos on the Symposium of Yemen Arab Republic, [March 6, 1982](#)

**Remarks
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Symposium of Yemen Arab Republic**

[Delivered on March 6, 1982]

I would like to extend to everyone my warm greetings. I am indeed grateful for the invitation extended to the First Lady to attend this high level symposium of the UNV which the Yemen Arab Republic has graciously offered to host. While present circumstances do not allow either one of us to be with you I'd like to assure you in behalf of the Philippine Government of our continued support of the UNV.

In our country, we have a Philippine National Volunteer Service Coordinating Agency (PNVSCA) which oversees the volunteer programme. This agency has been recently placed under the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) and in so doing, we wish to emphasize the linkage between volunteer work being done on an international level and our own national development efforts.

We wish you success in giving young professionals a constructive opportunity to use their skills and talents in the implementation of National Development Plans and in carrying out programmes of international cooperation.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the launching of Shari'ah Training, [March 12, 1982](#)

Address of His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos President of the Philippines On the launching of Shari'ah Training

[Released on March 12, 1982]

We cannot overemphasize the high importance that must be ascribed to the tasks that you enter into today. Almost five years have passed since we promulgated the Code of Muslim Personal Laws under P.D. 1083 as an earnest of our immutable commitment to the enhancement of the way of life of our Muslim countrymen in the south. This day, despite the expected as well as unforeseen problems in the implementation and administration of the code, we have arrived at a substantial step closer to its operationalization.

We are fully cognizant of the difficulties that lie in the path of this historical undertaking, but it is an effort that we cannot shirk if we are to be true to the objectives of national unity and if we are to pay more than lip service to the Constitutional principles of religious freedom and respect for cultural diversity. It may well be that much time will pass before we succeed in perfecting the institution of the Code but this we shall gladly undertake in order that our Muslim brothers may partake more fully of the mainstream of our national life. For this is a responsibility we cannot turn back from and to its successful establishment we are committed to provide the fullest extent of government support.

To the lawyer in me with my background in traditional Roman Law this enterprise which seeks no less than the integration of Islamic legal precepts into the structure and tradition of our national jurisprudence is certainly fascinating study both for the new possibilities that are occasioned by it as well as for the foreseeably problematical aspects of actual implementation. However, I am confident that our pool of brilliant legal minds both Muslim and Christian, will be able to develop a new and mutually satisfactory system which provides for the cultural pluralism that is the essence of this endeavour and which at the same time holds true to the wisdom of the experience of our national law. There is a distinction to this historic undertaking, which you may take either as a challenge or a consolation, and this is that the Philippines may probably be the first country in the world with a Catholic or Christian majority that has chosen freely to take such a step. Certainly to me this endeavour represents a major effort towards substantiating our desire to rectify the errors of our history and the imbalances of the past in our relations with our Muslim brothers.

In a manner of speaking I envy you your principal role in this exciting new enterprise. It is given to few servants of the law to be involved in such a radical legal development in their lifetimes. It is my hope, however, that you will prove equal to the momentous tasks that lie before you. For certainly the training that you are now to undergo will determine to a great extent the vibrancy and the responsiveness of the code to the realities that it will have to face in the future.

But this training program is only the beginning. If the Code is to have lasting meaning in the lives of the communities it is ordained to serve, you must bring to it much more than what it presently contains. The Code encompasses what the experts believe to be the essential and the most important articles that govern Muslim personal and family life but such is the nature of Islamic Law that its proper interpretation requires more intimate knowledge of the two principal sources of Islamic Law — the Qur'an and the prophet's Hadith. This too must be augmented by a wide acquaintance with contemporary legislation in other Muslim countries, a close study of the most important texts from the various Madhahib or schools of Islamic Law the 'Ada or customary law, and the techniques of local and foreign Muslim jurists. Only with these preparations can you expect to do full justice to the honorable tasks that you are to undertake in the near future. I urge you therefore to look to these matters during this training experience and beyond.

It is on each of you that we have to rely to bring to our Muslim countrymen the sense of our deep and abiding concern for their welfare. Through the formal institution of the Shari'ah courts we commit ourselves to the preservation of their way of life even as with all our other development projects we wish to share with them the benefits of our unitary nationhood.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on the 1982 Asia Pacific International Finance Seminar, [March 17, 1982](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 1982 Asia Pacific International Finance Seminar**

[Released on March 17, 1982]

It was with some serious reservations that I decided to accept the invitation to address you today during the opening of the 1982 Asia Pacific International Finance Seminar not so much because I knew that I would now be engaged in hectic preparations for a most important journey of friendship and goodwill to Saudi Arabia as because I realized that I would have very little to contribute to the difficult discussions in your agenda for the next two days. In fact, I suspect that this is the reason why my good friend, Mr. Gilbert Kaplan, has requested me to speak for about 15 minutes only. As a politician who has come to regard speech-making as a welcome respite from the daily grind of attending to endless problems and affairs of the state, I feel effectively muzzled by that limitation. Nevertheless, I promise to observe it if Mr. Kaplan would also pledge to withdraw his threat of conducting the American Symphony Orchestra when it plays the Mahler Resurrection symphony in September, lest the world of international finance be deprived of his invaluable services. The world has yet to witness his performance as a conductor, but I have it on good authority that he performs flawlessly in orchestrating his business interests and seminars like this one, and I earnestly hope he would not abandon the effort in pursuit of his first love, which is music.

But before my time runs out, let me welcome you all to Manila and express the wish that your seminar would be productive and fruitful.

To me as it is perhaps to most other mortals, the bankers and the financial experts such as those gathered here today represent a select breed of men who possess extraordinary knowledge and therefore command our respect and awe. It therefore comes as a surprise for us to know that from time to time, financial executives not only from our region but also from the various financial centers all over the world gather together to exchange views and assessments on a wide range of topics affecting the financial community. But soon enough we come to realize that even the most learned of men discovers first of all that he really knows little of the entire body of knowledge available to man. And this is true even of the highly specialized field of international finance. Your presence here bears witness to that fact, and from this I can already discern the real reason for your meeting: it stems from your awareness that a clear picture of the environment in which the financial executive operates is essential to the effective prosecution of his tasks and the objectives of the organization he represents. The increasing complexity of the environment in which the financial expert must operate demands of him a continuous effort to grapple not only with the realities of our times but also the possibilities and unknowns of the future.

This meeting acquires added significance and timeliness when you consider that Asia and the Pacific region has of late become the focus of world attention because it is the scene of a new economic miracle aborning, at least in the eyes of some economic forecasters. The latest forecast, coming from the United States Department of Commerce, identified the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, of which the Philippines is a member, as the fastest growing region in the world and predicted that ASEAN would soon emerge as a new center of world economic power. The same special report on ASEAN also went on to predict that the combined gross national product of the five member countries of ASEAN would double during the next 9 years provided that we can maintain the 7 percent average annual growth rate of the past decade.

Of course, there is much to commend about such rosy forecasts. Optimism, being the infectious outlook that it is, has a way of boosting up confidence and brining about the very condition predicted. But there is no absolute guarantee that such predictions will be self-fulfilling.

ASEAN must continue to summon the collective will, the determination and efforts of its governments and peoples to sustain the momentum of progress we have achieved in recent years. It must move into other areas of cooperative endeavors if it desires to consolidate, let alone improve upon, the gains we have made.

This is not to say that predictions of an economic boom in the region are based on shaky foundations. On the contrary, there are sound and solid reasons why we believe that the most optimistic forecasts for the region can be fully realized if not surpassed. We have the resources, the manpower, the policies and the kind of leadership that is committed to the pursuit of growth and development through the individual efforts of the member nations as well as common cooperative action among the members of the Association. All these have been subjected to the most severe test during the most critical decade of the seventies, and we have emerged stronger than ever.

But if we are to sustain the momentum of growth that has carried us through crisis after crisis we must also continue to make common cause with the rest of the Third World in seeking for a more equitable sharing of the world's wealth, not through aid but through trade. This has been the persistent cry of developing countries, and we have heard them echoed in Cancun and more recently in New Delhi. And we in ASEAN join our voices with those of the other developing countries who have made known their protest over discriminatory trade practices and artificial trade barriers imposed by the developed countries, for we too have suffered because of these.

Many of our products, from raw materials to garments and light manufacture, have been placed at a competitive disadvantage because of excessive tariffs, stringent quotas and other trade barriers imposed by the developed countries of the West. We have seen the prices of our raw material exports sink to intolerably low levels while the capital goods manufactured in the West continue to command ever higher prices. During the last few days, for instance, the price of copra which is one of our major exports has gone down from 25 cents per pound during the first days of March to only 22 cents during the last few days. Last year, in fact, our export earnings from copra and other coconut products went down by \$53.6 million to around \$745.5 million despite the fact that the volume of our exports actually increased from 914,000 metric tons in 1980 to 1.05 million metric tons in 1981. As with copra, the depressed prices of our other exports have the effect of penalizing and dampening our efforts to increase productivity in various sectors of the economy, including our modest industrial ventures.

It is as if the developed countries would deny the poorer nations the opportunity to stand on their own two feet. I have high hopes, however, that the developed countries will soon come around to the view that it is to their interest as much as ours to restore order in international trade. For protectionist policies are not only barriers to trade, they are also barriers to economic development and world stability.

I have decided to take up the issue of protectionism because I feel that it is one of the most critical concerns of our world today. I am aware that there are other pressing issues that you would have occasion to dissect during the next few days. Unstable interest rates, alternative sources of financing, energy — these are but a few of the many burning issues that you will have the opportunity to examine. All are of vital interest to men in business, to bankers, to financial executives as well as governments. Indeed my only regret about this meeting is that I could not be a participant in your deliberations. But I am confident that the results of the seminar will ultimately prove of great value to the efficient management of the finances of your corporations and the countries which you represent.

In closing, let me again wish you great success in your seminar. I hope that the serious business you have to tackle in the next two days would not prevent you from enjoying your stay in Manila.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Proposed Address of President Marcos on the meeting with Filipino Professionals in Saudi, [March 18, 1982](#)

**Proposed Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the meeting with Filipino Professionals in Saudi**

[Released on March 18, 1982]

Through the generosity and kindness of His Highness King Khaled and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we are accorded this unique privilege of meeting in this ancient and fabled land thousands of miles away from home. Seeing Arabia for the first time is for us a unique and memorable experience, and this has been made all the more memorable by the experience of being welcomed by one's own countrymen in this distant land.

Since our arrival in Riyadh _____ days ago, the First Lady and I and the members of our party have known nothing but warmth and affection from all of you. And our meeting today makes us almost think that we have never really left the Philippines. And we are truly deeply moved and grateful.

The warmth of your welcome is perhaps only surpassed by the lavish hospitality with which we have been received by the people and the officials of the Government of our host country. For this you and I are doubly indebted to the government and people of Saudi Arabia, for by receiving me as a representative of the Filipino people with so much kindness, Saudi Arabia actually honors you, our country and our people.

While I am certain that this spontaneous display of affection by our hosts springs from genuine feelings of friendship and affinity between our peoples, I am equally convinced that much of the goodwill that now exists between our governments and peoples has been generated and strengthened by your exemplary conduct and the high standards of service you have rendered in this country.

As the leader of our nation, it has been a constant source of pride for me to hear words of praise for the quality of your work, for your great skill and competence, for your diligence and industry, from both private individuals and official sources. Equally, it is a matter of great distress to us when we hear that a few of our workers soil this upright record, and we learn of violations on their part of the laws of their host country. Happily, during our brief stay, we have heard more of tribute, and less of complaint about your work. And I am proud to tell you that the highest praise has been reserved for you, the Filipino professionals, the doctors and nurses, the engineers and technicians, the managers and supervisors. By your competence and dedication, you have made us proud as Filipinos and in the process you have contributed immeasurably towards building the vast reservoir of goodwill and admiration that exists in the hearts of the people and leaders of Saudi Arabia. It is my hope that in the future you will continue to raise this image of the Filipino workers overseas through your exemplary work, for nothing finally — not even the visit of your president — can make real and strong the goodwill and understanding between our peoples as much as your high standard of professionalism, fidelity to your duties and the manner you live your own lives. Thus I have attached a special significance to this meeting with you because it provides me an opportunity to deliver in person this message of congratulations from our Government and our people.

In meeting with you today, I have also come to fulfill another important mission from our people and perform the most solemn obligation of the president to look after the welfare of every citizen no matter what his station in life and in any place he may be. In the case of Saudi Arabia, a personal assessment of the actual conditions of Filipino workers has become most appropriate and necessary since this country today employs about 150,000 Filipinos of varying skills, education and personal backgrounds, and several thousands more can be expected to seek employment here in the near future as the Saudi government continues to accelerate its development programs. By this I do not wish to imply in any way that the problems of Filipino workers in the many cities of this country have reached such alarming proportions that your president has felt compelled to make personal representations with our host government in behalf of the Filipino workers. On the contrary, I must express extreme gratification over the

efforts of the government of Saudi Arabia to create the most favorable conditions for our workers whom they graciously acknowledge for their substantial contribution to the development of this country. Nevertheless, there have been quite a few cases of misunderstanding between employers and employees on matters relating to compensation, working conditions, accommodation and other terms of the work contracts.

To minimize and possibly eliminate the causes of misunderstanding and discontent on the part of both the workers and the employers, we have initiated several measures which we hope will be adopted soon. We will begin by looking closely into the development plans of Saudi Arabia with the view of determining the manpower requirements of the plans which could be appropriately filled by Filipino manpower in excess of our own domestic needs. We have proposed that the study be conducted soon by a team of Filipino and Saudi Arabian experts.

Secondly, we have drafted several protocols on labor relations between our two countries covering the broad field of labor, employment and manpower development as well as employer-employee relations to assure faithful compliance with the terms of employment on the part of both parties for their mutual protection.

Thirdly, we shall maintain a stronger presence in the Middle East through the establishment of a Middle East Labor Center which will be based in Jeddah to coordinate the activities of labor attaches who will be posted in key cities in Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries. The labor center will not only help Filipino contractors secure contracts and broaden the opportunities for employment of more Filipinos, but even more importantly it shall assume the principal responsibility for promoting and protecting the interests of Filipino workers in the Middle East.

All these measures I am sure will have the full endorsement and support of the Saudi Arabian government which is of one mind with us on matters affecting the welfare and interests of Filipino workers in this country. Saudi Arabia realizes as much as we do that the creation of a wholesome atmosphere for Filipinos to do their work unhampered by problems and difficulties is a basic requisite for the smooth implementation of its development program and the maintenance and expansion of mutually advantageous relations in the area of employment and labor exchange.

Let me assure you that your government will never tolerate having anyone among its citizens deprived of any part of his just wage and compensation. I have therefore given strict instructions to the Ministry of Labor to closely scrutinize every contract entered into by Filipinos so that the terms of employment are clear and specific on every point and thus not subject to misinterpretation. I have also directed the Ministry of Labor as well as the Ministry of Justice to act with dispatch on complaints about irregularities and violations of contract on the part of Filipino recruitment agencies. We will not only cancel the licenses of those found guilty of such irregularities but we will also apply the full force of the law on those involved in fraudulent labor transactions.

I am determined to do all these and anything that would protect the interests of all Filipino workers overseas because I know the sacrifice you have had to pay in your quest for professional and material advancement. You have left your homes, your families and your loved ones in order to secure for them and for yourselves a more comfortable existence in the future. You have borne with patience the hardship of your work and you continue to suffer in silence the loneliness of separation from your loved ones in the hope that some day soon you may be reunited, assured of a brighter future. It is but just that such sacrifices and your labors, of course, should be compensated in full measure. And our government and I personally will see to it that you receive what is due to each of you.

As we strive to secure and strengthen the various arrangements for your overseas employment, we in turn hope that you will ever strive to uphold and protect the good name of our people in the course of your service both in terms of competence in your work and in your deportment and conduct as guests in a foreign land. For all of you, Saudi Arabia today is a land of opportunity and hope; it will continue to be so to the extent that you all keep faith with her laws and her traditions and give the best of service that you can give in your line of work.

It will perhaps be of consolation to you to know that your many sacrifices and your labors are not only appreciated; they have also begun to bear fruit in our homeland. The signs are everywhere, in our cities and the countryside. They come in varying forms: the new passenger jeepneys being operated or driven by members of your families, the new homes being built everywhere, the healthy faces of your children, your brothers and sisters who can now pursue higher education in our universities and colleges, and the many little luxuries every member of your family can now

enjoy—all these they now have because of you. And I bear to you their message of gratitude and their assurances of their enduring love and affection.

They have missed you in a very personal way. And your country has also missed your services. But as with the members of your family, your leaders feel reassured by the thought that this is but a temporary phase in your lives and the life of the nation.

We began to seriously pursue the policy of marketing our surplus labor overseas at a time when we were in the midst of serious economic dislocations brought about by the oil crisis and a severe world recession. At the same time, Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich nations started their plans for modernization. We were quite fortunate to have been among the first countries tapped by our friends in the Middle East to supply the expertise and manpower that they required for their development programs.

But any realistic appraisal of the development plans of Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries inevitably leads to the conclusion that demand for foreign workers will soon come to an end. In the near future we foresee the further expansion of demand for foreign workers, but it will eventually taper off. But before that happens we should be prepared.

So even as we pledge to help in the development of friendly countries like Saudi Arabia through the continued supply of the expertise and manpower that they need, we are already laying the groundwork for the future when Philippine labor may no longer be required by other countries.

We are now undertaking several programs that will ensure the growth and development of our country, among which I will mention but two: the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran, the National Livelihood Program which is designed to create employment opportunities particularly in depressed communities and the 11 major industrial projects which should launch us on the road to industrialization. I need not bore you with the details regarding these projects, but let me say however that all these projects have been conceived to assure every Filipino, including those like you who had been compelled by circumstances to seek their fortune overseas, a decent and progressive life.

Through these programs, we hope to cushion ourselves against any adverse developments that may affect our economy and nation in the future and require unusual measures such as we had to undertake in recent years.

We will consider these programs to be a success only when the time comes when no Filipino will feel forced to seek his fortune in a foreign land.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Proposed address of President Marcos on meeting with Filipino Contract Workers in Saudi Arabia, [March 20, 1982](#)

**Proposed Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On meeting with Filipino Contract Workers in Saudi Arabia**

[Delivered on March 20, 1982]

Ikinagagalak kong ipahatid sa lahat ng mga manggagawang Pilipino na kasalukuyang nanunungkulan dito sa kaharian ng Saudi Arabia ang malugod na pagbati at pagpugay ng ating mga kababayan. Kami ay nasisiyahan na makatagpo at makapiling kayong lahat sa pagkakataong ito. Sa dinamidami ng mga Pilipinong nagkatipon-tipon dito ay tila hindi pa tayo nakalalayo sa ating sariling bansa, at tila nasa Plaza Miranda pa lamang tayo. Kung hindi ako nagkakamali marami sa inyo ay nakaharap ko na sa mga iba't ibang pagpupulong. Alam din namin na marami sa inyo ay nagnanais muling makapulog kami upang ipaabot sa ating pamahalaan ang mga suliraning gumugulo sa mga manggagawang Pilipino dito sa Saudi Arabia at sa buong gitnang silangan.

Bagamat ang pangunahing pakay ng aming paglakbay dito sa kaharian ng Saudi Arabia ay upang higit pang gawing matatag ang ugnayan sa pagitan ng ating dalawang bansa, ibig din namin mapag-alaman ang kalagayan ng mga manggagawang Pilipino na nagsusumikap maghanap-buhay dito. Walang ibang pinag-aabalahan ang inyong pamahalaan kundi ang kapakanan ng mga manggagawang Pilipino. Hindi ko na marahil kailangan bigyan diin pa na napakalaki ang pakinabang na inyong naidudulot para sa ating bansa lalu na sa ating pambansang ekonomiya. Nararapat lamang na ipagtanggol ng pamahalaang Pilipino ang dangal at interes ng mga manggagawang Pilipino saan mang pook, sa anumang pagkakataon.

There are now over 150,000 Filipinos working in this kingdom, the largest concentration of Filipino workers in any part of the Middle East. This fact alone is indicative of the special character of the ties between Saudi Arabia and the Philippines. And the uniqueness of our relations with this country and her people underlies my mission at this time. It is a mission of friendship, whose main objective to make even stronger what for us is a vital international link. I perhaps need not emphasize the invaluable contribution of this kingdom to our nation, especially to our economic life. Much of the fuel that we require to sustain the momentum of our economic growth comes from Saudi Arabia. While we have been engaged in a massive program to lessen our nation's dependence on imported energy sources, we cannot escape the reality that for the present and in the immediate future we would have to have access to foreign energy fuels. However, I must stress that these purely economic imperatives are not the only bases for our desire to maintain and further our friendly relations with the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

More than four million Muslim Filipinos look to Saudi Arabia as the spiritual leader of Islam, which was introduced by Arab missionaries to our shores in the 14th century. Were it not for the tragic accident of western colonialism and imperialism, our entire nation would perhaps have embraced the religion which teaches, among others, the brotherhood of all men.

In these modern times, our two nations are asserting a different type of brotherhood that is best expressed in our comradeship in the third world movement. As nations aspiring for the blessings of full development, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Philippines are united in the desire to liberate themselves from the chains of limited growth that has been imposed upon us. We are firm in our belief that only the world's developing peoples can truly extricate themselves from these impositions. We are firm in our belief that the world's developing nations are confronted by common adversary and as such, our hope lies in strengthening mutually beneficial relations among ourselves. It is in this light that we must view the presence of thousands of Filipino workers in this kingdom so distant from our land.

I would like to think of your work here as proof of the Philippines' earnestness in pursuing the objective of third world brotherhood. While each of you may have travelled to this land for a variety of personal reasons, you are in the process helping to build an industrialized society, whose dreams are not much different from our own. We too share the same aspirations. We too would like to benefit from industrial growth. And, in behalf of the Filipino people, I must express the appreciation of the entire nation to the thousands of Filipino workers stationed overseas. The foreign exchange generated by Filipino workers overseas has helped cushion to a substantial degree the adverse effects of recent economic dislocations that have bedeviled the world economy. Your contributions to the national economy have served to reinforce our people's confidence that objective of development and economic growth is still within our reach and fully attainable.

It is because of the indispensable role that you, the Filipino overseas workers, play in our national economy that your government has been especially conscientious and vigilant in protecting your interests and safeguarding your welfare in addition to broadening our ties with host countries to overseas Filipino labor. This policy was articulated as early as 1974 when the government took a positive step in encouraging overseas employment with the creation of the Overseas Employment Development Board and the National Seamen Board. Six years later, this policy was pursued even further with the promulgation of Decree No. 1691 which amended certain provisions of our labor code. Among others, it vested on the OEDB the authority to service and enter into recruitment agreements with foreign government ministries, agencies and entities. As the state placement agency, the OEDB began to function as the conduit for the hiring of Filipino workers by foreign government employers. However, there remains the need to safeguard the welfare of Filipino overseas workers at the jobsite as well as to market Filipino service packages abroad. It is for these same reasons that a Middle East Regional Center is being set up by your government, through the Ministry of Labor and Employment, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Trade and Industry, to open up new markets for Filipino skills and entrepreneurship. At present, we are coping with these demands through four labor attaches, two of whom are based in Jeddah, one in Kuwait and another in Iraq.

Nevertheless, your government still feels strongly that much more must be done to strengthen and institutionalize the presence of Filipino entrepreneurs and service workers in the Middle East. After a thorough review of the prevailing system of government support to Filipino overseas workers, we have found that the attaché machinery has become inadequate in dealing with the demands of recent developments, especially in the area of servicing the needs and extending protection to the continuously growing pool of Filipino labor overseas. We expect these needs to become even more critical this year.

Current projections are that by 1982, the Philippines would have deployed more than a quarter of a million workers in various foreign destinations. Combined with our aggressive corporate manpower export strategy, the country expects to generate a total of three billion dollars from the activities of Filipino overseas workers like yourselves.

These projections are not the result of wishful thinking. The long-term development plans of many Middle Eastern countries, including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, indicate that this area will continue to be a major livelihood source for Filipino overseas workers and contract entrepreneurs. From consultations with officials of the various Middle East Governments, we have found that the bulk of contracting work will still be in Saudi Arabia, which seems every bit determined to pursue its program of laying the foundations for a modern, industrialized society. We have been informed that the Saudi government's 1980-1985 development plan has set aside a total expenditure amounting to around 235 billion dollars, with an additional 50,000 million dollars to cover inflationary adjustments. Investments in infrastructure will constitute a full 30 percent of total state expenditures. For Filipino overseas workers. These hefty outlays should mean that the Middle East, particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, will continue to be a bright prospect for livelihood in the near future.

The Philippine government, however hopeful it may be of such favorable prospects, has not been blind to the difficulties which a number of our compatriots have been experiencing. We know only too well that our program for the overseas employment of Filipino workers has been confronted by a wide range of problems. We fully realize that some Filipino workers have been victims of substandard accommodation facilities, contract violations, unfavorable working conditions, discrimination in pay scale relative to other expatriate workers as well as the continuing inability of Filipino contractors to successfully compete with multinational contractors for Saudi Arabian projects.

Napag-alaman din namin na pinagsasamantalahan ng mga ilang pangkat na lumalaban sa ating pamahalaan ang mga suliraning ito upang mangalap ng mga kasapi para sa kanilang kilusan ditto sa Saudi Arabia. Bagaman iilan lamang sa ating mga kababayana ng kanilang nalililang, kami ay nanganagmba na kung ipagpapatuloy ng mga pangkat na ito ang kanilang mapanghidwang pagkilos ay mapapanganib ang ating programang tulungan ang mga manggagawang Pilipino nanunungkulan sa ibang bansa. Marahil, hindi na namin kailangan ipaliwanag pa na ang pamahalaan ng kaharian ng Saudi Arabia ay may sinusundan na mahigit na patakaran hinggil sa mga mapanligalig na elemento. Kasalukuyang tinitingala sa pook na ito ang mga manggagawang Pilipino dahil sa inyong kasipagan at kasinupan sa paggawa. Subalit kung ang mga manggagawang Pilipino ay pagsisimulan ng gulo at ligalig sa lipunan asahan ninyo na ang pamahalaan ng Saudi Arabia mismo ay gagawa ng hakbang upang tigilin ang kilusang ito. Sa mga kababayan nating may ibang paniniwala, kami ay nakikiusap na huwag sana nila ilagay sa panganib ang kabuhayan ng libo-libong manggagawang Pilipinong nanungkulan dito sa kaharian ng Saudi Arabia. Para sa kanila at sa kanilang naiwang kamag-anak sa ating bansa, ang isyu ng kabuhayan ay walang kinikilalang ideyolohiya.

Nevertheless, we recognize only too well the seriousness of the problems now confronting Filipino workers, not only here in Saudi Arabia but in other countries as well. In response to these conditions the Philippine government, in coordination with the officials of the concerned foreign government, is initiating several measures which are aimed at resolving problems and difficulties. In this area, for instance, we are proposing that a joint team of Saudi Arabian and Filipino economic planners conduct a survey of manpower and service requirements of the development plans of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This team will determine how surplus manpower in the Philippines can be most efficiently deployed in an envisioned employment program involving Saudi Arabia. As in other similar undertakings, it will be pursued on the basis of mutual benefit and respect.

We also intend to promote bilateral labor relations between the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the republic of the Philippines through protocol agreements and organized exchanges between our two countries. From these protocol agreements we expect to formulate and finalize the general agenda for cooperation in the field of labor, employment and manpower development between Saudi Arabia and the Philippines. A principal item in these agreement will be the protection and the enhancement of the welfare of Filipino overseas workers. Like ourselves, the government of Saudi Arabia is just as concerned about alleviating the difficulties and problems faced by some of our workers. With the adoption of these agreements, we shall have established the mechanism that will facilitate the safeguarding of the rights of our workers, and the assurance for their continued and beneficial employment overseas.

Towards this direction, the establishment of the Philippine Labor Center in Jeddah is a first and important step. Your government plans to put up similar centers in other areas in the middle east where there are substantial concentrations of Filipino workers, such as the industrial cities of Riyadh and Dubai. These centers will function on a semi-government basis, tasked with the primary mission of extending protection to Filipino overseas workers against exploitation and injustices that may be committed against them by foreign employers. The absence of such a mechanism in the past partially explains the inability of the Philippine government as well as the governments of the host countries to fully safeguard the welfare of our overseas workers. Since these centers will coordinate their activities with the relevant agencies of the host governments, they are also expected to upgrade our diplomatic presence in the middle east and promote bilateral or protocol agreements trade, investment, contracting and employment.

We have also received a number of complaints regarding the prevailing methods of salary remittances. We would like to assure all of you that our government is currently finalizing a package of financial incentives designed to maximize the income-generating capabilities of Filipino overseas workers in this area.

Kinikilala ng inyong pamahalaan at ng buong mamamayang Pilipino ang pagpupunyagi ng mga manggagawang Pilipinong nanunungkulan sa ibang bansa. Ipinagmamalaki ng ating mga kababayan ang mga kakayahan ng mga manggagawang Pilipinong tulad ninyo. Ang reputasyon na inyong nilikha sa mga pook tulad ng Saudi Arabia. Ang reputasyong din ito na bunga ng inyong magandang halimbawa ang siyang nagbibigay pag-asa para sa mg iba pang manggagawang Pilipino na mapaunlad ang kanilang kabuhayan. Kinikilala din ng buong sambayanang Pilipino ang mga sakripisyong inyong pinapasan alang-alang sa mabuting kapakanan ng inyong kamag-anakan at pati na ng buong bansa. Kayo ay mga ulirang mamamayan; mga Pilipinong handang magbanat ng buto at magbuwis ng pawis upang makamit ang maliwanag na kinabukasan ng ating bayan. Sa ngalan ng buong sambayanang Pilipino, kami ay nagbibigay pugay sa inyong pagsusumikap.

Mabuhay ang manggagawang Pilipino!
Mabuhay ang kaharian ng Saudi Arabia!
Mabuhay ang Pilipinas!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Commencement Address of President Marcos to the Philippine Military Academy, [March 27, 1982](#)

**Commencement Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To the Philippine Military Academy**

[Delivered on March 27, 1982]

Among the yearly chores of the presidency, there is perhaps none more pleasant and satisfying than the annual appointment one makes with the graduating class of this premier institution for military training in our country.

It means a lot, of course, that the Philippine Military Academy is situated up here in the nation's resort capital, where I, workaholic that I am, can find a brief moment of respite. But let me also say in all seriousness that the duty of welcoming you at this commencement to the service of our people and country, is one which I must gladly perform, and most earnestly covet.

There are many illustrious schools in our country that maintain a high and distinguished tradition of leadership, and which have eminently distinguished themselves as a source of national leaders. Yet always there will be this special distinction for this academy, that in no other does the successful completion of one's training summarily thrust the graduate into a position of immediate leadership and service to the nation than here.

And nowhere else it would seem is it truer to speak Disraeli's famous words, that "youth is the trustee of posterity."

Our concept of the military rests on the fundamental premise of our political system of civilian supremacy over the military. The underlying meaning of this is not as some sometimes mistakenly believe a skeptical view of the military man, but rather an affirmation that the use of the armed forces of the state must be dictated by civilian decisions and policies. It comes from the very same principle of "power to the people" which fundamentally guides the conduct and character of government. The employment of whatever power of the state must derive from consent of the people, and it is in this sense that the use of military power must spring from basically civilian interests.

No organized state can dispense with the soldier in society, given what William James once called in 1904 and what we have no reason to doubt since, "the rooted bellicosity of human nature."

The historian Barbara Tuchman, in a revealing defense of the profession of soldiery, observes: "it is not the nature of the military man that accounts for war, but the nature of man. The soldier is merely one shape that nature takes. . . . As a student of the human record, I can say with confidence that peace is not the norm. Historians have calculated that up until the Industrial Revolution belligerent action occupied more man hours than any other activity except agriculture." And we may rightly add that history since has unhappily failed to provide us with any compelling evidence to revise our this estimate.

However we look at the issue, there is no avoiding the recognition that a nation to defend itself must look to the vigil by an armed force. And nations finally differ only in the uses it puts its armed forces into: whether solely for the purposes of defense as in our case, or for the purposes of aggression as well, as in the case of many nations and armies of the past and the present.

It is a fact never to be forgotten, that the charge given to an armed force by civilian will implies responsibilities and controls that would not be there if the civilian government is not supreme. It implies for instance that the military power must always be subject to supervision by the civilian authority. It suggests that the broad policies for action must ever be shaped by the government. And it finally connotes that the military as a whole must hone rigorously to a life of allegiance to the state it serves, and must in practice live a life as much of discipline as of vigilance.

The only way whereby such a liberal conception of the military role can be imbedded deeply in the traditions and codes of a military corps is through the building of an effective tradition of training for both officers and men. And I will stress that the training of officers is the more important, because it is from this that the discipline of armies finally stem.

In Colonel Heintz's Dictionary of Military Quotations it is interesting to note that fully one third of the entries are placed under the three related subject headings: namely, "command", "leadership," and "generalship." And we can easily understand why there is so great a focus on the role of leadership. With the possible exception of the field of politics and government, no other human activity as the military life has the singular capability of determining at a given time the life or death of thousands, and sometimes the fate of nations. Soldierly without leadership is but a naked force without mind to guide it. And an armed force that is not served by high qualities of leadership and command sooner or later degenerates from being a guardian of the state into an enemy of it.

Not without reason therefore do we demand of the officers of our Armed Forces the highest quality of preparation within the gift of the nation.

On the one hand, we seek in training to develop those qualities of personal leadership which in whatever situation is capable of turning a legion of soldiers into a fighting force. This is most tested in combat, but it is equally needed in a time of peace. These qualities come under many words — courage, resolution, judgment, steadiness under fire — but they probably are reducible to the single concept of the ability to command.

The quality of command rests principally on the degree of faith that an officer is able to inspire in his subordinates. And perhaps the most succinct statement of this is given by Shakespeare in Julius Caesar: "when Caesar says, 'do this,' it is performed." If soldiers believe that this superior or commander knows what he is talking about and that what he orders is the right thing to do given the situation, they will do it, because most people and not only soldiers are always relieved to find a superior on whose judgment they can put their trust. This indeed is the difference between a leader and a follower.

But alongside this important quality of personal leadership, the military man must also possess a high quality of professional training. This encompasses the variant abilities to decide on objectives, to plan, to organize, to direct, to deploy personnel. It covers what in school you call the business of military strategies and tactics. And it is in this realm where the military officer becomes substantially different than a civilian. And it is in this sense that soldierly becomes a profession, not to be attained without training, formal or otherwise.

Personal leadership combined with professional ability form the core of our idea of what our officer corps in our Armed Forces should be like. And it only therefore remains to understand the nature of the challenges which the nation and our Armed Forces must face, and to shape the policies requisite to the challenges, in order to fully embody the program for which all must function.

The profound problem which we face in the sphere of national security remains still the challenge of insurgency and rebellion. We have lived through a long period of grave crisis and danger to our Republic, and we have successfully surmounted this, yet we have only arrived at the profound realization that the vigil does not stop, that insurgency continues in our land.

In various parts of the country, we witness many forms of assault upon the safety of people and communities. And though we can indeed perceive these as no threats to the stability of the state, we cannot and we shall never be unmindful of the cost it is taking of the security of life and property in the affected areas.

We see ourselves as engaged on two fronts: one which is essentially pacification and maintenance of peace and order; and another, which is the more long-term effort of building the capacities of local communities for development.

It is not to be that we should perceive the insurgency problem as a purely military one, though indeed the energetic operations of our police and armed forces will repeatedly be called upon.

History has time and again shown that the security of a state becomes untenable where the welfare and livelihood of people are not attended to. Rebellion and insurgency feed upon the anxieties and miseries of people, and they offer the promise, however false, of an ideology that will right grievances and fulfill expectations.

I believe that we are seeing today the climacteric of our long struggle against insurgency, in which the terrorism of today signifies desperate measures to destabilize our national life and deform our legitimate achievements.

In Mindanao, where our development efforts and our diplomacy have succeeded in turning the situation around, the secessionist movement has turned into a virtual marauding force with inchoate objectives and terrorist tactics. The situation excites our alarm insofar as these threats to peace and order must not be allowed to continue.

In other parts of the country where the NPA is the main antagonist, there is today a desperate effort to regroup and marshal anew anti-government resistance. Occasionally, this too has expressed itself in terrorist tactics.

What is needed at this time is forthright military and police action that will decisively reduce and contain the depredations of these groups. Our knowledge of guerrilla warfare and insurgency instructs us to prepare for what is likely to be a long struggle, in which insurgency forces can wane under the impact of responsive military action and government measures, but will not in the end give up the ghost of communist takeover of our government.

This necessarily implies that the soldier who would lead in this kind of struggle must fully understand the nature of the force they are fighting against, and that based on that knowledge, he must develop along with his fellow officers and superiors the necessary strategy which will not deny him victory.

This implies too the military's involvement in development endeavors — in even larger and more creative ways, so that what was demonstrated at the height of crisis government will ever be fact: the reality of the bond between our military and our people.

Men in uniform do not play a role in our national life only in the event of extreme crisis and danger to the nation. They are not called only when there is disorder and strife.

You are in the truest sense of the word participants in our struggle for the national destiny, in the business of turning a time of peace and order into a time of growth and change.

Now as ever, there is need for our soldiery to perform its signal service to the nation, as a force to defend our Republic and to promote the highest of our purposes and aspirations.

As you enter the service therefore, I will add to my welcome and congratulations the fervent prayer that you will lead with vision and dedication.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the closing ceremonies of Castasia II, [March 30, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the closing ceremonies of Castasia II**

[Delivered on March 30, 1982]

I had wanted to join you at the opening of this conference to welcome you in behalf of our country and our people, but as you all know I was out of the country on a most important mission on the day you began your deliberations. I am therefore grateful for the opportunity you have given me to do the next best thing to saying welcome, and that is bidding you all goodbye.

I hope you found our facilities and preparations for this important meeting adequate and suitable to your needs.

This is only the second conference of ministers responsible for the application of science and technology to development and those responsible for economic planning in Asia and the Pacific. But I can already sense a greater determination on the part of the representatives of the member states to grapple with larger issues and problems confronting our region today and a greater resolve to apply scientific and technological know-how in resolving such problems in a speedy but prudent manner.

During the first meeting in India, Castasia's principal focus was on strengthening the institutions, the facilities and programs for the advancement of science and technology in individual member countries. Castasia II has moved into the higher plane of discussing the appropriate application and the impact of new knowledge and technology on member countries, and of evolving a series of important recommendations regarding the role science and technology must play in development plans as well as proposals for new areas of international cooperation.

I am sure that the sentiments you have expressed and the recommendations embodied in what you now refer to as the manila declaration will have a deep and lasting impact on the course of developments in our part of the world. The Manila declaration does not only reflect the consensus of the scientific community and of the economic planners of the countries represented in Castasia II, it also incorporates the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific and their common wish to make science serve the ends of peace, prosperity and equality for all.

Let me therefore congratulate you all for adopting this historic document which should in time become a blueprint for the peaceful application of science and technology. In particular, I would like to mention the leadership and guidance exercised by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and its co-sponsor the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, not only during this conference but also in previous conferences in the past.

During the last few days, you have had the opportunity not only to discuss the state of science and technology in our region but also to dissect in some detail the social, economic and cultural settings in which they are being applied. The review of the situation in our region; I am sure, has clearly demonstrated the pressing need for science and technology to be brought to bear upon the many urgent problems of the region.

Statistics can never fully capture the full dimensions of the problems we are faced with; much less do they project the pains and miseries they merely quantify. The data which indicate the gross disparities in the per capita incomes among the nations of Asia and the Pacific which range from \$100 for the poorest to \$9,000 for the richest are bad enough. But what is even more disturbing is the very real possibility that the situation could turn for the worse in the future since the our region's population is expected to double in a few year's time from the estimated 2.7 billion at present.

Poverty we all recognize now spawns a host of problems, such as malnutrition, diseases, and illiteracy. The millions of hungry, sick and uneducated peoples in Asia and the Pacific now look up to their leaders, the scientists and the rest of the human family to help alleviate their misery. Science and technology offer the real hope for their deliverance from hunger and disease. Therein lies the significance of your conference here in Manila.

In the course of your conference, I am pleased to learn that you have succeeded in identifying the priority concerns that science and economic planning must immediately address. You have defined the modes and strategies for the accelerated transfer of technology. And you have also set priority areas for international cooperation.

What is left for us to do now is to summon the will and mobilize the resources that would hasten the adoption of new processes and technologies in the critical areas of each of our country's development plans and programs. At the same time, the countries of Castasia II should now contribute their share towards the realization of cooperative programs and endeavors.

We in the Philippines are committed to help in every way and give substance to our commitment in regional cooperative tasks. We are also prepared to implement on our own the relevant recommendations you have suggested. Prime Minister Cesar Virata, I believe has already outlined for you the measures we have taken to promote scientific and technological research and development, including the creation of a new Philippine Science and Technology Authority which will be responsible for formulating and implementing policies, plans and programs for the development of science and technology.

We join you in asking the developed countries to share with us their vast storehouse of knowledge so that we can better provide for the most urgent needs of our people.

And finally we are with you in appealing to the superpowers to put an end to the headlong race towards arms superiority and instead devote their immense resources in science and technology to the noble task of combatting hunger, disease and the many ills afflicting the majority of mankind. For the cause of peace can be better advanced not through the massive manufacture of weapons of war but through the intensified development of tools for survival for the impoverished millions of the third world.

Allow me again to congratulate you for a most fruitful conference. You will soon be leaving with our sincere wishes for success in your efforts to put science and technology to peaceful and productive uses for the benefit of the people in our region and the rest of the world.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 40th anniversary of the Fall of Bataan, [April 11, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 40th anniversary of the Fall of Bataan**

[Delivered on April 11, 1982]

Once again we gather here today — in representation of our three peoples and three nations — to commemorate the Fall of Bataan forty years ago.

There is a certain imprecision in our ceremonies today because as we all know Bataan actually fell on the 9th of April 1942. But in deference to the Lenten season and our Christian traditions, we have chosen to observe this historic event on this most glorious day in Christendom, the day when the entire Christian world celebrates the feast of the risen Lord.

It is apt and perhaps symbolic that these two events — the feast of Easter and Bataan's hour of glory — should fatefully coincide. For there is a way of looking at the battles fought on this lonely mountaintop as a story that ineluctably mirrors the rising and renewal of life after a time of suffering and sorrow.

For the Filipino people, surely, the fall of Bataan was both the Good Friday and Easter Sunday in the life of their nation. As a people, we had our Gethsemane in the mountain fastnesses of Bataan and Corregidor where many of our young soldiers almost succumbed to despair in the face of hunger, sickness and death; our way of the cross in the infamous Death March; our Golgotha in Mt. Samat on whose slopes thousands of valiant defenders lost their lives in defense of the motherland. But after the fall, there was also the inevitable rising — when at long last, and partly because of the heroic defense of Bataan, God favored the cause for which we fought and our people won liberation, freedom and nationhood.

And we may also point to yet another imperishable victory bequeathed to us by Bataan. And this is the fact that in the commemoration of all the fallen in the last war, nations and peoples who once confronted each other here as adversaries, now join together in venerating their memory.

For us to reach this point when our peoples and our nations can be at peace with another, and sovereign in everything that signifies their nationhood — this to my mind is the mark of triumph, and not of defeat, for that causes that once made Bataan so important a chapter in but in the personal way that comrades and families remember loved ones.

And I find my answer in the words of a soldier's song that tells of a soldier who in his grave hears the voices of lovers passing:

“Are these not,” he asks, “the voices of them that love, that love — and remember me?”

“Not so, my hero,” the lovers say.

“We are those that remember not

For the spring has come and the Earth has smiled, and the dead must be forgot.”

Then the soldier spake from the deep dark grave: “I am content.”

In the last analysis, perhaps there is no lasting sorrow for the soldier in not being remembered for his acts of valor and sacrifice; but there is sorrow and tragedy if the values for which he fought are abandoned by those who come after him. He will be content not even to be named in the annals of war or in the resting places of the fallen; but he will grieve before the sight of a people oblivious to the scourge of war and unmindful of what was won at such great cost.

It sometimes seem that in our time mankind is most attached only to what is new, to what confers power and knowledge in life; that men set store more with the gifts of cunning and craftiness, than with the qualities of courage, valor and fortitude.

It sometimes seem — when we look at the course of the world in our time — that nations are intoxicated with the weapons of mass destruction and with power, and not with those things that build cities and ennoble the life of man.

Yet if there are indeed these aberrant manifestations of life today, I refuse to believe that the deeper and the greater values have vanished. There is still much that is heroic in our lives, and much that we as human beings are capable of achieving with courage and valor. And we can see these things too if we but look around us — in the works of so many individuals and communities who strive to rise above themselves, to develop, to improve the life around them, we feel these in the way all people, men everywhere will respond to an exceptional act of courage and heroism, to an exemplary show of leadership, or to an act of compassion and love.

For some things never die, and always remain.

And so if it should happen, if it has not already, that in the course of time, the faces of the many who fell in Bataan will more and more recede from our memory, still I will say to my comrades: “You may rest content that the world for which you fought is not lost. Freedom, peace, and the hope for betterment live on in the hearts of your people. And for as long as they believe in these you are well remembered.”

So we might all say to all our brothers birted here — that the lives we make for cur peoples and our nations today is our form of veneration of their memory.

And the greatest offering that we can make here – on this day of commemoration and this Easter Sunday — is the same pledge that we have made year after year: to hold fast to the values we have always lived by, to renew ourselves in acts of heroism and patriotism, to work for peace and never to tempt the ambitions of the powerful, to pray that we shall not be summoned again to such a test as Bataan, and if it should be that the test must be suffered again, to be ready to consecrate all to the cause of peace and freedom.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on Bataan Day, [April 12, 1982](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Bataan Day**

[Delivered at the Rizal Park, Manila, April 12, 1982]

Today we remember deeds of valor and audacity.

We celebrate the heroism and courage of those who wagered life in battle for values they hold dear.

But that was as of forty years ago. What about today?

Why indeed should we today remember courage or the patience and nobility of self-sacrifice?

And do we really remember the dead—the values for which they died? Or are these but the words we parrot to calm our guilty hearts?

Perhaps the answer is in the words of a soldier's song that tells a soldier who in his grave hears the voices of lovers passing.

"Are these not" he asks, "the voices of them that love, that love and remember me?"

"Not so my hero," the lovers say.

"We are those that remember not for the spring has come and the earth has smiled, and the dead must forget."

Then the soldier spake from the deep dark grave: "I am content."

Yes, the soldier in his deep dark grave would be content even if we did not remember him—so long as spring has come and the earth has smiled upon his sons and daughters.

But there is blood upon the flowers of spring and the earth in pain.

Forty years there have been of uncertain fate and irrationality—the meaninglessness of raucous quarrel.

Forty years if the routine of casual murder and terrorism—holding entire societies in bondage.

The passing of the years but heap more sorrow and blood upon the flowers of spring.

Today is a world tremulously balanced at the edge of push-button war—an impersonal combat.

Nuclear war that may incinerate all of humanity certainly may not allow any flamboyant display of personal courage.

Nations are uncaring about the solemn obligations of treaties. The pledged word is meaningless in the intercourse of nations. Trade has become as cruel as war.

Is not cunning, deceit and treachery the favored talents and virtues?

Certainly then, courage, resoluteness or self-immolation have no place in our modern world.

How then can we say that we remember the dead?

And we hear the dead soldier say:

“You will need courage to retrieve dignity for the weak against the grasping hands of the greedy.

“You will need patience and courage to infuse even your enemies with nobility in the face of their insults and deliberate assault.

“You will need courage to forgive the petty minds and the craven hearts who would cheapen our society.”

From the deep dark bosom of his grave the soldier intones: “the earth is bright but bright with the flashes of new weapons of destruction. Must I remind you there are things more priceless than life itself. For them you must be ever ready and able to do battle.”

And he cries out with the poet: hurry and be strong of heart for the way is long and the night is dark.

You will need courage for the innumerable battlefields more arduous than Bataan or Corregidor.

You will need courage if society is to survive these new dark ages.

Courage there must be if we are to bring about a new world.

So, not in unfeeling ceremony but with tears in our hearts we cry out to the soldier in the grave: yes, the dead we have not forgotten. The flowers of spring and the smile of the earth that he bought with his valor shall treasure and hold dear.

This we pledge, now and forever.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos during the Philippine Army Day, [April 22, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the Philippine Army Day**

[Released on April 22, 1982]

I have always regarded my coming here for this annual anniversary observance of the Philippine Army as a kind of personal homecoming to the major service that I belong to as a reservist.

Just like every officer and member of the corps, I feel fully the elation and pride that you all feel as you commemorate this historic day in the annals of the Philippine Army. And as President of our Republic, I accord this service the highest of our commendation and regard, for its invaluable service through the years to flag, people and country.

From the revolution of 1896 which gave birth to the Philippine Army, through the difficult years of World War II and the occupation of our country by a foreign power, through the internal crisis that nearly tore our country apart in the 60's and the 70's, and to the present effort to secure national stability and security, this service and its many officers and men have always been at the forefront of struggle. And through all these challenges, the army trooper and officer have never wavered in their devotion to our country's cause.

We call to mind today the memory of those members of the corps who lost their lives in the service of that cause. We pay tribute once more to the many who after their time of service have since gone into retirement. And lastly we salute the officers and men of the Philippine Army today, who in their own exemplary way, carry on the high traditions of the service.

In the many crises and struggles that time and again have confronted our people and our country, there have always been a few within this corps who have distinguished themselves in combat. Yet even more than the personal heroism and patriotism of individual soldiers and officers, there has always been the strength of the Philippine Army as an institution, which in gathering together the best of our soldiery finally spelled the difference between success or failure in the confrontation of national crisis and challenge.

For truly, as Edith Cavell once said back in 1917, "patriotism is not enough" to secure the safety of men and nations. And neither is technology enough to do the job.

At the heart of every successful defense of a country's right to self-determination, behind every defense system that successfully thwarts or discourage the ambitions of others — there is above all the discipline, cohesiveness and strength of a nation's arms. A truly vigilant and dedicated army is more than the sum of its parts. It has a vital and larger life of its own — vital because it gathers together the loyalty and dedication of all its officers and men, and larger because it counts upon the support of the people as its essential strength.

Here if I may say so is to be found the authentic meaning and significance of what we sometimes refer to as "Our Citizen's Army." Its strength lies not alone in the service of a professional soldiery, but also in the citizen's participation in the army's mission. Such a concept of a civilian military in which is closely associated with the idea of democracy itself: in which a nation's arms flow fundamentally from the power of the people. As one historian has reminded us this was the great principle of the French Revolution, wherein the nation in arms, and not just a professional standing army, was the safeguard of the Republic, and the guarantor against tyranny.

What has distinguished I think the history of the Philippine Army as a service in our Armed Forces is the way in which this idea has been zealously maintained enhanced and developed through the years. We have never had to face the problem of a military corps that saw itself as separate from the mandate of the government and the citizenry. And we have done much in recent years to even more fully realize this ideal in practice, by prudent measures to encourage and promote citizen's participation in the Armed Forces.

To the traditional idea of the soldier as warrior, our soldiery have added the spirit and image of a man of peace, a catalyst of change and reform, and a partner in development. Thus, did we develop a new ethos of conduct for the soldier that best reflects the development and unification that characterizes so much of our society to.

The Philippine Army has borne this ethos as it kept in step with the nation's march to stability and greater democracy, and it has served us well in helping to solidify national unity and cooperation under our New Republic.

In giving battle to the dissidents and other subversive elements our soldiery has sought the accomplishment of his mission not merely by force of arms but equally by force of example and moral persuasion; by going to the hinterlands to teach and communicate the goals of the New Republic; by building communities in the vast fields of the countryside; by healing not only the physical wounds of discord but also the wounds of the spirit created by the contest of ideologies for the hearts and minds of men.

On the whole, the impact of the Army's involvement in the socio-economic development efforts may be measured firstly by the accelerated pace with which government programs and policies have been pursued, and secondly, by the wave of goodwill and mass support that the army has gained by its undertakings which contributed immensely to the neutralization of the threats to our national security.

These intangible accomplishments were expressly acknowledged by the AFP Headquarters when it bestowed a majority of its awards, including the most coveted Presidential Streamer, to the Philippine Army during AFP Day last December.

It has never been sufficient or prudent for us to simply focus our total attention on the ability to contain internal insurgency in our country, for the fluidity and dynamics of crisis and conflict always require of us a much wider kind of vigilance and a deeper understanding of the forces that lead to the rise and fall of governments.

I find it gratifying to note that within the Philippine Army there is such a broader vision of the challenges before us. It has evolved adequate organizational structure and capabilities to meet the needs of military actualities. Training of both the regular and reserve forces along the methods of conventional and guerrilla warfare has considerably enhanced the effectiveness and flexibility of troops in any emergent situation. The attainment of a self reliant defense posture has provided the motivating influence for the army to innovate and devise home grown defense systems that will suitably meet the requirements of its mission. And more than this, the training of the soldier has attained significance not only by his thorough indoctrination in the ethnics of warfare but by his orientation to the ideals of citizenship.

From the recent crisis that we went through as we surmounted the threats to national security we can in sum glean some lessons from which we can cull basic precepts, especially now when we are turning the conditions of peace and order into a time for growth and change.

The first of these is that eternal vigilance is the price we have to pay for the freedom that we enjoy. This means that the army must be developed and organized into an ever prepared force that can cope with both external and internal threats. While we maintain a small regular force, that force must be able to expand overnight to overcome external aggression. Bataan must never happen again.

Second – the army must be development oriented. This becomes essential as we in the government service endeavor to improve the development capacities of our many communities.

Third – the army must be people oriented. The use of military power springs basically from the consent of the people. Thus, the supremacy of civilian authority over the military must always be upheld.

Fourth – we recognize the need for the highest kind of discipline within our Armed Forces: not only the discipline of the service that has marked its capability as a defense force but also the kind of discipline that bears the imprints of compassion, justice, humanism and integrity – thus making it truly the Army of the People. This is the discipline that has carried us through the test of martial law and which we must now sustain in meeting present and future challenges.

I emphasize these points precisely because we are entering a new phase in our efforts at maintaining internal stability and at enhancing our national security.

I can positively say that my three-day state visit to Saudi Arabia, together with the First Lady and various members of the Cabinet, has significantly advanced our hopes for peace and development in the south. We could not have asked for a more fruitful and rewarding outcome than that which emanated from our negotiations with the Saudi government, particularly with King Khaled and Crown Prince Fahd. It is now a clear fact that they gave them assurance of their support to the Philippine government in the peaceful resolution of the Mindanao problem. They extended to me, in clear and precise terms, their support and approval of the administration of the Autonomous Region under the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of our Republic, and thus clearly rejected whatever implications of influence the leadership of the MNLF may still hold in its attempt to pursue the cause of separatism in Mindanao.

This in itself is a major victory for us in the diplomatic, security and economic spheres. For even now we have agreed in principle on matters pertaining to economic and technical cooperation between the Philippines and Saudi Arabia.

We are now in a more favorable position to pursue more aggressively the development of the various communities in Mindanao. We can now pursue with greater effectiveness the unification of our people, while giving due regard to the enhancement of minority cultures and traditions and the promotion of the rights of minorities. One nation and one people.

In line with this therefore, I have announced that the elections of members of the legislative councils of Region IX and Region XII will be held in _____. We see this as a means for strengthening the political foundations and structure of the Autonomous Regions of Mindanao and the Muslim people in general.

It is within this framework of goals that the army should now realign its policies and operations in Mindanao, as well as reassess its overall defense posture vis-a-vis the requirements of national security.

The shift towards a more psychologically supportive role in the maintenance of internal stability, rather than military measures or the accomplishment of military objectives alone, should now prevail. What I mean by this is that there is no more urgency or necessity to gain through force or bullets, what can be won through persuasion, through good example, through discipline and through cooperation and understanding. We are more than ever engaged in the battle for the hearts and minds of our citizenry. Insurgency will lose its force and appeal without the support of the people. And the continued support and confidence of our people has always been and should be our strongest weapon in fighting insurgency.

To this end, the army must lead by example in ultimately breaking down the remaining ramparts of dissidence and rebellion by building in its place the intangible treasures of peace, confidence, faith and unity among our people, as well as the structures of development and progress that would truly mark their partnership with our people in times of peace.

It was this vision of total involvement of the army and the people in community affairs that we had in mind when we launched the KKK as the centerpiece program of the New Republic.

To this effort, I am pleased to note that the army has taken up the challenge by establishing in all military garrisons and in other military reservations, demonstration farms which were eventually replicated in the enlisted men's barangays that are established in such reservations. In such a manner did the army put to good use these erstwhile idle pieces of national territories and at the same time improved the economic conditions of its enlisted men.

Perhaps, we can draw some inspiration from the experience of the army in approaching the objectives of the program. For we note that basically the approach is through the political leadership of the enlisted men's barangay, which, although appointed in accordance with AFP regulations, is responsible to the commander of the garrison for everything that happens in the community. On this grassroot approach, the army works through its KKK organizational hierarchy which is built-in within the army organization.

Not surprisingly perhaps, the army has won the KKK Pilot Project Award last AFP Day.

The continuing process of social, economic and political development provides varied and dynamic areas of opportunities in which the soldier can contribute his share, directly or indirectly, whenever and wherever duty bids him to render service and in whatever capacity he is called upon to serve.

The quintessence of the army's role – as protector and defender, as teacher and communicator of the ideology of our New Republic, as builder and partner in national development, as proponent of social welfare and uplift, and as disciplined and trusted public servant — inheres in its unwavering commitment to serve our country and our people as an authentic Army of the People.

Let us, on the occasion of this anniversary, once again pledge ourselves to this vision of our work and purposes.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Draft Text of Message of President Marcos in connection with the observance of “Credit Consciousness Week, [April 24, 1982](#)

**Draft Text of Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
In connection with the observance of “Credit Consciousness Week”**

[April 24-30, 1982]

I have declared the last week of April as credit consciousness week to underscore the role of credit in the impressive growth of the economy in recent years. In combination with human, material and technological resources, timely and adequate credit has immeasurably contributed to our growth process, involving country-wide allocation and dispersal of credit at all levels of production, distribution, and marketing.

The growth of our rural industry in recent years has been unprecedented, particularly in the case of the prime staple and in handicraft. From a traditionally rice-importing country, we have not only attained self-sufficiency but have already become a modest exporter to some deficit countries in South America and Southeast Asia. The government’s programs for increased agricultural and industrial production have been geared towards assisting the Filipino farmer and artisan who play the crucial role in our programs of self-sufficiency in food, as well as export-oriented cottage industry products; and for whom adequate credit at liberal terms is made available on a continuing basis.

The benefits to be derived from credit and its wise use are boundless. A sound credit system will help hasten the country’s march towards stability on all fronts and, therefore, to a higher standard of living for the masses of our people.

Towards this end, we have placed the mantle of responsibility on the shoulders of the central bank to effectively administer the monetary, banking and credit system of the republic. In line with this mandate, the monetary board continues to formulate such policies, measures and programs necessary to foster credit consciousness in the rural areas; to develop better paying habits and attitudes among beneficiaries and intermediaries of credit; to contribute to the improvement in the collection effort in the government-assisted programs, and to enrich school curricula in all levels of education thru the inclusion of bank credit consciousness and responsible use of credit in school subjects.

Credit consciousness week gives occasion to accentuate the wise use of credit and to reject its abuse; and to recall that, not so long ago, Filipinos regarded payment of what was owed as a matter of personal honor. This attitude is akin to the virtues of industry, thrift, self-reliance, resourcefulness, and dignity which were part of our heritage as a proud and freedom-loving people. With these traits ever alive in our hearts and minds, I am confident that the Filipino nation will weather any crisis.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Extemporaneous Speech of President Marcos at the Asian Development Bank (ADB) toast, [April 28, 1982](#)

**Extemporaneous Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Asian Development Bank (ADB) toast**

[Delivered in Malacañang, April 28, 1982]

I have been asked by my seatmates why are Filipinos so lighthearted and free.

Perhaps I can answer the question by capsulizing the Filipinos individual philosophy of life.

“Life would be worth living

If one can infuse into tyranny
of routine in his prosaic life
with the mystique of some
deep and profound romance.

If adversity and impoverishment
we can meet as some transitory
trial thrown the very gods
who seek to help us and accept them
not with the bitterness and and petulance
but with the grace and flair of one
to beauty born.

If pain is not suffered in humiliation
but rather enjoyed at the feet of ecstasy
to be offered at the of ones
muse or goddess.

And if ever one can mock to his
teeth with the challenge of arrogance of the laughter
and the of the eternity
of one's dreams.

If one can try to do all these,
Then, life would be worth the living
and even death be worth the dying.

But what relevance has this individual Filipino philosophy of life to the Asian Development Bank?

There is nothing more tyrannically prosaic than banking. But it would be worth the effort if we were to infuse it with some mystique of romance.

And if adversity strikes and then there is no replenishment of capital funds for lending and impoverishment follows, then let no bitterness turn the smile sour but instead accept the test with the graceful figure of one who is to flair and beauty born.

Should there be setbacks in Asian Banking and pain inflicted, then let us not suffer it as a humiliation but enjoy it in ecstasy and offer it at the feet of our goddess of inspiration.

And if there should be defeat or failure then let us treat it like death—mock it with scorn and laughter and fling at it the challenge that our flesh and plans are mortal but our dreams are eternal.

– T O A S T –

Quotations are from the writings of the author himself.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Labor Day Address of President Marcos, [May 1, 1982](#)

**Labor Day Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines**

[Delivered at the Folk Arts Theater, May 1, 1982]

Sa bawa't Araw ng Paggawa, sapol ng ako'y umupong Pangulo nuong 1966, ay hindi pa ako sumisira sa aking pakikipagtipan sa inyo—sa bayang manggagawa. Sinasabi ng ilan kong tagapayo na ako lamang ang Pangulo sa buong malayang daigdig (free world) na humaharap sa mga manggagawa tuwing Labor Day upang makinig at tumugon sa kanilang mga karaingan. Ang sabi nila hindi na ako kailangang humarap sa Araw ng Paggawa lalo na kung mabigat ang kabuhayan ng buong daigdig at maraming nawawalan ng trabaho. Sa Amerika, mahigit na sampóng milyon ang unemployed. Sa Western Europe, labing anim na milyon. Sa Pilipinas, mahigit na isang daang libo nuong 1981.

In effect they want me to be a fair weather President. No, my friends, it is especially during times of great adversity that the workers need their President to strengthen their faith in themselves and in their country. The courage to face adversity and to master it is the hallmark of character, whether of men or of nations.

Kung sa bagay ang araw na ito, palibhasa'y anibersaryo rin ng akong pakikipagisang dibdib, ay dapat sanang iyukol ko ang buong panahon sa aking kabiya. Ang wedding anniversary ay isang pagkakataon upang magbayad ng kasalanan at makabawi sa mga pagkukulang sa loob ng isang taon. Kung sa bagay hindi naman ako nagkakasala sa Unang Ginang sa kabila ng sinasabi ng ilang dalahira. Aywan ko kayong mga labor leaders, balita ko ang marami sa inyo ay mahilig sa bawal na ligaya. Palibhasa'y maganda naman ang Unang Ginang sapat nang pagmasdan ko siya upang lumigaya ang aking batang puso.

I also feel that any public official must regularly meet with his constituents and address those issues which affect them, squarely, candidly and in their presence. Mahalagang humarap ang lahat ng namumuno sa bayan at magsulit ng kanilang mga programa at patakaran. Ito'y isang bagay rin na sinusunod ni Mrs. Marcos. Noong Martes, tumawag sa akin si Mrs. Marcos mula sa Kenya at nagsabing uuwi na raw siya. Ang sabi ko ay tutuong nalulungkot nga ako dahil wala siya rito pero naiintindihan ko naman na kailangan mamahinga siya kahit saglit pagkatapos ng maraming ipinaasikaso ko sa kanya sa mga bansang kanyang pinuntahan. Alam ninyo yan, si First Lady e mga 15-18 hours kung magtrabaho dito at hindi naman sumisingil ng overtime pay kaya binibigyan ko na nga ng vacation leave. Pero ang sabi nga niya ng tumawag siya noon Martes, aba'y kailangan na raw niyang umuwi at nang makahabol naman siya sa selebrasyon ng Labor Day. Kaya nga't naririto kami ngayon, kaming mag-asawa at nagpupugay at bumabati sa inyong lahat. Mabuhay ang Manggagawang Pilipino!

All these years, I have joined you in the celebration of Labor Day and all these years, these annual meetings have been marked by friendship and candor. I recall those years when almost annually, during Labor Day, we have decreed increases in the wages or in the allowances of workers. We have decreed additional wages at least eleven times during the past ten years. Kanginang binasa ng Kapatid na Dinglasan ang manifesto ng mga manggagawa, narinig kong binanggit niya muli ang posibilidad ng isang wage increase. Kung kailangan nga upang tumaas ang sahod ng ating mga manggagawa ay ang pumirma si Marcos ng dekreto, matagal ko na sanang ginawa iyan. Nguni't alam ninyo at alam ko rin na ngayon, higit sa mga panahong nakaraan, kailangan natin ang masusi at maingat na pag-aaral ng ano mang patakaranang may implikasyon sa kapakanan ng buong bansa.

There is no question that the world is now going through some very difficult times. Our principal trading partners are in recession, unemployment is rife everywhere in both rich and poor nations, pockets of political tension characterize the global scene and we still have to resolve some of the nagging problems that accompany national development. The effects of these external forces find manifestation in slower growth, fewer jobs, business reverses

that aggravate our growing pains. It seems to me that we are now witnessing a major transition in human history, one which I hope will eventually result in a flowering of mankind's potential and fulfillment of most of his dreams.

Meanwhile the ordinary worker, the man on the street, does not have to be told of the difficult times. He comes to grips with it daily. Everytime his wife goes to market, everytime he rides a bus, when he pays his children's school fees, when he pays his electric and water bills, he knows that times indeed are difficult. And yet through prudent economic management, we have averted the worst and mitigated adversity by bringing down the rate of inflation from a peak of 22% in 1980 to only 11 per cent at this time. Inflation is the most notorious enemy of the workers and we have held the enemy at bay. That is not a mean achievement when we know that there are many countries where the inflation rate is several hundred per cent.

During times like this a blanket approach in wage policy will endanger many thousands of jobs. We appeal to all firms to hold on to their work force and preserve jobs and incomes until better times. When the world is falling around you that is the time when you most need the anchor of a secure job. But workers must also cooperate

I have followed the labor scene very closely. I know for instance that compared to the 1981 totals, the past eight months have seen fewer strikes. You will note, of course that the past eight months refer to the period during which we have seen in effect Batas Pambansa 130. What is significant about the past eight months is that while there have been fewer strikes during this period, these strikes appear to have been longer in duration and involved more workers resulting in more manhours lost than in the entire year of 1981. These statistics alarm me and they should alarm you too because they come at a time when we can least afford it. Some businessmen I know say, Mr. President, why don't we revive the old strike ban? Why don't we decree a moratorium on strikes? My position is that while this may be desirable in the short-run, normalization requires that we resolve our problems without resorting to extraordinary solutions. Government seeks among others the promotion of mutual agreements between the industrial partners with its intervention limited to the provision of facilities or opportunities for threshing out difficulties. This is a policy clearly spelled out in Batas Pambansa 130 and the Cabinet Bill 49 and other related legislative proposals which the Batasan hopes to resolve in a special session starting May 19.

These proposals do not immediately make life any easier for the ordinary worker. He may therefore, as many of you have done, strike for greater economic benefits. In these difficult times, of course, it isn't just the workers who are hard-pressed. During recessionary periods, business would have its own problems too. Because both partners perceive that they are fighting for survival, the resulting conflict becomes bitter, protracted and in some cases, violent. The hostilities are exacerbated and there eventually develops a no-win situation with not only business or labor suffering but the national community as well. The only point I am trying to make here is that as we go through a trying period in our life as a nation, can we close ranks and attempt a reconciliation instead of blaming each other for our difficulties? I am saying that where business perceives labor as simply being difficult by refusing to recognize its inability to respond to certain demands, it may in fact be losing sight of the fact that labor is essentially reacting to environmental pressures. Similarly, when labor fails to make any headway in its demands, it may not be that management is simply being intransigent; it may also be reacting to an environment which does not allow it to be as generous as we hope it would ordinarily want to be. We assume good faith here on the part of both sectors which some people may discount. But we would always assume absence of malice, under these circumstances.

At this point, I wish to commend for your consideration the possibility of setting-up social contracts—or social compacts, if you will, that may serve as mutual terms of reference during this crisis period. You know of course that nations sign treaties of amity, peace and understanding to govern their relationships. Might we not undertake the same between labor and management, outside of the usual posturing that accompany collective bargaining? Might we not come to mutually agreed guidelines such that once a certain threshold is reached, whether this be a favorable or unfavorable threshold, then both parties would undertake to do for the other what might be necessary for their mutual survival? I am particularly interested in seeing these kinds of agreements forged in the so-called endangered or distressed industries and I direct the Ministry of Labor and Employment to make available all the facilities and resources at its command to ensure that the forum for reaching such a social compact is made available to labor and management.

I put the greatest possible faith in the power of democratic dialogue. And yet this is possible only when the broad parameters of debate are previously agreed upon. For example, all parties must believe in the Constitution and in the

rule of law. Where some elements reject the Constitution and actually harbor conspirational designs against the state, there can be no meaningful dialogue.

We know that there are elements in the labor management who advocate the use of violence and defiance of law, who seek to turn collective bargaining into a bloody civil war, who utilize just grievances as a weapon to destroy the very fabric of law and society. To them we say; Hindi kami nasisidak sa inyo; gusto ninyong kalakalin ang pawis at luha ng mga kapos-palad upang tarakan ng punyal ang puso ng istadong Pilipino. Hindi ninyo kayang linlangin ang mga manggagawa at ang pamahalaan. Pananagutin ko kayo sa inyong mga panlilinlang.

I was listening to Brother Dinglasan earlier. Sabi ni Acting TUCP President Dinglasan, ang tema raw siguro natin ngayon ay Unite or Perish. Ako'y naniniwala diyan. Alam ko ang mga problemang kinakaharap ng labor movement ngayon. Tunay na kailangan ang pagkakaisa. Ibig ko rin naman sanang ialay sa inyo ang temang sa tingin ko'y naaangkop sa ating lahat, hindi lamang sa labor, management o sa gobyerno. Sa tingin ko, kailangang isaalang-alang ninyo na we are all in this together, together towards tomorrow, wika nga. Sama-sama sa kinabukasan. Isang kinabukasang magiging maganda at maaliwalas o malungkot at madilim batay na rin sa ating pagkakaisa at pagtutulong-tulong. At bilang sangla o patunay ng katapatan ng pamahalaan sa pagtataguyod ng kapakanang panlahat, hayaan ninyong ipahayag ko ang mga sumusunod:

Kagaya na nga ng nasabi ko na, ang Cabinet Bill 49 na nagsisikap linawin ang mga probisyon ng Batas Pambansa 130 ay nasa kamay na ng Batasang Pambansa. Inuulit ko, sa harap ninyo, na ang lahat ng aking makakayanan ay aking gagawin upang maagang maipasa ang Cabinet Bill na ito at maging batas sa lalong medaling panahon. Inaasahan ko na magiging masigla ang inyong paglahok sa mga debate at public hearing na aking ipinatawag upang maging Malaya, malawak at buo ang diskusyon na bayan tungkol sa panukalang ito. Hayaan rin ninyong ipahayag ko rito ang pagtataas ng mga benepisyo sa ilalim ng SSS at Employees Compensation Commission. Sa harap ninyo, hayaan ninyong pagtibayin ko ang pagtataas ng 20% sa mga pension ng mga retiradong manggagawa sa SSS at ang pagtataas rin ng ECC ng 20% ng death and disability benefits para sa mga nasusugatan o namamatay habang sila'y naglilingkod maging sa pamahalaan man o pribadong sektor.

To minimize deaths or disabilities resulting from construction accidents, I also direct the Minister of Labor to revise existing safety regulations under the Labor Code. Specifically, I would like to see improvements in construction practices and technology including the prohibition of the use of wood and bamboo scaffoldings beyond a certain height, to be determined after appropriate study.

Ipinaalam ko rin sa inyo na daragdagan natin ang mga benepisyo para sa mga namamatay na manggagawa sa industriyang asukal. Ito'y manggagaling sa P2 social amelioration fund na kinokolekta sa bawat pikul sa asukal. Tungo dito, inaatasan ko ang MOLE at ang Philsucom na isaayos ang mga panuntunan tungkol sa dagdag na benepisyong ito. Gayun din, itinatakda natin ang dagdag na funeral benefits para sa mga marinong Pilipino na manggagaling sa Welfare Fund for Seamen.

Let me likewise request the Central Bank of the Philippines to look into the possibility of expanding the loan facility of Republic Planters' Bank for rural workers association, from the present P20M to P100 million.

Iniaatas ko rin na ang secretariat ng KKK, sa pamumuno ng Unang Ginang ay makipag-usap sa Ministry of Labor and Employment, kasama na ang mga representante ng mga unyon dito sa Pilipinas sa kung papaanong ang mga manggagawa ay higit na makakasali sa KKK at kung paanong magkakaroon ng priority ang mga labor unions sa KKK loans. Inaasahan ko ang isang report tungkol dito sa susunod na tatlung araw.

Inaatasan ko rin si Minister Ople, bilang Chairman ng National Manpower and Youth Council na tiyakin na sa ibibigay na loan ng World Bank na \$40 million dollars, ang mga manggagawang nawalan ng trabaho dahil sa kasalukuyang krisis ng kabuhayan ay magkaroon ng prioridad sa tulong ng pamahalaan sa pamamagitan ng vocational training at skills upgrading. Ito'y katugma na rin nang pagbibigay ng prioridad ng mga trainees na ito sa mga oportunidad sa trabaho sa ibayong dagat.

I'd also like to direct Minister Placido Mapa and Minister Ople to pursue our negotiations with the Saudi Arabia Development for a concessional loan of \$110 million for the purpose of training our Muslim brothers for productive employment.

Inaatasan ko si GSIS Manager Roman Cruz at si SSS Manager Gilberto Teodoro na pag-aralan ang posibilidad ng pagtatayo ng sports and recreation complex para sa mga manggagawa sa isang lugar na malapit sa Maynila, nang sa ganoon naman ay hindi na sa Maynila Bay maliligo ang mga kababayan nating gusting mamasyal sa Sabado at Linggo.

I would also like to direct Ministers of Education and Labor and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to work out a system for identifying deserving workers who may be granted baccalaureat degrees or civil service eligibilities on an equivalency basis and to receive on a continuing basis applications or recommendations relative to workers.

In your presence, let me also sign the directives:

- To the Minister of National Defense, to constitute a task force to clear meaningful spaces for subsistence fishermen in the Laguna Lake and to immediately remove all illegal fish pens in that area. To the Director of the Bureau of Rural Workers to extend all possible assistance to the lakeshore fishermen and their families.
- To the Philippine Coconut Authority and the UNICOM, to study the setting up of a coconut workers' amelioration fund from the proceeds of the coconut levy.
- To the Minister of Labor and the Minister of Social Services to set up a joint program for the families of overseas workers with financial assistance of P1 million from the Welfare Fund.

I would also like to endorse to the Batasang Pambansa ILO Conventions 129, 135, 142 and 143 for possible ratification and the consequent passage of enabling legislations.

Convention 129 provides a system of labor inspection in agricultural undertakings to secure the enforcement of legal provisions pertaining to the conditions of work and protection of workers.

Convention 135 provides protection of workers against acts of anti-union discrimination in respect to their employment particularly against acts prejudicial to them including dismissal.

Convention 142 provides for the development and adoption of a comprehensive and coordinated program and policies for vocational training for employment.

Convention 143 provides for the adoption of measures against organizers of illicit movements of migrants for employment.

I would also like to sign in your presence an Executive Order that seeks to further rationalize existing structures in the Ministry of Labor and Employment so that the delivery of services particularly to its labor clientele may be more efficient and effective.

Among the features of this reorganization—restructuring is the integration of all overseas employment agencies into one organization. We shall now have an Overseas Employment Administration where a worker can go to for any and all questions about overseas employment.

We are also upgrading the positions of conciliators and med-arbitrators so that you may have more skilled and better qualified people to take care of settling labor disputes.

We are creating a Bureau of Working Conditions that will look into the improvement and enforcement of labor and social legislations, particularly as regards conditions of work and wages.

We are strengthening the Rural Workers' Office by elevating it into a bureau and giving it the necessary resources with which to pursue its employment and workers' protection program for our countrymen in the rural areas.

In your presence, let me sign this Executive Order and the appointment of those people whom I shall hold responsible for seeing to it that you get the best possible service you deserve from your government.

May I, at this point, thank all of you, for once more giving me this opportunity to share this day with you. I hope that next year, we shall meet under more favorable world conditions and therefore the problems that we face today will have receded in both magnitude and significance. Muli, maligayang araw ng paggawa at mabuhay kayong lahat.

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the PAF Anniversary, [May 2, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the PAF Anniversary**

[Delivered on May 2, 1982]

It is a pleasure for me to join you once again at this anniversary celebration of the Philippine Air Force, the 47th of your continuing history of service to the nation. Tradition has allowed me as President of the Republic and as your Commander-in-Chief to be present at quite a few of these occasions during the last 15 years or so. In all this time I have been privileged to observe at close hand, and to contribute in some measure towards, the steady development of the PAF into the proud service that it is today, an institution with a rightful claim to a tradition that rivals that of any other branch of our armed forces. On this happy day of commemoration, I, on behalf of our grateful nation, extend to every officer, airman, and civilian personnel of the Philippine Air Force all over the land our heartfelt thanks and our warmest congratulations. The PAF is what it is today because of you and the character and dedication you have brought to your duties.

By traditional reckoning, forty seven years would signify the final approaches to middle age in a man's life. It is ordinarily a period when a distinct slackening in the tempo of living is imposed by biological imperatives. However, while this may hold true for common man, this is not necessarily the fate of human institutions which are, after all, larger than any single human entity in its composition. This is the truth for the Philippine Air Force which, on its 47th year today, has once again established a record of service and accomplishment that is evidence more of robust youth and a youthful spirit than anything else.

New heights have been reached and new records have been established by the PAF this year in its continuing commitment to the service and security of our people and our country. Nowhere perhaps is the vital importance of the Air Force in times of peace more deeply appreciated than when disaster strikes substantial areas of our farflung communities. You will recall that during the last six months of 1981 three typhoons of unusually great intensities—Elang, Anding, and Dinang—battered the provinces of Mindoro, Marinduque, the Bicol provides, and Samar. The Philippine Air Force was among the first to reach these areas with much needed relief goods to alleviate the plight of thousands of our countrymen. Of the total 7.5 million pounds of cargo transported by usual airlift operations, fully 20 per cent were in the form of relief goods delivered to afflicted and often unreachable areas all over the country. When killer floods rampaged through the provinces of Butuan, Misamis, and Agusan early this year, the Air Force was promptly there with relief material and the more critical assurance of our abiding concern and commiseration in their darkest hour. Some 5,400 patients both military and civilian were also evacuated by PAF aircraft during this period.

Because some areas of our country cannot be serviced by regular commercial flights, the Air Force has, for many years, been a vital means of transporting cargo and personnel to and from these areas. This year a new high in the number of passengers transported has been chalked up by the PAF, a total of some 167,853 passengers, which again is a significant increase from what was accomplished the year before.

This traditional record of constructive service to national and local development projects is equally evident in the areas of aerial photogrammetry where this year an additional 102,555 hectares were covered in the provinces of Palawan, Zambales, Sacobia resettlement, Cavite, Batanes, and Masbate. These missions were done in conjunction with projects being undertaken by the K-K-K Secretariat, the Ministry of Social Services and Development, the Ministry of Human Settlements and several sectors of our Armed Forces.

At the request of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Philippine Sugar Commission, several weather modification flights were made by PAF aircraft. Artificial rain stimulation flights in a total of 151 sorties were conducted over

250,000 hectares of reforestation areas and 795,000 hectares of rice, corn, coconut, and sugar plantations in the provinces of Panay, Negros, Cotabato, Isabela, Palawan, and Batangas.

Search and rescue missions for distressed or missing fishing and other ocean-going vessels accounted for a total of 98 sorties in a total of over 150 flight hours.

Not unlike the other branches of our Armed Forces, the Philippine Air Force has responded with heartwarming vigor and enthusiasm to our call for support to the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. It has been reported that already 21 sites in all AFP bases and air stations all over the country have been transformed into agro-forestry nursery areas and that at present more than 15,999 fruit-bearing trees are being cultivated. With the fishponds, the livestock and poultry project already ongoing, it is not an impossibility to envision a time when all our air bases can probably be self-sufficient in their basic food requirements. This certainly is an objective worth aiming for in the years ahead. We hope to see more extensive participation of all those residing inside PAF bases in K-K-K projects next year. Meantime, what you have achieved in the few short months since we instituted the K-K-K program deserves our warmest commendation. I urge you all to hold true to this course in the future.

The achievement of our airmen on land has received further burnish with their track record during the 11th Southeast Asian Games. I can understand very well the great pride you have in the 18 PAF athletes who participated in the games. They have indeed added a further glow to the air force tradition with their rich harvest of 6 gold medals, 4 silver and 9 bronze in the fields of weightlifting, swimming, cycling, volleyball. As you know, sports development is one of our important concerns and I would like to see greater measures taken by the air force towards developing and fostering the athletes in their midst. They are truly great assets to the air force and to the national prestige as well. I congratulate you all for the honor you have brought to our country.

I have spoken at great length on the tasks of peace that our Philippine Air Force has accomplished in the past year. I am happy and thankful that it is of these that we can continue to be concerned with. It is our fervent hope that only peace and the complexities of national development shall exercise our fullest faculties for always and that occasions such as this anniversary celebration shall only seek to measure the progress we have achieved in our quest for a better life for all of our people. But we have learned only too well from the hard lessons of the past that the other side of the coin of peace is eternal vigilance and preparedness. So while in these times of peace we must be about with the priorities of nation building, we must also renew our resolve to be ever vigilant lest by subversion from within or aggression from without we shall once again lose all that we treasure. It is deeply heartening to know that in the Philippine Air Force we have not only an effective partner in the tasks of peace but also a certain and capable defender in the tasks of war. It is a happy indication of the peace of our times that combat air operations accounted for only .07 per cent of total flying hours logged this year by PAF aircraft. Meanwhile, pilot training and proficiency flights, test flights, functional and engineering flights and such other exercises with the objective of improving the readiness of our aircrew for the task of air defense continued apace.

The PAF has indeed come a long way from its modest beginnings 47 years ago. Much has changed since those early times from its equipment to the mode of training for its air crew. Yet one thing remains constant and unchanging and this is the spirit of dedication to the welfare and security of the Filipino nation. It is this spirit that has caused to be enshrined in your hall of fame the names of countless men and women who have placed this duty over and above life itself. Today, your country salutes you and wishes you clear skies for always.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

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Address of President Marcos at the 13th Meeting of the ASEAN Economic MinistersK, [May 20, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the 13th Meeting of the ASEAN Economic Ministers**

[Delivered on May 20, 1982]

Our country has the signal privilege once again of playing the part of host to this regular meeting of the ASEAN Economic Ministers, and I am indeed delighted to extend to all of you on behalf of our people and government our warmest welcome to Manila and our best wishes for a most fruitful conference.

It says something of the strength of our association that important conferences such as this can change venue every year, partaking of the hospitality and variety of the countries of our region, and yet remain singularly focused on one supreme agenda: Cooperation. Whether we meet in Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Bangkok or Manila, and however unique our capitals are, we come together not as strangers but as a single family. It is in that spirit that we tender you the freedom of our city and our country, and it is with that note that I would like to open your meeting today.

Six years have now passed since we inaugurated in Bali, Indonesia a broad and ambitious program for regional cooperation in our part of Asia, which dramatically transformed the character of our association of Southeast Asian nations and has since riveted the attention of our peoples and governments on the tasks of making regional community possible and real in our part of the world.

In this historic turn in the ASEAN agenda, the ASEAN heads of governments expressly mandated our economic ministers to design, plan and carry out the program of economic cooperation envisioned by the declaration of ASEAN concord.

Looking back upon this aspect of our cooperative endeavors, we can surely say that in six years much has been accomplished to commence and provide direction for economic cooperation in our region. Looking towards the future, none of us is in any doubt that much remains to be done and many challenges and opportunities are before us which must be faced, seized and resolved.

The meetings of our council of economic ministers serve for us as the primary venue whereby our regional community can regularly assess the progress of our labors, and the tasks that we must tackle. So permit me at this point to preface your discussions with some observations relating to your conference agenda, and relating to some of those things which yet need to be done in the sphere of ASEAN economic cooperation.

In trade cooperation, the signal achievement has been the establishment of a preferential trading arrangement. Tariff concessions have been exchanged on some 8,500 products. Margins of preferences have been raised to between 20 and 25 percent.

During this conference, I understand that you will be considering the further increase of the number of products to be placed under preference. I wish you goodspeed in this endeavor, sharing as I do Prime Minister Lee's view that in the exchange of tariff preferences we can be bolder.

It is too soon to say how much increase in Intra-ASEAN trade will actually result from these tariff preferences. Perhaps, as some fear, it will not be overly much, since the products placed under preference so far are not the products traded in substantial volumes at the present time.

Even so, it should be said that in these exchanges of tariff preferences, the psychological advance may count for as much as the material gain. For the repetition of the exercise Bi-annually may prove permanently catching and become a habit unattended by the nervousness and over-caution that initially hovered over the exercise.

Let me say further that I see our preferential trade as a way to what I consider our real goal — ASEAN Free Trade. This will not be news to you, since the Philippine Government tabled such a suggestion to this effect in 1980.

If free trade is a goal which commends itself to the other ASEAN member-governments, then we should lose no time in so resolving that it is. Establishing a free trade regime is an enormous undertaking, requiring a great deal of preparation and lead time. If we resolve today to establish it, perhaps we should need all of the next ten years to stage it.

In the meantime, a statement of the clear objective would undoubtedly assist our private sectors in making their individual corporate plans and strategies, and our preferential trade arrangement negotiators in deciding when, where and how deeply to cut tariffs in preparation for a free trade regime.

Cooperation in transportation and shipping is another important area in our program of economic cooperation. May I say that I share President Soeharto's view that in our endeavors to foster closer economic cooperation, we must pay special attention to transportation and communication. I share too Prime Minister Mahathir's view that shipping is an area where ASEAN can profitably cooperate to achieve self-reliance in the carriage of ASEAN trade not only to overseas markets but within the ASEAN as well.

It bodes well that the proposal for the establishment of an ASEAN liner service has received approval in principles and that a feasibility study for it has recently been commissioned. May I express the hope that we shall move expeditiously on this important matter when the time comes for implementation.

Early implementation of the ASEAN liner service is a prior condition for giving practical effect to the program of preferential trading arrangements. These thrusts at trade liberalization in ASEAN are likely to be blunted in the absence of a liner service that carries trade regularly from one ASEAN port to another.

In a way, the petroleum emergency sharing arrangement and the food reserve arrangement which the ASEAN has established symbolizes more eloquently than do the other forms of cooperation we have so far undertaken in the spirit of ASEAN fraternity and solidarity. In simple human terms, these arrangements show that member-countries who have more of one commodity are willing to share it with their neighbors in time of distress.

At Caracas, the group of 77 called for the establishment of food reserves for the regions as a measure for preventing famine in times of crop failure. Among the models cited for the proposal was the ASEAN food reserve arrangement.

May I express the hope that the ASEAN will regard this proposal with a positive and helpful attitude, coming as it does from the developing countries, with whom we share a sense of fraternity and solidarity.

In the field of industrial cooperation, significant progress has been achieved on three major activities, namely, the ASEAN Industrial Projects, the ASEAN Industrial Complementation scheme and the ASEAN Industrial Joint Venture scheme.

All the four regional industrial projects — two ammonia-urea projects, one rock salt-soda ash project and one copper fabrication project — have been approved, and all are now in varying stages of implementation.

The first package of the regional complementation scheme, consisting of automotive components, is now in place and initial tariff cuts of 50 percent on these items will be implemented starting this June.

As for the joint venture scheme, I understand that the draft-agreement for it is now before you for consideration. Allow me to stress the importance of this scheme.

Intra-ASEAN investments are at present negligible. Yet investments in one another's economy is the single most effective way of creating among our private and public sectors real and tangible stakes in our respective country's development.

For this reason, in finalizing the draft-agreement, we should take care to make the rules as flexible as possible and the treatment of prospective ASEAN members as preferential as possible in order to give the greatest encouragement to Intra-ASEAN investment to the private sector.

The animating idea in a joint venture agreement is to provide a stable and predictable framework for ASEAN private investors to undertake industrial cooperation. In this particular effort, it is crucial for each of us to conciliate our respective interests and avoid imposing these on each other as we collectively pursue the common good of ASEAN. Indeed, given this spirit, there should be no need to resort to the idea of an ASEAN five-minus-one, as we work together for the advancement and common success of ASEAN.

Beyond these industrial cooperation schemes, there remains the need for ASEAN to adopt long-term industrial development planning. It is necessary for us to take a more serious look at each other's development plans with the end in view of making them complementary rather than competitive. With the same urgency, we must examine in greater detail our relative strengths in terms of resources, technology and skills. I submit that this kind of planning is essential for undertaking industrial cooperation schemes, which after all have for their ultimate aim the support of our respective development efforts.

On ASEAN relations with third countries, we have made some advances by creating the instrument of the ASEAN-third country dialogue, and by presenting a united front in dealing with important global issues.

Yet I must agree with Prime Minister Mahathir that, with respect of ASEAN-third country dialogues, we should give more attention to the substance of these dialogues and that we should focus on areas which are vital to ASEAN interests.

ASEAN should remain ever vigilant against the continuing inroads that protectionism has made in the international marketplace, and against certain economic policies contrived by some developed countries which tend to result in the collapse of commodity prices in the world market. Protectionism along key sectors of the international trade, such as textile and agriculture, engulfs one-third of today's world trade. It has materially stunted the growth of world trade, which in 1981 amounted to just under 2 trillion U.S. dollars.

I believe that we should maintain the strongest anti-protectionist posture in forthcoming international meetings. I have in mind the Gatt Ministerial meeting in November 1982 and the global negotiations in the U. N. General Assembly at the Cancun Summit last October, in which I participated, impetus was generated for the holding of the global negotiations. The ASEAN should formulate common positions for these two important meetings.

Over the years, the ASEAN has succeeded in emerging as a potent group in world affairs. In fact, it has been observed that in this sense ASEAN is already a political success, even while its various economic initiatives have yet to achieve the same level of fulfillment.

When we look at the full range of proposed schemes covering future ASEAN Economic Cooperation, we become aware at once of a host of schemes on trade and industry, food and agriculture, energy, transportation and communications, banking, tourism and other sectors being actively considered by the concerned ASEAN economic committees.

This is a sign of vital activity. Allow me, however, to make the cautionary observation that these proposals might be rendered ineffective or, worse, might be adopted at cross purposes, if these myriad initiatives are conceived or implemented in isolation on an individual or sectoral basis, rather than on an integrated basis.

To forestall such an eventuality, it might be well to initiate a comprehensive review of ASEAN economic cooperation, with a view to developing more unified and effective ways of conceiving or carrying out cooperative endeavors in the coming years.

Perhaps your meeting here in Manila can begin to look at the possibility of developing a comprehensive framework for cooperation that will link the specific undertakings in each sector with those of the other sectors, and that will unify these initiatives under one single ASEAN purpose.

I have tried to give here an indication of some of the major undertakings still before us. They are a list of my own making. No doubt, there are other major undertakings in the mind of the other ASEAN heads of government. All of these require the kind of fresh impetus which perhaps can be provided only by another ASEAN Summit Conference.

We have not had a summit conference since 1977. We should not underrate the positive role historically played in the development of ASEAN solidarity by ASEAN heads of government meeting together, getting to know and understanding one another better, achieving personal rapport with one another. for this second reason, I say again that it is now time to hold another ASEAN Summit Conference.

At each of the last four meetings of the ASEAN Economic Ministers, the heads of government have respectively called for new initiatives and for closer cooperation. The Prime Minister of Malaysia has called for new ideas in industrial cooperation. The Prime Minister of Singapore has called for a search of greater leeway in formulating and testing out new regional schemes. The president of Indonesia has called for performing the duty that cannot be delayed of solving our economic and development problems. And the Prime Minister of Thailand has called for the willingness to cooperate that is needed more than ever to ensure our common survival.

I join my esteemed colleagues in their calls for new endeavors and greater cooperation. I say, let us press on to the summit, where we should forge the fresh initiatives and the closer cooperation that we all seek.

With fervent hope that our cooperative labors will continue and gather momentum, and all good wishes for your deliberations, I now formally declare open the thirteenth meeting of the ASEAN economic ministers.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on Farmers' Day [Filipino], [May 21, 1982](#)

**Talumpati
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa Araw ng Magsasaka**

[Ipinahayag noong ika 21 ng Mayo, 1982]

Ito ang dakilang araw na alaala ng sambayanang Pilipino sa ating mga magsasaka, kaya lubos ang aking kasiyahan na sa araw na ito, muling makapiling dito sa Malakanyang ang mga bayani ng kabukiran.

Ang ating pagtitipong ito, sa ganang inyong lingkod, ang tangi at banal na araw upang pagpugayan ang ating milyun-milyong magsasaka sa mga nayon, kasabay ng pagbibigay-pansin uli sa mga suliraning may kinalaman sa pagsasaka.

Sa dakilang araw na ito, angkop lamang na ating parangalan ang mga ulirang magsasaka ng taon sa ating bansa. Sa ganitong paraan, binibigyang halaga natin ang mahalagang papel na ginagampanan ng ating mga magsasaka tungo sa kaunlaran ng bansa.

Pitumpung porsiyento ng ating mamamayan ay mga magsasaka, at 55 porsiyento ng ating lakas-bisig ang magbubukid, at utang sa kanilang pagod ang 30 porsiyento ng ating GNP, gayundin ng kalahati ng ating mga kita sa bagay na ipinagbibili sa ibang bansa. Alam nating lahat na 49 porsiyento ng gastos ng mga tao ang napupunta sa pagkain.

Kung iisa-isahin natin ang biyayang mula sa magsasaka, walang katapusan ang ating masasabi. Nguni't natitiyak ko na walang sino mang tututol kung sabihin kong ang pagsasaka ang saligan ng ating kabuhayan at ang mga magsasaka ang pangunahing katulong sa pagsulong ng kabuhayan.

Ang pagsasaka ang patuloy na magiging lakas—o kahinaan—ng isang tulad nating bago pa lamang umuunlad na bansa, lalo na sa panahong ito ng paghihirap ng buong daigdig. Walang alinlangang matatawid natin ang malalaking suliranin sa kabuhayan habang sumusulong ang ating pagsasaka.

Ang pagkain at iba pang bagay na mula sa hiras ng magsasaka ang lagi nating pangunahing kailangan. Gaano man kadilim ng bukas na hinaharap ng daigdig sa larangan ng kabuhayan, wala tayong magiging suliranin kung ang pagkain at iba pang kailangan natin ay patuloy na magmumula sa ating mga kabukiran na siyang unang-una ng pinag-uukulan ng pansin ng pamahalaan.

Mahalagang aral ang iniwan sa atin ng dekada ng limampu.

Ang mga pansin noon ay natuon lamang sa pagbibigay halaga sa mga produktong galing sa malalaking asyenda nang hindi nabigyang pansin ang iba pang pananim. Nagdumali tayo sa industriyalisasyon, nang wala tayong ibinigay na pansin sa paggawa ng mga sangkap ng pagawaang ito.

Naiwan ang pagsasaka at nawalan ng sangkap na magagamit ang mga industriya. Ang mga pagawaan ng tela ay walang bulak, may mga pagawaan ng nakalatang pagkain, nguni't wala namang mailagay sa lata, ang pabrika ng asero ay walang magamit na asero. At, umangkat ang mga pabrika ng sangkap na kailangan gayong ang mga ito ay maaari namang sa ating bayan na lamang manggaling.

Nang maiwan ang pagsasaka, lumiit ang ani at ang kita ng mga magsasaka. Dahil dito, wala silang perang magastos upang bilhin ang mga produktong gawa ng mga pabrika. Sapagka't walang bumili ng kanilang mga produkto, pati mga pabrika ay isa-isa na ring nagsara.

Nguni't, nakapulot tayo ng aral sa mga kamalian ng nakaraan.

Kaya nga sa panahong ito na ang ating bayan ay patungo sa pagtatayo ng iba-ibang pabrika, ang patakaran ng pamahalaan ay isabay naman ang pagsulong din ng pagsasaka.

Kaya nga sa pagbibigay-sigla natin sa industriya sa ilalim ng ating labing-isang (11) pangunahing proyekto sa industriya, patuloy naman tayo sa pagsisikap na paunlarin ang pagsasaka at ang mga taganayon.

Ito ang dahilan kaya patuloy tayong gumagawa ng hakbang upang manatiling maunlad ang mga bukirin sa liwanag ng papahirap pang takbo ng kabuyahan sa lahat ng bansa malaki o maliit man.

Dinirinig natin ang kahilingan ng mga magsasaka na gawan ng hakbang ng pamahalaan ang mga suliraning kaugnay ng pagliit ng kita ng mga magbubukid sa liwanag naman ng palaking gastos sa produksiyon.

Ang mga kautusang ilalagda ko ay walang ibang hangarin kundi bigyan ang mga magsasaka ng makatuwirang gantimpala sa kanyang lahat ng pagsisikap at pagod.

Ang kapakanan ng magsasaka ay kapakanan ng sambayanan.

Tangkilik sa Halaga ng Palay

Sa loob ng nagdaang ilang buwan, naging mahigpit na kahilingan ng mga magsasaka na itaas ang halaga ng palay upang pagbigyan ang kahilingang ito, iniutos ko na gawing P1.70 isang kilo ng palay mula sa dating P1.55 isang kilo.

Ngayong ginawa nating P1.70 isang kilo ng palay, marahil naman, lalaki rin ang kita ng mga magsasaka kahit maragdagan man ng kaunti ang kanilang gastos sa pagtatanim.

Kaugnay nito, iniutos ko sa National Food Authority na bilhin ang 15 porsiyento ng ani sa ating bansa sa bagong halagang aking itinakda.

Halaga ng Pataba

Halos dalawang bilyong piso na ang nagagastos natin sa subsidy sa pataba sa loob ng nakaraang walong taon upang ang halaga ng pataba ay maabot-kaya ng magsasaka. Sapagka't pababa na ang halaga ng pataba sa buong daigdig, aalisin na natin ang subsidy.

Kasabay nito, iniutos kong babaan ang halaga ng pataba maliban sa isa. Ito ay ang Triple 14, ang patabang ginagamit sa palayan. Ang halaga ng Triple 14 ay ilalagay natin sa presyong angkop sa halaga nito sa daigdig.

Sa bagong mungkahi ng ministri ng pagsasaka, mababawasan ng isang bag ng Triple 14 ang gamit na pataba sa bawat isang ektaryang lupa. Sa ilalim ng bagong halagang ito, mababawasan ng limang porsiyento ang gugol ng magsasaka sa pataba kapag sinunod ang bagong mungkahi ng Ministri ng Pagsasaka. Kapag hindi ito sinunod ng magsasaka, tiyak na mararagdagan pa ang gastos niya sa pataba.

Ang Pamimili ng Palay

Mawawalan ng saysay ang dagdag na halaga ng palay kapag hindi bibilhin sa mga magsasaka ang palay sa halagang itinakda.

Ito ang dahilan kaya kailangang bilhin ng National Food Authority ang kabuuang 15 porsiyento ng ani natin sa Oktubre hanggang Disyembre.

Inaatasan ko ang lupong tagapagpaganap na makipag-alam sa Central Bank upang mailagay sa ayos ang gagawing pamimili ng palay ng National Food Authority.

Kasabay nito, ang Ministri ng Pagsasaka at ang National Food Authority ay kailangang magtakda ng halagang kailangan upang ipamili ng palay at nang sa gayon tuwiran silang makabili ng palay mula sa mga Samahan ng Magsasaka.

(maaaring sa bahaging ito lagdaan ng Pangulo ang LOI)

Tiyakang Pagbabayad sa Ilalim ng Masagana 99

Noong Marso, inatasan ko ang Prime Minister upang humanap ng paraan upang mabuksang muli sa mga magsasaka ang pagkakataon na makautang ng halagang kailangan sa pagtatanim ng palay. Ang Monetary Board sa pamamagitan ng Gobernador ng Central Bank ay nagpadala sa akin ng Liham-Tagubilin (LOI) upang maging mabilis ang pagkuha ng ipinautang ng Banko Nasyonal at ng mga rural bank na lumahok sa Masagana 99.

Sa LOI na ito, maglalaan ng halagang P450 milyon sa loob ng tatlong taon. Ang halagang ito ay paiinugin at panganga-siwaan ng Philippine Crop Insurance Corporation upang maging mabilis ang paniningil ng ating mga bankong masagana.

Ito ay lalagdaan ko ngayon sa inyong harap.

Crop Insurance

Ginawa natin ang pagbabagong ito sa ating Crop Insurance: ginawa nating 65 porsiyento ang may garantyang ani sa mga pook na umaasa lamang sa tubig ulan at maging sa may patubig. Ang mga magsasakang umaasa lamang sa ulan upang magtanim ay makapagseguro ng kanilang ani hanggang 65 kaban bawa't isang ektarya sa halip ng dating 40 kaban lamang, samantalang kung may patubig ang bukid ng magsasaka, hanggang 98 kaban isang ektarya ay maiseseguro niya sa halip ng dating 60 kaban lamang isang ektarya. Ang Philippine Crop Insurance Corporation na ang tagapangulo ay ang Prime Minister na rin, ay nagtakda rin ng higit na mababang premium. Ginawa na itong 2 porsiyento lamang sa halip na 3 porsiyento. Nilakhan ang bahaging sasagutin ng pamahalaan mula pa nitong buwang ito. Dahil dito kaya ang may utang sa Masagana 99 at maging yaong walang utang, pareho ang bayad lamang na premium ay dalawang porsiyento.

Sisimulan na rin ng Philippine Crop Insurance Corporation ang pagbibigay ng 25 porsiyentong diskuwento sa bayad sa premium ng seguro ng palay ukol sa tag-araw. Ito ay sisimulan sa darating na Nobyembre. Lalo na sa Luzon na wala ng panganib sa bagyo ang pananim kung panahon ng palagad.

Ang seguro ng pananim ay isa sa mahalagang pagbabagong naganap sa pagsasaka sa Pilipinas. Ito ay pangangalaga sa dukhang magsasakang malimit maging biktima ng biro ng tadhana upang sa gayon, siya ay huwag matanikala sa karalitaan sa habang panahon. Ito ang sagisag ng pagsisikap ng Bagong Republika na lubusang mapaunlad ang pagsasaka.

Palingkurang Pinalawak na Sakahan

Ang isa sa mahalagang dahilan ng ating matagumpay na pagpapasagana ng ani ay walang iba kundi ang makabagong paraan ng pagsasaka na inihahatid natin sa mga bukirin. Ang tinutukoy ko ay ang mga tauhan na dinadala sa mga dulong nayon ng Ministri ng Pagsasaka. Sila ang ubus-kaya at matapat na tumutupad ng tungkulin.

Dahil dito, magtatalaga tayo ng 2,300 bagong mga field extension upang umabot sa 15,000 ang ating mga tauhang ito mula sa dating 13,000. Sa mga dagdag na tauhang ito, natitiyak ko na ibayong mapag-uukulan ng pansin ang pagsagana ng ating ani. Sila ang magiging kabalikat ng ating mga magsasaka.

Patubig

Patuloy nating palalakihin ang mga lupaing may patubig. Paaabutin natin sa 1.8 milyong ektaryang lupa sa 1986 ang may patubig mula sa kasalukuyang 1.36. Taun-taon, 90,000 ektaryang lupa ang malalatagan ng patubig. Ang patubig ang isa sa mahalagang sangkap upang lumaki ang ating ani sapagka't makalawa sa isang taon, maaaring mag-ani ang mga magsasaka.

Ang tagapangasiwang estuar ng Pambansang Pangasiwaan ng Patubig ang nagsasagawa na ng bagay na ito upang unahin ang pag-aayos ng mga patubig na balang araw, ang mangangasiwa, ang mga magsasaka na rin.

Maisagana Program

Ang Maisagana ay pag-asa naman ng ating mga magsasakang nagtatanim ng mais at masasabing siyang pinakadukha sa mga magsasaka sa ating bayan. Ang mga nagtatanim ng mais ay nagpamalas ng tatag ng loob sa kabila ng palagi nang maliit nilang ani, kakapusan sa teknolohiya at maliit na kita. Ano man ang mangyari, nagtatanim pa rin siya ng mais na kailangan ng 20 porsiyento ng ating mamamayang mais ang pinakabigas na kinakain. Sa tulong ng Maisagana, tiyakang mga hakbang ang ating ginagawa upang bigyang katubusan ang ating mga magsasakang nagtatanim ng mais. Sa wakas, makikita natin ang simula ng kaunlaran ng mga magsasakang ito na katulong natin sa pagsisikap na makatayo nang matatag sa sarili nating mga paa sa larangan ng kabuhayan. Sa 1984, inaasahan natin na hindi na tayo aasa sa mais na binibili sa ibang bansa sapagka't ang kailangan nating mais, manggagaling na sa ani ng ating mga magsasaka.

Dahil sa ating tagumpay sa sinimulang Maisagana, inatasan ko ang Ministri ng Pagsasaka na paabutin sa 100,000 ektarya sa Disyembre ang lawak ng taniman ng mais. Sinimulan natin ito sa 50,000 ektarya lamang.

Pastulan

Nakalulungkot sabihin na sa panahong ito, ang ating bansa ay kapos pa sa karne at produktong galing sa ating mga alagang hayop. Ang totoo, umaangkat tayo ng 98 porsiyento o tila 99 porsiyento pa ng ating mga kailangang karne at gatas. Ang dahilan, wala tayong sapat na mga alagang hayop na pagkukunan ng ating kailangang karne at gatas.

Kung tunay mang may ilan-ilang alagang baka o kalabaw na pinagmumulan ng karne at gatas sa bakuran ng ating mga magsasaka, ang totohanan at malaking alagaan ng mga hayop na ito ay kailangang magkaroon ng malawak na pastulan. Ang isa sa mga dahilan kaya kapos tayo sa karne ay dahil sa pangyayaring kapos sa malalawak na pastulan ang may rantso kaya hindi sila makapag-alaga nang wasto ng mga baka. Ito ay pinalubha pa ng pangyayari na dahil sa mabilis na pagdami ng ating mamamayan sa mga lungsod at nayon man, maraming may rantso ang dumaraing na ang kanilang pastulan man a pinasok na ng mga iskuwater at magnanakaw ng baka.

Sa loob ng nakaraang mga taon, unti-unting nagkaroon ng tiyakang pangangasiwa sa ating mga lupain. Ang ministri ng likas na kayamanan ang nagtatakda ng klase ng lupa sang-ayon sa gamit nito, at saka ipinaubaya sa isang tanggapang hasa ukol sa ganitong bagay.

Halimbawa, itinakda ng Ministri ng Likas na Kayamanan ang pamamahala ng mga gubat sa Kawanihan ng Kaunlaran ng Kagubatan, at ang mga palaisdaan naman, ipinaubaya sa Kawanihan ng Pag-iisda.

Ang mga pastulan ay nasa pamamahala pa rin ng Ministri ng Likas na Kayamanan, subali't ang Ministri ng Pagsasaka ang nananagot sa mga hayop na aalagaan sa mga pastulang ito. Ibig kong malagay sa ayos ang bagay na ito at nang malaman natin kung sino ang dapat managot sa Industriya ng Bakahan. Mukhang asiwa na ang Ministri ng Pagsasaka ang bahala sa mga hayop, samantalang ang Ministri ng Likas na Kayamanan naman ang bahala sa mga pastulan ng mga hayop na ito.

Dahil dito, inililipat ko ang pangangasiwa ng mga pastulan sa Ministri ng Pagsasaka at kaugnay nito, lalagdaan ko ang kautusang tagapagpaganap tungkol dito.

Sa pamamagitan nito, umaasa ako na mapagtutuunan ng pansin ang pagpapaunlad natin ng mga bakahan at nang sa gayon, magkaroon tayo ng saganang karne at gatas at produktong mula sa gatas.

Integrated Area Management System

Ibig kong mapagbuti ang paglilingkod sa mga magsasaka. Kaya naman, pinagtibay ko ang pagtatayo ng Integrated Area Management System na siyang lilikha ng balangkas ng paglilingkod sa mga bukirin at tutukoy ng ani sa isang tiyakang pook. Ito ay mahalaga up ang mapag-ugnay ang lahat ng pagsisikap ng pamahalaan at ng mga sangay nito na ang tungkulin ay tiyakin ang kaunlaran ng pagsasaka at ng mga nayon.

Ang Ministri ng Pagsasaka, bilang tanggapang pangunahing may sagutin sa kaunlaran ng pagsasaka, ang siyang magsasagawa, sa tulong ng National Food and Agriculture Council, ang magtatakda ng patakaran, balak, palatuntunan at gabay, kasama na pati ng pinaglakip na pagpapatupad ng lahat ng bagay na may kaugnayan sa palingkuran at bunga ng pagsasaka. Sa pampurok na antas naman, ang pampurok na lupon sa Agricultural Land Classification naman ang siyang mananagot sa pagtukoy ng pook na magagamit na sakahan sa lahat ng lalawigang sakop ng purok. Bukod sa pag-uuri ng lupa, ang pananaliksik ukol sa pagsasaka at pagsasanay ay maaari ring isagawa.

Ang lalawigan ang pagtutuunan ng pinaglakip na palingkuran at bunga ng pagsasaka. Ang mga gobernador ng lalawigan ang mananagot at magkakaroon ng karapatang pag-ugnayin ang pangangasiwa sa mga sangay ng pamahalaang nasa lalawigan. Ukol dito, ang mga Pambansang Tanggapan ay tutulong at aatasan ang kanilang punong panlalawigan o tauhan na pailalim sa pangangasiwa ng Gobernador upang maging mabisa ang pagpapatupad ng lahat ng balak.

Ang mga sangay na may kinatawan sa Panlalawigang Sanggunian sa Pagsasaka ay ang:

Ministri ng Pagsasaka	Ukol sa Ani
Ministri ng Likas na Kayamanan	
Pambansang Pangasiwaan sa Patubig	
Farm Systems Development Corp.	Ukol sa Patubig
Ministri ng Pambansang Lansangan	
Banko Nasyonal	
Bankong Pangkaunlaran ng Pilipinas	Ukol sa Pag-utang ng Magsasaka
Banko ng Lupain ng Pilipinas	
Agricultural Credit Administration	
Isang Kinatawan ng Banko Rural ng Pilipinas	
Ministri ng Pamahalaang Local	Lansangang Bukid
Ministri ng Pagawaing Bayan at Pambansang Lansangan	Hanggang Pamilihan
National Food Authority	Pamimili ng Ani sa Bukid

Ang Ministri ng Pagsasaka ang magbibigay ng kaukulang mga utos, tagubilin at tuntuning kailangan upang tuparin ang tadhana ng kautusang tagapagpaganap na lalagdaan ko sa inyong harap.

Ang lahat nang mga patakaran at hakbang na ito ay walang ibang hangarin kundi tulungan ang mga magsasaka na kumita nang malaki at nang sa gayon, mapabuti nila ang kanilang kalagayan sa buhay.

Kayo, mga kaibigang magsasaka—ang mga kawal na nagbibigay ng pagkain sa Bagong Republika—kayo ang mga bagong bayani ng ating sama-sama at balikatang pagsisikap na mahango ang bagu-bagong umuunlad na daigdig sa gutom at kakapusan sa wastong pagkain. Kayong mga tunay na bayaning panulukang bato ng kabuhayan ng bansa ng daigdig ay karapat-dapat lamang sa matayog at puspusang tangkilik ng pamahalaan upang ang inyong hiras at pagod araw-araw ay matumbasan naman nang tama.

Habang ang lingkod ninyo ang Pangulo, makatitiyak kayo na lubusan at walang pasubali ang magiging tangkilik sa inyo ng ating pamahalaan.

Marami pong salamat at mabuhay kayo ... kayong mga magsasaka na pinagkakautangan ng pagkain ng sambayanan.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 75th anniversary of the Philippine Medical Association, [May 21, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 75th anniversary of the Philippine Medical Association**

[Delivered on May 21, 1982]

In keeping with our time-honored tradition of hospitality, allow me first of all to extend a very warm welcome to our special guests who are here with us today for the First Medical Association of Southeast Asian Nations Conference. I believe I speak for the entire membership of the Philippine Medical Association, which is also holding its 75th Annual Convention, when I say we are truly honored to host the initial meeting of this new association which brings together not only brothers in ASEAN but also brothers in the exalted profession of medicine. This should make the 75th anniversary of the PMA doubly significant and meaningful; and I think the PMA under the leadership of its incumbent President, Dr. Perla Santos Ocampo, deserves to be congratulated twice over for this achievement.

I am somewhat surprised, however, that it took so long for the leaders of the medical profession of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines to come together for a conference such as this. As a layman, I have always been impressed by the close ties among doctors the world over. And I have always regarded medicine as the most open of professions. There is hardly a secret formula or technique that a doctor or group of doctors keep close to their chests. Indeed, the unselfish sharing of knowledge and know-how is perhaps the most distinctive characteristic that sets medicine apart from other professions and welds doctors together as one solid universal fraternity regardless of race, color, ideology or nationality. This I believe is how things should really be in a profession that is dedicated to the alleviation of pain and the preservation of human life, a profession that has preserved the noble tradition of service to humanity. Perhaps because of the very close ties you maintain in the medical fraternity, I suppose that our doctors in ASEAN have felt no great urgency until now in following the footsteps of politicians, economists or businessmen who have long since forged close alliances with their own colleagues in the region.

But your conference now indicates a recognition and an acknowledgement of the pressing need to institute a forum for the discussion not only of the most recent developments in the various areas of medical specialization but also of the many common problems affecting the health and physical well-being of the peoples in ASEAN. These are problems that concern both the medical profession and the governments of ASEAN which our peoples expect to provide essential medical services aside from other competing demands for scarce governmental resources. This is why I attach great significance to your conference. And it is my hope that this will mark only the beginning of wider and greater future cooperation among the medical practitioners in the region in providing solutions to the most critical problems afflicting your profession and our peoples.

Many of our problems in the area of health and medicine are common to the member countries of ASEAN by reason of our geography and the similar levels of our respective countries' economic development, to cite perhaps two of the most critical factors. In the Philippines, pneumonia, cardiovascular diseases, tuberculosis, gastro-enteritis, vitamins and other nutritional deficiencies top the list of killer diseases. I suppose I need not tell you that many of these diseases are directly related to our geography — about which we can do little — and to the level of our economic development where we can and we actually are doing much. In truth it must be said that poverty in our own country. In ASEAN and the rest of the third world, is the leading killer disease. This is why all our plans are focused and most of our resources are being committed to the accelerated economic development of our countries. For poverty spawns malnutrition, poor sanitation, inadequate shelter, inadequate medical services and a host of other problems affecting the health of our peoples. I am, therefore, firmly convinced that the battle against diseases, like many of the problems facing the developing nations of the world, can only be won on the economic front.

This is not to say that in our efforts to develop we can afford to neglect the medical needs of our people. The provision of medical services is a key component of any development program for it cannot be questioned that human productivity depends greatly on the state of every individual's health. To ensure adequate and competent medical services for our peoples constitutes the unfinished task and the continuing challenge to the medical profession and the governments of Southeast Asia. And I am very happy to note that members of the profession have taken the first step towards facing this challenge through cooperative endeavors.

It is most heartening to know that among the major topics you are set to discuss during your conference are "the role of organized medicine in primary health care delivery" and "containing health care costs". These are topics that are addressed to the very heart of our problems in health and medical services.

In the Philippines, we have begun to pursue in earnest our primary health care program which is designed to extend medical services to the remotest rural communities. The ultimate objective is to make available to every Filipino the wonders of modern medicine through the provision of community-based health services that are within the reach of every Filipino, both physically and materially. This involves not merely the assignment of competent medical practitioners to rural areas but also the development of indigenous herbal medicines and medicinal plants as well as efforts to encourage the participation of the members of the community in the control, prevention and cure of diseases.

I am positive that through the free exchange of ideas and experiences which you will have occasion to do in the next few days much can be achieved towards making primary health care a reality for the people in every community.

The second issue that you are posed to tackle is equally relevant. For today, many of our people are denied access to medical help not because of distance but because medical care has become rather prohibitive. I am sure that many factors can be held to account for this: the cost of living, the high cost of medical education and training — these and many other reasons combine to raise the cost of health care. I know that the Hippocratic oath does not include the vow of poverty and practical realities dictate that those who have invested so much of their money, time and effort to reach a certain level of competence to be fully compensated. On the other hand, I would like to believe that in a profession as noble as medicine, money and material possessions are but one of the many rewards you derive from the practice of your craft. The persistent clamor of many of our people for some measure of moderation is all too real to ignore. So let me once more appeal particularly to the members of the Philippine Medical Association to temper our natural impulse and desire for material advancement. Let us restore to its lofty position the ideal of service. Which has made medicine a cherished profession so that no one can say that he has been refused your healing hands because of poverty.

I hope that the members of the PMA will again rally together in meeting this call for restraint.

The PMA and the government has moved as one to make substantial inroads against disease. With your unqualified support, we have added 8 months to the Filipino's average life expectancy during the last two years alone. This year the life expectancy of the average Filipino is projected to be 62.67 where in 1980 it stood at 61.99 years. During the last ten years, the number of hospital beds have been doubled from 21,000 in 1972 to 42,461 this year.

On its own, the government has been progressively expanding its medical services. Today, for example, we have 10,500 barangay health stations against only 2,657 in 1975. Our rural health units have grown from 1,502 in 1975 to 1,991 this year.

The government is prepared to do more not only by way of expanding the scope of medical services but also to ensure the welfare of your own colleagues who have joined the government medical corps. Last year we raised the salaries of physicians in partial implementation of the 1979 salary survey conducted by the government so that the lowest paid government doctor now receives P1, 152. Many of you are probably shocked by the figure: it can barely finance the education of a freshman medical student today. Had we authorized the full implementation of the 1979 salary survey, the lowest paid government physician would now be receiving P1,405 a month. I am still shocked by the figure. So today, I have signed an order authorizing another increase in salaries of government doctors. Government physicians will now receive a minimum monthly salary of P1,894, starting January 1, 1982.

Corresponding adjustments will be made in the salaries of higher ranking government doctors. This should bring the rates in government at par with those being paid by private hospitals and clinics.

This is our gift, a token of gratitude from the Filipino people to the doctors who care for their health.

Let me thank the Philippine Medical Association for inviting me again to address your convention. I hope that it will be as fruitful as other conventions you have held in the past.

Thank you and good day.

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the First Anniversary of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs, [June 2, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the First Anniversary of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs**

[Released on June 2, 1982]

I am truly pleased to join you today in these ceremonies commemorating the first anniversary of our Ministry of Muslim Affairs.

But first let me welcome to our Hall of Heroes, the Maharlika Hall, our special guests, the Ambassadors of the various Islamic countries who have done and are still doing a most commendable job in strengthening relations between their countries and the Philippines and have helped us a lot in creating understanding by their governments of our sincere efforts to promote the welfare of their Filipino brothers in the faith. I also wish to greet the Members of the Cabinet, the Members of the Batasang Pambansa, and the Autonomous Regional Governments of Southern Philippines who are here with us today, and of course every official and personnel of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs.

Although we mark today only the first year of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs, this occasion calls to mind not just its birth of Presidential Executive Order a year ago, but a much longer history of effort on the part of our government to respond effectively to the situation of Muslim Filipinos and other cultural communities in the country. And once we look upon that history we can also immediately see how the sense of concern of our government for these communities has manifestly grown over the decades, and how today it occupies a central place in government policies and programs.

So if this Ministry is indeed young in years, it is tasked with a very old agenda of government. And it has antecedents in various commissions and agencies which since the recovery of independence in 1946 have tried to implement our government's policy of integrating Muslim Filipinos and other cultural communities into the mainstream of our society and of harnessing their contribution to the tasks of nation building.

Behind this continued effort to reorganize and revitalize government responses to this issue, one will readily see the ineluctable rationale that led us to the creation of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs. More and more we had come to realize that the issue needed priority attention to be dealt with fully, and in the thrust of events and developments in the south during the past decade, it became both urgent and necessary to gather all government efforts on behalf of our Muslim brothers under the aegis of a single ministry.

Now as we gather here today to mark the first anniversary of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs, it is only fitting that we review how the agency is facing up to its charge: which is the implementation of the firm policy of our government to hasten the integration of Muslim Filipinos in the mainstream of our society with full regard for their beliefs, customs, traditions and institutions; and to secure for every Muslim Filipino equality of stature, dignity and opportunity with the rest of his countrymen.

We may perhaps already say this early that this ministry has been applying itself with imagination and vigor to the fulfillment of its awesome responsibility. Earlier, we had the opportunity to hear Minister Romulo Espaldon discuss in some detail the work and programs of the ministry during the past years. I was pleased by what I heard because, in normal course of things, a new office hardly gets beyond the organizational phase during its first year of operation. And yet you have already worked on certain key program vital to the strengthening of our Muslim communities and strengthening some important Islamic institutions in the country. I refer particularly to your efforts to improve the workings of Shari'ah Courts through the conduct of seminars and the successful conclusion of the

first Madrasah policy conference wherein the proposal to integrate Madrasah-type education into the Philippine Educational System was thoroughly discussed with the active participation of Muslim leaders and educators.

I attach so much importance to these programs, so much so during my visit to Saudi Arabia I took the opportunity to discuss with King Khaled possible areas wherein our two countries could cooperate in improving the Islamic educational and legal systems in the Philippines. For along with our many programs to modernize our Muslim communities, we must provide every Muslim Filipino the opportunity to practice and live by his Islamic faith freely, meaningfully and fully.

We have always stressed that man is the sole object of development. And when we speak of human development, we mean not only his material advance or even the full development of his human potentials but also his moral and spiritual development. Thus in all our programs, the spiritual welfare of every Filipino—Christian, Muslim, or unbeliever—has always a place along with his material advancement.

By its work during the year just passed, the Ministry of Muslim Affairs has made an auspicious beginning. But even as I congratulate all of you, I would urge you to continue to work with the same urgency of purpose on your programs so that we can accelerate the process of integration of our Muslim brothers and enlist their active cooperation in the task of nation building.

Recent developments fill us with great hope that our decade-old problem with the Muslim separatists will be brought to a successful resolution. Abroad, we have gained the complete understanding of Islamic governments and organizations regarding our uncompromising stand on the issue of secession. My recent trip to Saudi Arabia not only resulted in broader and stronger relations between our country and the most influential Islamic Nation today, we also secured the firm assurances of Islamic leaders that they will withdraw their support, moral or material, from any group that works for the dismemberment of any part of our republic.

At home, the steady stream of rebels coming down from the hills to lay down their arms and pledge allegiance to the republic has gradually eroded the base of the Moro National Liberation Front. The sporadic bombings, ambushes and kidnappings that happen every now and then in certain parts of Mindanao are nothing more than the final, desperate gasps of a dying rebellion.

The end of the rebellion, which we hope will come soon, should signal the further intensification of our efforts to bring modernity into every home in that troubled part of our country. For with the peace we hope to restore, we will only be buying time, and we have to make full use of that time to eradicate the many causes for grievance, the roots of the rebellion

That have brought us so much grief and anxiety during the last few years. Another explosion of anger and resentment could very well prove unmanageable and fatal. Hindsight prompts us now to step up our efforts to make our Muslim brothers full participants in the tasks and rewards of development.

While our program for the accelerated development of Mindanao requires the full participation of every agency of the government, the Ministry of Muslim Affairs will surely continue to play a critical role as the guardian of our Islamic heritage and the protector of the welfare of Muslim Filipinos. A year its creation, this office has become the most visible symbol of the government's concern for the welfare of our Muslim brothers and our earnest to preserve for posterity our proud Islamic legacy. It is our hope that in the years ahead you will continue to be faithful to the trust our people have given you.

Thank you and good day.

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Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Independence Day, [June 12, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Independence Day**

[Delivered on June 12, 1982]

Taun-taon, sa loob ng mga nakalipas na panahon, sa ganitong araw at a pook ding ito, tayo ay nagtitipun-tipon para gunitain ang proklamasyon ng kalayaan ng ating bansa na nakamit noong ika-12 ng Hunyo, 1898.

May 84 na taon na ang nakakalipas mula nang maganap ang makasaysayang sandali sa bayan ng Kawit sa lalawigan ng Kabite. Dito ay buong giting na inihayag ng ating mamamayan at ng mga namumuno noon ang ating ganap na kalayaan at pagkakalag mula sa gapos ng bansang banyaga.

Through this singular declaration on the 12th of June 1898 in Kawit, Cavite, we reckon the culmination of the struggles of our people for their birthright and the very beginning of what we call our nation.

But hardly had the ink dried on that historic document when again the nation was called to arms—this time to face another foreign power. And history would record that not until 18 years later would national independence be recovered, and the Filipino people reign sovereign and supreme in their own country and land.

Not for us, as for some other nations, was nationhood forged simply and indelibly through a single act either of violence or of writing a single document, or of fighting one war or revolution. No single date confidently marks out for us that singular moment, when, as in the case of others, we ceased to be merely a collection of tribes and islands and of communities, ceased to be a possession of a colonial power, and became a truly sovereign and a free nation.

As in the preceding three centuries of Spanish rule, so in the succeeding 84 years, we have had to carve the edifice of our nation from the rubble of innumerable crises and struggles.

And it has always been the destiny of every generation of Filipinos never to presume that their independence has been won once and for always, but rather to struggle always to secure the fact and the fruit of nationhood.

But there is nothing in this for which we as a people must feel shame. For this is simply the truth and the meaning our history, and we who have inherited the burden of carrying our nation into the future may even justly feel fortunate for this priceless counsel—of vigilance that history has imposed upon us.

So a day like this fittingly a day of reflection and renewal of the bonds that unite our nation. The commemorations of dates and events would surely be empty of meaning, if they do not refresh and reawaken the exertion of will and effort that time and again has been summoned to meet the perils and challenges of the nation.

Herodotus, the great historian, relates how the Athenians, returning to their city-state after it had been devastated by the Persian armies, were astonished to find, alive and thriving in the midst of their city ruins, the sacred olive tree which was the symbol of their country. And in that moment of recognition, they knew that Athens would never die, but live on, greater than it had ever been.

So we in our times, amidst the challenges and laborers before us, midst the uncertainties and tensions in our contemporary world, so we today look to the spirit that defines and sustains our sense of national community.

As we survey the world around us, and the nation we are today, we see unmistakably how uncertainty and anxiety relentlessly sap the fabric of community among and within nations throughout the world.

Conflicts have again arisen in so many points in our troubled globe, and at home we have reason to be concerned about the increasingly loud cry of groups for their respective selfish interests, and the apparent obliviousness of some to that supreme interest—the national purpose and the welfare of the nation.

We need to remind ourselves, now more than ever, of those things that bind us together, those that through the centuries have threaded together our story as a people and have made us this sovereign and free nation, and not another.

If we reflect on this hard enough, we would surely discover that our nation, like all nations worthy of the name, is no mere accident of history, no superficial unity imposed upon a myriad of islands and tribes, but a national community born of certain bonds that are not only indissoluble if we but take care to guard them, but incalculable sources of strength, if we but take care to nurture and develop them.

The first of these bonds that make us a nation is the sense of belonging we all feel to this particular community and state, and not to any other it has been well described as a kinship of race, for we are in many ways a homogeneous people; a kinship in space, for these islands that are home to us have been from the beginning our patrimony and birthright; and a kinship through time, because our peoples have a common history dating back to the very emergence of man in the archipelago and, for that matter, in this region.

This elemental kinship is further broadened by yet another kind of link: The link of culture in framing their answer to the riddle of life and the purpose of society, our people developed their customs and ways, their arts and their own sciences, their philosophy and their sense of regard for the past. What we know of this cultural dimension to our national community is of a heritage varied and rich, and in the diversity of eastern and western influences, we have molded a self-image in which we unmistakably recognize only ourselves.

The third fabric of community has to do with the way we as a people organize the work and economic resources on which we develop for survival. Whether we accept or not the viewpoint of Marxist ideology which sees the economic bond as the whole basis of human community, there is no question that the economic factor plays a crucial part in cementing the bonds that form a people and a nation.

In our case this runs very deep indeed, for our progression from village community to nations tells of a fundamental belief in the efficacy and necessity of cooperative endeavor in the making of welfare and of progress. Today we are indeed a national economy in which the resources of the parts make up the resources of the whole, and the production of separate groups and regions of the country gather together to feed and support the whole, and the national economy in turn sustains and supports the various sectors and regions. If it were otherwise, the fabric of national community would be impaired.

There is finally a fourth and final bond, which gathers all the others together, and this has to do with the vision we entertain of ourselves as a political community, our ideas of how to govern ourselves, our approaches to the task of modernization and social of nations. Here we are truly talking of what constitutes a nation's ideology, a nation's faith in itself and in the future.

For us, it seems to me, there can be no doubt now that as a people we do share a very deep and lasting faith in the efficacy of free enterprise and democratic politics as the key to our future as a nation. We have grafted what we have learned from other peoples—of the engineering of progress and the establishment of political freedom and order—into our own soil and circumstances, and in the process shaped our course as a nation.

The bonds of which I speak take their meaning not simply from what history may tell us, but from the active sense of belonging and sharing that every day must take place within the spectrum of our national life. For the bonds that unite a people, regardless of historical events, documents and the like, will always be endangered of being severed whenever they are weakly supported, and whenever injustices divide the whole community.

The test of national community is therefore constant: there is a test from without, as here is a test from within. And only truly dynamic, stable, and just societies survive and prosper.

What I see as I look at our nation today is a strong spirit of community, that conserve the continuity of our history and heritage, and by dint of strengthened effort, by imagination had succeeded in molding for us a strong Republic and a respected place in the family of nations.

From this fountainhead of national identity and pride spring all that is unique in the gifts and achievements of the Filipino nations; our traditions and our ways, our literature and arts and music, our laws and institutions, our devotion to law and freedom, our fierce sense of independence, and our pride in being Filipino.

It is no mean indication of the fervor of Filipino patriotism, that even when chance may take the Filipino to foreign lands to seek his fortune, he continues to retain his attachment to the homeland and to regard this country as his own.

Strange as it may seem, one of the studies in the United States of America is that, the Filipino is the only ethnic group where most of its members return to their homeland to be buried. (*Applause*)

Other nations have less than these to work within the realization of their destiny. So we in our own country and in our time would do well to guard these riches that we possess, and to take care of the many more fruits that national identity may yet confer on us.

The danger to a nation, we are well reminded, is not only violence and force. It can also be—and this is more dangerous—indifference and apathy, which can just as easily squander what has been accumulated over the years and disfigure a nation's destiny.

The work of national independence irrevocably goes, on every day. And it summons us all today, as it summons us day after day, as it did those of our ancestors and those who dreamt and fought to raise the Filipino flag whether it was in Kawit, Cavite or in Bataan or in the underground or in any of the battles that were fought for independence, or in the quiet ways of office and enterprise.

Let us therefore carry this burden. It is a burden that each and every one of us can identify.

Let us take it, bear it on our shoulders and carry it forward.

This is the meaning of independence.

Thank you.

Source: [Supreme Court Library](#)

Marcos, F. E. (1982). (Address of the President on Independence Day 12 June 1982). *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 78(33), 4221-4224.

Address of President Marcos on Independence Day, June 12, 1982

Address of the President
Independence Day
12 June 1982

Taun-taon, sa loob ng mga nakalipas na panahon, sa ganitong araw at sa pook ding ito, tayo ay nagtitipon-tipon para gunitain ang proklamasyon ng kalayaan ng ating bansa na nakamit noong ika-12 ng Hunyo, 1898.

May 84 na taon na ang nakakalipas mula nang maganap ang makasaysayang sandali sa bayan ng Kawit sa lalawigan ng Kabite. Dito ay buong giting na inihayag at idineklara ng ating mamamayan ang ating ganap na kalayaan at pagkakalag mula sa gapos ng bansang España.

Through this singular declaration, we reckon the culmination of the struggles of our people for their birthright and the very birth of our nation.

But hardly had the ink dried on that historic document when again the nation was called to arms — this time to face another foreign power. And history would record that not until 48 years later would national independence be recovered, and the Filipino people reign people reign sovereign and supreme in their country.

Not for us, as for some other nations, was nationhood forged simply and indelibly through the single act of writing one document, or of fighting one war or revolution. No single date confidently marks out for us that singular moment, when, as in the case of others, we ceased to be merely a collection of islands and communities, ceased to be a possession of a colonial power, and became a truly sovereign and free nation.

As in the preceding three centuries of Spanish rule, so in the succeeding 84 years, we have had to carve the edifice of our nation from the rubble of innumerable crises and struggles.

And it has always been the destiny of every generation of Filipinos never to presume that their independence has been won once and for always, but rather to struggle always to secure the fact and the fruit of nationhood.

There is nothing in this for which we as a people must feel shame. For this is simply the truth and the meaning of our history, and we who have inherited the burden of carrying our nation into the future may even justly feel fortunate for this priceless counsel of vigilance that history has given us.

So a day like this is fittingly a day of reflection and renewal of the bonds that unite our nation. The commemorations of dates and events would surely be empty of meaning, if they do not refresh and reawaken the exertion of will and effort that time and again has been summoned to meet perils and challenges to the nation.

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So we in our time, amidst the challenges and labors before us, amidst the uncertainties and tensions in our contemporary world, so we today look to the spirit that defines and sustains our sense of national community.

As we survey the world around us, and the nation we are today, we see unmistakably how uncertainty and anxiety relentlessly sap the fabric of community among and within nations.

Conflicts have again arisen in so many points in our troubled world, and at home we have reason to be concerned about the increasingly loud cry of groups for their respective interests, and the apparent obliviousness of some to that supreme interest — the national purpose and the welfare of all.

We need to remind ourselves, now more than ever, of those things that bind us together, those that through the centuries have threaded together our story as a people and have made us this sovereign and free nation, and not another.

If we reflect on this hard enough, we would surely discover that our nation, like all nations worthy of the name, is no mere accident of history, no superficial unity imposed upon a myriad of islands and communities, but a national community born of certain bonds that are not only indissoluble if we but take care to guard them, but incalculable sources of strength, if we but take care to nurture and develop them.

This first of these bonds that make us a nation is the sense of belonging we all feel to this particular community and state, and not to any other.

It has been well described as a kinship of race, for we are in many ways a homogeneous people; a kinship in space, for these islands that are home to us have been from the beginning our patrimony and birthright; and a kinship through time, because our people share a common history dating back to the very emergence of man in the archipelago.

This elemental kinship is further broadened by yet another kind of link: the way of culture. In framing their answer to the riddle of life and the purpose of society, our people developed their customs and ways, their arts and sciences, their philosophy and their sense of regard for the past. What we know of this cultural dimension to our national community is of a heritage varied and rich, and in the diversity of eastern and western influences, we have molded a self-image in which we unmistakably recognize ourselves.

The third fabric of community has to do with the way we as a people organize the work and the economic resources on which we depend for survival. Whether we accept or not the viewpoint of Marxist ideology which sees the economic bond as the whole basis for human community, there is no question that the economic factor plays a crucial part in cementing the bonds that form a people and a nation.

In our case this runs very deep indeed, for our progression from village community to nation tells of a fundamental belief in the efficacy and necessity of cooperative endeavor in the making of welfare and progress. Today we are indeed a national economy in which the resources of the parts make up the resources of the whole, and the production of separate groups and regions of the country gather together to feed and support the whole; and the national economy in turn sustains and supports the various sectors and regions. If it were otherwise, the fabric of national community would be impaired.

There is finally a fourth and final bond, which gathers all the others together, and this has to do with the vision we entertain of ourselves as a political community, our ideas of how to govern ourselves, our approaches to the task of modernization and social change, our conception of our role in the community of nations. Here we are truly talking of what constitutes a nation's ideology, a nation's faith in itself and in the future.

For us, it seems to me, there can be no doubt now that as a people we do share a very deep and lasting faith in the efficacy of free enterprise and democratic politics as the key to our future as a nation. We have grafted what we have learned from other peoples — of the engineering of progress and the establishment of political freedom and order — into our own soil and circumstances, and in the process shaped ourselves as a nation.

The bonds of which I speak take their meaning not simply from what history may tell us, but from the active sense of belonging and sharing that every day must take place, and takes place, within the spectrum of our national life. For the bonds that unite a people, regardless of historical events, documents and the like, will always be endangered of being severed whenever they are weakly supported, and whenever injustices divide the whole community.

The test of national community is therefore constant: there is a test from without, as there is a test from within. And only truly dynamic, stable, and just societies and just societies survive and prosper.

What I see as I look at our nation today is a strong spirit of community, that conserve the continuity of our history and heritage, and has by dint of effort and imagination succeeded in molding for us a strong republic and a respected place in the family of nations.

From this fountainhead of national identity and pride spring all that is unique in the gifts and achievements of the Filipino nation; our traditions and our ways, our literature and arts, our laws and institutions, our devotion to law and freedom, our fierce sense of independence, and our pride in being Filipino.

It is no mean indicator of the fervor of Filipino patriotism, that even when chance may take the Filipino to foreign lands to seek his fortune, he continues to retain his attachment to the homeland and to regard this country as his own.

Other nations have less than these to work within the realization of their destiny. So we in our own country and in our time ought well to guard these riches that we possess, and to take care of the many more fruits that national identity may yet confer on us.

The danger to a nation, we are well reminded, is not only violence and force. It can also be indifference and apathy, which can just as easily squander all that has been accumulated over the years and disfigure a nation's destiny.

The work of national independence irrevocably goes on. And it summons us all today, as it did those of our ancestors who dreamed and fought to raise the Filipino flag in Kawit, Cavite, eighty four years ago.

Let us carry on.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Speech of President Marcos at the National Artist Awards Ceremonies, [June 12, 1982](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the National Artist Awards Ceremonies**

[Delivered at the CCP Main Theater, June 12, 1982]

As we honor today National Artists Carlos P. Romulo and Gerry de Leon, it is appropriate for us to place in proper perspective the relationship between the state and the arts. This is a tenuous relationship, as history would attest, but it is one that cannot be belittled or undermined. It produced varied schools of thought among the ancient Greeks and continues to provide a profound forum of debate among contemporary scholars. For the artist has always been a dynamic factor in social and cultural development, and art is always an essential vehicle of truth.

In the realm of human experience, the artist has to confront truth in various critical situations. Consequently, depending on his interpretation of urgent realities, he becomes either an advocate of change or an adversary of it. But he can never be uncommitted, nor irresponsible. In times like ours, where plans and options for governance shift with global exigencies, he must always guard against obstacles to national growth. While it might be true that in a free society art is not a weapon, circumstances may arise wherein that very freedom can be insured only if art assumes a resolute vigilance. This is necessitated not only by the common will. To survive but also by the common need for a meaningful life. The artist, like the statesman, must be willing to perish for the realization of the principles to which he dedicates his being.

The true artist, then, establishes his credibility through his works and his character. For art is not a chimera; it is the synthesis of the artist's struggle to consolidate and permanize his heritage. Despite conditions of cruelty and suppressions, the artist concretizes his people's aspirations; despite the shadow of war and persecution, the artist exemplifies courage under duress to serve as his nation's voice and conscience.

And yet, it is lamentable that. The artist is very often ignored in his own country. It seems that in our push for industrial and technological advancement, we take for granted his vital contribution to the shaping of our national consciousness. Indeed, he is rarely consulted in the formulation of our programs for nation-building, as though he were a hindrance to progress, as though he would subvert our patrimony. The irony is that, as we have discovered, these programs for nation-building will only be half successful if the artist's point of view is not taken into consideration. This is because more than anything, nation-building is a humanistic act. It concerns the very soul of society. And who has more sensitivity, more dedication, more ability, to know this soul than the artist?

This is not to say. That art should be given the forefront in governmental affairs, but it should certainly be accorded a significant role in our decision-making process. Art and statecraft, after all, are inextricably linked, for both are involved in the perfection of human being. The government intends to equip man with the necessary expertise for social excellence; art intends to make man capable of turning that excellence into a spiritual grace. The experience of beauty, vie must remember, is not the exclusive prerogative of any one segment of society, but the universal fountainhead of human progress. We in the government have long recognized this. As early as the first days of our martial law dispensation, we instituted the redirection of Philippine Art to harmonize with our objective of humanizing Philippine life. A Cultural Renaissance Program was begun, aimed at revitalizing our artistic disciplines and endowing proper recognition and impetus to the artists. Indeed, this very award that we are giving General Romulo and Director de Leon today is a manifestation of this renaissance. Furthermore, it is our intention to make our cultural program all-pervasive, all-inclusive, so that it will reach and benefit all our deserving artists, even those in the remote areas of our country.

With the National Artist Award, we have concretized the government's concern for the plight of Philippine Art. It is, of course, just a small step, but it is, I believe, a step in the right direction. With added vigor and enlightened

philosophy of humanism, with the concerted effort of both the government and the artists, the full fruition of our cultural program will be attained. I do not see how we could fail.

Thank you very much.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the commemoration of the Battle of Bessang Pass, [June 14, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the commemoration of the Battle of Bessang Pass**

[Released on June 14, 1982]

On this day of homage and remembrance, we come together once again to perpetuate in the memory of the nation a day of valor in the annals of the last war.

This is a day of remembrance that symbolically and literally completes all our recollections of the war—of the agony and sacrifice that marked Bataan and Corregidor, the years of torment during the Japanese Occupation, of the rising of hope that came with the landing of allied forces in Red Beach, Leyte, and of the final climacteric of the war when at last the Japanese forces laid down their arms in surrender and defeat.

For the Battle of Bessang Pass was truly the culmination of the war in our country, the moment which signified the victory of our arms in battle. In the capture of the pass and in the surrender of General Yamashita, the war in the Philippines for all intents and purposes ended, and then would follow the progressive retreat of the enemy of the enemy to their native soil, where finally the whole global war would be brought to an end.

It is only fitting therefore that we should consecrate one day of every year to the commemoration of the Battle of Bessang Pass.

In our commemorations of the war, it is sometimes said that we as a people seem to exhibit a national fondness for tragedy, that it is defeat not victory which we fervently remember. As proof of this, some cite our national attachment to our “defeats” in Bataan and Corregidor.

Those of us who survived the battles of the last war—in Bataan, in Corregidor, in Bessang Pass, and in many other theaters of conflict—and who are here today can only view with regret this narrowness of hindsight and understanding. For if indeed Bataan and Corregidor represented agony and defeat, Bessang Pass and the later theaters of the war represented the irrevocably victory of our cause. And what was fought for in Bataan and Corregidor was the same cause we fought for in Bessang Pass. And those who survived the battles of Bataan and Corregidor and the infamous Death March lived on to carry the fight in Bessang Pass.

There is a continuity to all these battles that constitutes a testament of our resolute rise as a people from defeat to victory. And so I say, on behalf of all who died and all who have survived the battles, it is not defeat which we venerate, but victory, which we won by valor of arms.

Yet there was an anxious moment—in the climacteric of the war in the Philippines—when the war threatened to last longer than envisioned, and when Japanese forces threatened to mount a long resistance and wreak further havoc on the country. With nearly all of the country already pacified, there remained in the summer of 1945, a large Japanese army of 20,000 nestled in the fastnesses of the Banawe Mountains and under the command of the Tiger of Malaya, Gen. Tomoyuki Yamashita.

In that fateful summer, when the rest of the country was already celebrating victory and liberation, Yamashita’s forces continued to command the mountain passes and surrounding regions of what we know today as Bontoc and Mountain Province.

It was in these circumstances that the Battle of Bessang Pass began.

To the lasting glory of our people it will be said and ought to be remembered that it was our Filipino forces which led the siege on historic Bessang Pass, our forces which won the day in what is now called “the Battle of the Flanking Movements”, and it was to our forces that General Yamashita laid down his sword of command. For nearly a month the battle raged, exacting much from both sides, but in the end the Japanese yielded control of Bessang Pass, and with it their cause in the Philippine Islands.

It has been said of those of us who bore the brunt of the Battle of Bessang Pass, that this was a case of winning back “the manhood they had lost in Bataan”, a struggle to restore “their personal pride and that of the nation,” perhaps.

But this much we can surely say: in this climactic battle of the last war we who fought in Bessang Pass felt some deep connection with all those who had died in Bataan. We felt some living bond with all those who had carried on the fight, and all who would follow in our wake. And if at times, there was a soldier here or an officer there who, facing the prospects of death, wondered if people would ever remember them, that was not from any desire for glory, but simply the natural concern of anyone who hopes that his sacrifice is not being made in vain.

We who have been fortunate to survive the battles can surely say now that the sacrifices here not made in vain. Our links to our country’s war dead endure, and so also our links to those who are yet unborn.

And if indeed sometimes we see today the dimming of our people’s memory of the war, and the occasional weakening of those ideals we fought for, that we say is only the passing forgetfulness of a nation at peace and a generation that has not known war. For whenever crisis and challenge come again, so will flame again the same fervor and love of freedom that carried us inexorably to victory.

This I see in the nation we are today—strong, stable, and united.

And this, more than all laurels and tributes, perpetuates for us all the sacrifices during the last war.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

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Address of President Marcos at the conferment exercises of the 16th Regular Course of the National Defense College of the Philippines, [June 15, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the conferment exercises of the 16th Regular Course of the National Defense College of the Philippines**

[Delivered on June 15, 1982]

It has been my distinct opportunity and privilege for a number of years now to address the graduating class of the National Defense upon the completion of their studies in this institution of learning in our country. And today I thank you all for granting me again this opportunity and privilege.

When I address this commencement, I am aware that I speak to a select group of men and women in our military and government service who have been specially chosen to undertake intensive studies in this college. And I know that from these portals of learning, you will all move on into active service to our people and country, in positions of leadership within the very heart of our government and military services.

For all of you, the saying is true that: to whom much is given, much is expected. At this moment of your graduation, the whole nation has the highest expectations that you will bear with dedication, professionalism and integrity the responsibilities and tasks that will be reposed in you, and that from your ranks leaders will emerge who will serve the nation with distinction.

The regular course offered by the National Defense College consists of special studies in many areas and many fields, but in essence it relates to the critical field of statecraft and national security administration. It aims to provide training in leadership, not in a general way but with specific and close alliance with the existing institution and structures of our government today. And it strives in that sense to fill a very real need in our country today.

All societies inelectably look to the training of future leaders as an essential task crucial to their survival. For in the leader, we usually associate the impetus for dynamism of society and its vision of the future.

In many ages and many places, men time and again have tried to plumb the mystique of leadership and to provide a way of training so that more in society will be able to lead. For while it is true that the greatest of leaders are born not made, there are innumerable tasks in social, economic and political life for which leadership can be developed and learned. And it is fact too that the leader who does not learn or grow sooner or later is toppled from his position of preeminence.

It was in this wise that Plato spoke of the philosopher king as the ideal ruler, who was steeped in virtue and in the art of dispensing wise laws.

Similarly, St. Thomas Aquinas in his Summa Theologica, wrote about the just and lawful ruler who is given charge of the community and always acts for the common good. John Locke, who has greatly influenced more than anyone all modern democratic governments, spoke of the ideal ruler who was bound by the “social contract” and who complied with the sovereign will of the people.

Leadership in the complex affairs of the twentieth century has not departed much from such basics of political management.

Our national experience in the decade of the seventies — when we faced grave political and economic crises — in many ways shows that our people are not wanting of these essentials of leadership.

Our Armed Forces gave their unwavering loyalty to the state and our people lived up to the greater ideals of the New Society that we have painstakingly built.

We have weathered the economic scourges of the devastating typhoon and flood in 1972, repaired the political fragmentation of our society under the old constitutional system, survived the staggering oil crises of 1973 and of 1979, and we have prospered. And whatever may be said of crisis and problems today and tomorrow, our people, will continue to be dynamic, resilient, and daring. I have no doubt that we have the will to survive all adversity, and that leadership will not fail us now.

Confucius once said that the crucial element of leadership is the trust and confidence of the people. For while a leader may not have the Armed Forces behind him, or enough bread to give the people, he still can lead effectively if he holds the trust and confidence of the people.

We have not forgotten this basic of leadership in our own circumstances. You will recall how frequently, even during Martial Law, we consulted with the people by referenda and by elections so that we might maintain their trust and confidence.

I have always held that it is the sovereign will of our people and the national interest that must reign in our national life. In late 1973, we held a referendum to ascertain public support and guidance for the Martial Law government. In 1976, we held a referendum on the question of whether our people would consent to the continuation of the crisis government. In 1979, we held the first elections for a representative National Assembly. And last year we held another referendum to strengthen our national Constitution and held the first Presidential Elections under the new Philippine constitution.

I must state once more my firm conviction about the Barangay Elections of 1982 as reflective of our people's attainment of full political maturity. So the same is also shown by the precedent setting elections held last week in Regions Nine and Twelve.

In no other way is the capacity of a people for self-determination so decisively shown than in the smooth and orderly grassroots process of electing their local officials,

I have stressed ever so often in my speeches that genuine leadership is not possible, no government program can ever be successfully implemented, without the wholehearted trust and support of our people.

To that effect I have made it a policy to stamp out every element that tends to undermine the integrity of the government or the faith of the public in this institution. The trust and confidence of the public is that important and fundamental.

Just a couple of weeks ago I issued a directive for the Constitution of a body to study the means of eradicating graft and corruption in government. And you are all aware how we have continually weeded out the misfits and inefficient public officials. Right now it is the whole judicial system that is undergoing a top to bottom reorganization.

All these measures are taken to ensure that we should have a strong, stable, and responsive government that will run true to the expectations and trust of the public.

But as important as the trust of the people, leadership must also be powered by vision, courage and understanding. This is especially needed in the field of national security today.

A genuine training for leadership in the contemporary world calls for constant awareness of our national security, the preservation of our political and territorial integrity, the protection of our social and economic institutions, as well as our valued traditions, beliefs, and way of life.

I am deeply gratified that in response to my suggestion last year that the NDCP classes should make a systematic study of our national defense plans, you rose to the challenge. I understand that the basic concept of your defense plans is no longer limited to mere military strategy, but is based on the more comprehensive and realistic level of the overall defense of the state including its political, economic, and social dimensions. I ask the Defense College to continue along these lines and to engage in other similar researches.

These studies are a distinct contribution to the formulation and future course of our national policies. I assure you that they will be duly consulted and studied by our policy determining bodies.

I understand that these studies have taken into consideration my previously stated views that a realistic defense plan for the present should focus more on countering the internal threat of subversion, sedition, and insurrection.

The external threat is still there, but it does not come into immediate confrontation now or in the next five or ten years as that of subversion in the guise of strikes, student activism, political dissidence and acts that tend to paralyze industries and public services.

Our goals and our tasks remain. We seek and must have: national unity, political stability, economic progress, national security, and social justice.

These are goals that summon us all: you and me alike.

As graduates of the course in National Security Administration this is part of your primary task. And I fervently hope that your training in this college has truly prepared you well for this effort we must undertake together.

Partly because of this, I have provided in Presidential Decree No. 190 that graduates of the course in National Security Administration are to be given preferential consideration in matters of appointments or promotions in government positions.

In recognition of the value of the rigorous course on the attitudes and skills of a National Security Administrator; I have issued Executive Orders Nos. 696 and 771 granting to the civilian graduates of the National Defense College, CESO Rank V or higher.

In the case of the graduates who are in the military service, I consider the successful completion of the National Security Administration course as a vital input in the overall education and training of top ranking military officers.

In the appointments to the top ranks of the Armed Forces I do not take into consideration mere excellence in military skills. The qualities of effective leadership, broad understanding of national and international affairs, vision, and commitment to the goals of the Republic are important considerations.

Today, we are faced with difficult times, but I am certain we can prevail over these, for as long as we are united as a people, and dedicated to our respective tasks.

I therefore urge you, as graduates of the National Defense College of the Philippines to dedicate yourselves to the service of our country, to use the tools gained in your training here to assist in the achievement of national development and the promotion of our national security.

And I urge also the National Defense College to continue to build up its effectiveness as a place of training future leaders and officers of our government and military services.

In closing, I extend to all of you, graduates of the 16th Regular Course of NDCP, your parents and loved ones, my warmest congratulations and my best wishes for your continued success.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos during the 84th Foundation Day of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [June 23, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the 84th Foundation Day of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

[Delivered on June 23, 1982]

It is a distinct honor for me to join you here today and, in the name of our people and Government, to extend congratulations and best wishes to the officials and staff of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whose 84th Foundation Day we commemorate today.

The fact that this ministry has survived these many years, and to this day continues to fulfill its vital role as the articulator and implementor of the foreign policies of the Republic, should attest to the authenticity and vitality of our sovereignty as an independent state.

I say this from the outset because I believe that true and full and undiminished sovereignty is the core value and valid mark of our nationhood.

From this emanate the great motive force of our existence as a nation, and our clear perception and conviction about the vital interests and values that animate our people to purposive action.

The search and constant struggle for achievement of our national destiny, and the process through which we refine and enhance our national purpose, constitute the saga that makes meaningful the existence of the Philippine state, whose permanence and immutability we as Filipinos devoutly protect and preserve.

It is therefore only appropriate that at this commemorative occasion marking the birth of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we pause a moment to reflect anew on the meaning and implications of sovereignty to our national life.

The Roots of Nationhood

For every country in the world today, there is indisputably no national purpose or priority higher or greater in importance than the preservation and protection of national sovereignty. Yet it may well be that for our country and our people, this is a burden that carries all the more significance because of the costs and sacrifices that we repeatedly had to make in order to win the keep intact the sovereignty of our nation.

The whole of our history as a people telescopes our difficult passage from youth to manhood, from our ancient beginnings through centuries of colonization to the achievement of national independence. When we reflect upon our past, we see how the sources of national consciousness and ideals run deep to the time before the coming of the Westerner; yet we also know how often we have fallen short of the goal, the hapless victim of more powerful nations and the hostage of our own shortcomings as a people.

This hall of the ministry perpetuates the memory of our country's very first Minister of Foreign Affairs, Apolinario Mabini, who did much to shape the ideals and the goals of our First Republic, which saw birth as a consequence of the National Revolution of 1896. Yet he himself saw that Republic brought down by the superior arms of a new colonial power, and he died fortelling for us the further struggles that yet had to be waged before full national sovereignty would be won.

48 years would pass, a devastating war would visit the country, and countless sacrifices would be made, before at last independence could be recovered. But we may also say that in contrast to other Asian territories in the aftermath

of the Second World War, the Philippines was best prepared institutionally to assume the status of an independent state. Through the Commonwealth experiment — along with the proto-parties formed as early as the first decade of the 20th century, — the Philippines had a political framework ready to exercise authority over the entire archipelago once the anti-Japanese liberation process was complete. Moreover, through such political framework, Filipino leaders had been afforded an experience in democratic self-rule not available to other Asian nationalist leaders.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the Philippines would emerge as the First Postwar Independent State in Asia. This distinction, however, also embodied an irony, which in subsequent years was to become increasingly glaring: and this was the fact that while the Philippines was the first Asian nation to achieve independence in the Postwar Era, she would be seen as too closely identified with the United States to be considered a prime exponent of Asian nationalism.

Abroad, our closeness to the U.S. had its political costs in the merging concern of nations. Although they had the earliest traditions of modern nationalism in Asia, the Filipinos could not be disassociated diplomatically from the Western bloc, Asian nationalism appeared to be more eloquently voiced by China and India as well as Indonesia in the fifties and early sixties.

At home, many began to question the many arrangements which collectively translated into “special relations” between the U.S. and the Philippines.

In all the debates that we have had about the bases, about parity, about our foreign policy being made in Washington fundamentally we have had to face the question whether our national sovereignty was authentic or merely a sham.

To the credit of our leaders and our Government in the early postwar era, the issue was not ignored and efforts were made to assert the independence of the country from U.S. interests in both economic and political terms. It was the Philippines that took the initiative of having the 1946 Trade Agreement reexamined. In 1954 the Philippine Economic Mission to the U.S. headed by Senator Jose P. Laurel, after negotiations with a U.S. panel headed by James L. Langley, came up with an agreement that indicated a strong desire of Filipinos to cater to their own economic interests. The compromise reached made for a slowdown in the pace of reducing Philippine duty-free quota preferences in the U.S. preferences in the Philippine market. The Philippines also asserted control over its currency, achieved the elimination of quota limitations on various Philippine articles, made the enjoyment of parity rights by citizens of either country in the territory of the other reciprocal, and made the imposition of quantitative restrictions on the products of both countries reciprocal as well.

The assertion of national sovereignty was also manifested in amendments to the Military Bases Agreement. The Serrano-Bohlen talks of 1959 and the Ramos-Rusk Agreement of 1966 led to the reduction of the lease period of the military bases from 99 to 25 years. Originally numbering 23, the bases were reduced to the Clark Air Base, the Subic Naval Base and three other relatively minor ones. The Philippines obtained the right to be consulted prior to the bases’ being used for combat operations. The sizes of the remaining base areas were significantly reduced even as, symbolically, the U.S. surrendered its title of ownership over the base lands to the Philippines.

But in all these assertions of Filipino independence and sovereignty, could never said that the Philippine government and the Filipino people had turned anti-American. What the Filipinos aspired for was a reasonable amount of equality and reciprocity under a relationship of friendship with a former mother country. In effect what the Filipinos desired was greater dignity for themselves and higher respect from the other nations of the world. It was only coincidental that the reassertion of Philippine nationalism could only occur within the historically-ordained mold of U.S.-Philippine closeness.

Thus, the immediate Postwar period up to the 1960s saw Philippine foreign policy virtually hitched to the American wagon. But Filipino leaders then felt no sense of betrayal of the national interest, for they fully believed that under the circumstances of the time, it was the prudent course to follow.

As articulated then, this view of our foreign relations sufficed perhaps for the challenges of the immediate Postwar Era; in the subsequent decades of the late 60's, the 70's, and the 80's, its limitations were to become glaring as the world moved into a convulsive tide of ferment and change.

The New Environment for Philippine Foreign Policy

Within the last two decades, we have seen a degree and pace of change that have virtually transformed the environment for international relations. And it has been largely under the thrust of this development, that as a nation we have more and more recognized the need to fully develop on our own the foreign policies of the Republic, and to employ our diplomacy in the service of national needs and interests.

In sum, we have witnessed during this period profound changes in global politics with regard to the participating actors and their security perceptions, the distribution of nuclear and conventional power, the alignment of forces in East-West relations, the quantum leap of the armed might the Superpowers, the proliferation of modern weapons in many regions, the emergence of new issues related to energy dependence,, and the needs of the impoverished nations.

Relations with the Socialist Bloc

In a sense, the opening of diplomatic relations between the Philippines and China and the Soviet Union and the socialist countries merely highlighted the series of practical adjustments in Philippine foreign policy. As we endeavored to mold our old relationships along new times, so did we open relations with the Socialist world. We needed a pragmatic review of our old ideological rigidity, just as much as we needed to review our traditional obliviousness to our interests in international affairs.

Upon assuming the Presidency of the Third Republic in 1966, I immediately moved to open the Philippines to normal contact with the Socialist bloc, by relaxing the restrictions on travel to and from Socialist states. Exploratory talks and exchanges of trade missions and cultural groups followed. And in 1968, the Philippines announced her readiness to open trade relations with Eastern European countries.

Diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and Romania were established in 1972. This was followed in 1973 by the normalization of relations with the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the People's Republic of Mongolia. As earlier mentioned, diplomatic ties were established with the People's Republic of China in 1975 and with the Soviet Union in 1976. In the same latter year, the Philippines opened herself to ties with Algeria, Cuba, Libya and the New Socialist Republic of Vietnam. By 1982, ranking officials of Socialist countries had become regular state visitors or callers in Manila.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with Socialist countries was based on a hard headed assessment of our national interest vis-a-vis the changing global situation. At the same time, it was intended to broaden the Philippines' economic windows to the world in anticipation of the expiration of the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement with the U.S. in 1974. The termination of the agreement would mean loss of a preferred duty market in the U.S. At the same time we realized that with the Philippines' primary exports (sugar and copra especially) facing depressed prices in the Western market, there was a pragmatic need to turn to the Socialist countries which offered generally higher prices for our export products.

The Third World and North-South Issues

The readjustment of Philippine diplomacy was not just a function of changing conditions in East-West relations. Another momentous change in the global situation, which provided a new external environment in U.S.-Philippine relations, was the "North-South" situation. In 1960, seventeen new nations became members of the United Nations, the biggest single number of new states to gain entry into that world body. That was a significant event. It epitomized the emergence of a change in the number and nature of the participating actors in global politics. This was the rise of the "Third World," a term first used by Alfred Sauvy in 1961.

Former colonies and trust territories, mostly in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific were to become independent so that by the 1980s, by their sheer number (133 as of 1981), they would form an almost automatic majority in international forums on issues that were usually anathema to the world's major industrialized powers. Above all, this meant the confrontation of the issue of progress for all peoples, so well stated in the final declaration of the Cancun Summit last year, "Hunger is incompatible with the level of the world economy especially in terms of the existing capacity to produce food."

As a Third World country, the Philippines joins the ranks of its colleagues in voicing out the sentiments of the LDCs or less developed countries, in both economic and political terms. Thus, since 1945, the Philippines has consistently espoused the right of self-determination of peoples. From the Bandung Conference of 1955, through the Group of 77's emergence in the 1970s and down to the Non-Aligned sessions of the 1980s, the Philippine affiliation with the Third World has become a regular feature of Philippine foreign policy. In 1979, we thus played host to UNCTAD V in Manila.

As I have written in a recent book, the Third World demand for a new international economic order, adopted by the United Nations in 1974, is essentially a moral one. In this sense, the Philippines feels it necessary to view North-South disparities in moral terms. And to that extent, the Philippine position is rooted in the belief that unless the poor peoples of the world achieve economic self-reliance and dignity, they cannot exercise real sovereignty. There will be dependence rather than interdependence. In turn, there will be incessant chronic political instability. For as long as peoples are impoverished and wanting, there can be no economic peace. For as long as economic peace is unrealized, there will always be political instability.

In other words, oftentimes, economic issues become inextricably intertwined with political issues. The question of developmental requisites for national survival makes economic concerns political as well. For example, the Law of the Sea Treaty stipulation for an international council to govern access to minerals in the Earth's seabeds makes for a political delimitation of the prerogatives of powers possessing superior undersea exploration technology.

It is perhaps unfortunate, in U.S.-Philippine relations, that the North-South dichotomy has, in many ways, converged with some significant political schisms in global politics.

Philippine identification with the Third World, and now with the Non-Aligned Movement, only means a rational distancing from the interests of both East and West and a manifestation of the fact that the Philippines looks foremost to her own interests (which happen to be usually in common with Third World countries) and adheres to her own ideology.

A Turning to Asia

The rise of the Third World as an economic and political phenomenon in international relations served to underline, for the Philippines, a significant, related sentiment which she had always harbored by reason of geographic location. This is her "Asianness". Perhaps it may be said that the growing assertion of Third World sentiments by the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America helped set the stage for the restoration of Filipino consciousness to its Asian roots.

It is in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN, established through the Bangkok Declaration in August 1967, that regional cooperation in Southeast Asia has witnessed some proven results. The ASEAN member countries — Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand — have made ASEAN an epitome of economic and cultural cooperation, a unified forum for mutual benefit of its members vis-a-vis the industrialized world, a show-window for dynamic economic growth through free enterprise, and a stabilizing force for peace and security in Southeast Asia.

In February 1976 the first summit meeting of ASEAN heads saw the organization forge stronger ties of cohesion through the declaration of ASEAN Concord, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, and the Agreement to Establish an ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta. These summit outputs, combined with the pace of cooperation reached in trade arrangements, industrial complementation, and others, were to set the foundation for

unwavering ASEAN unity when political issues, particularly the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, later became vital to ASEAN security.

ASEAN now carries on annual dialogues with the U.S., Canada, the European Economic Community, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, after every annual ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. Such dialogues signify global recognition of ASEAN's growing importance in the region, in economic and even in political terms. Inhabited by 260 million people, ASEAN remains the fastest economic-growth area in the world. It stands therefore as eloquent proof that a free enterprise economy is the answer to gaining meaningful self-reliance among developing countries, provided that the highly industrialized states do not adopt prejudicial policies that tend to stifle such growth.

The Philippines finds in ASEAN an Asian Third World grouping with which she can most closely identify culturally, economically, politically and ideologically. We have come to the point where the national interests of the Philippines is almost equivalent to the interests of ASEAN itself. In ASEAN, therefore, the Philippines has found not only economic strength in unity, but also a broader institutional solution to her quest for a proper Asian identity in today's global climate of cosmopolitan interdependence.

U.S.-Philippine Relations

All these new initiatives complement our efforts to strengthen old relationships, especially our relations with the United States.

To the Philippines, there are complex internal and external challenges confronting U.S.-Philippine relations. The problem basically lies in the fact that the two countries are situated on different planes, with divergent levels of policy priorities. The United States is a global power, has worldwide security interests, and is engaged in a strategic adversary relationship with the Soviet Union. The Philippines, on the other hand, is a young state concerned foremost with her developmental problems and anxious to show the world that she is a sovereign state enjoying complete autonomy in the formulation of her domestic and foreign policies.

The American operated bases in the Philippines are vital to the U.S. as a global power. They support the U.S. Military presence in Japan and South Korea, enable her to project power into the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean and on to the east coast of Africa, allow her to have effective oversight of the strategic waterways that link East Asia to oil from the Persian Gulf. On our part, we also desire to contribute our share to the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia, even if we ourselves are not immediately exposed to dangers of aggression. But we believe that this contribution should not exact from us the diminution of our national sovereignty.

The Military Bases Agreement, as renegotiated and in effect since January 7, 1979, has resolved the sovereignty issue to a significant extent. The Philippine flag now flies alone over the bases, the bases are under a Filipino commander, the base areas have been drastically reduced, and the security of the bases' perimeters have passed into Filipino hands. But still some irritants remain, particularly those related to criminal jurisdiction over cases involving American servicemen and the need to station Filipino immigration and internal revenue officials in the bases. All of these are now in the process of getting resolved to the satisfaction, I trust, of all concerned.

The Fullness of Independence

What we must always keep in mind is that sovereignty is never won once and for all; rather it must always be fought for, guarded and promoted with care. In our daily work to keep it intact and to enjoy its application in the widest sense possible, we are limited only by our own free and enlightened will, and by no other interest than our own.

Today I am confident that our people fully appreciate the importance of their independence as a nation and their rights as a free people — and this appreciation is the distinct hallmark of the authenticity of our national sovereignty.

Through the instrument of diplomacy, and through the safeguard afforded by our vigilant defense policy and with the all important cooperation and partnership with our people, the continued and eternal existence of Philippine sovereignty shall be assured.

This is a thought which I would evoke today on this occasion of the 84th Foundation Day of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the tradition set forth by Mabini, the first Foreign Affairs Minister of the Philippines, I shall continue to hope that the conduct of our foreign policies will always be pursued in the enhancement of our freedom, and other national values, in the context of our full sovereignty.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos before the Batasang Pambansa, [October 11, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the Batasang Pambansa**

[Delivered on October 11, 1982]

Mr. Speaker, Distinguished Members
of the Batasang Pambansa:

In keeping with constitutional duty, I stand again on this rostrum to report to this Assembly and to the nation on the work of government and the course of national life.

It is both inevitable and prudent that in the present discharge of this responsibility, I should look at national affairs in profound awareness of the larger world we live in. For I address you today in the wake of a long journey overseas that has enabled us to feel at first hand the pulse of developments abroad and to assess their meaning to the nation.

Nearly a month ago, on the fourteenth of September, we left Manila to fulfill a diplomatic obligation to make an official visit to the United States of America. For sixteen days, we travelled across the oceans and through the vast country of America, on a journey that is the longest I have undertaken in the years of my Presidency. My mind at this moment is filled with vivid recollections of my meetings with President Reagan and the other leaders of the American nation; of my dialogues with the representatives of various sectors of American society; of my visit and exchanges with the entire breadth of leadership in the United Nations; of reunions with thousands of our Filipino brothers who now make their home in America; and of the many sights and impressions that have overwhelmingly reminded us how diverse, how vast, and how troubled is the world community today.

A journey of this magnitude is an enlightening experience. On the one hand it has opened our eyes anew to the authentic strength and closeness of our ties as a people and nation to the United States of America. On the other, it has served as a signal moment of recognition of our larger links with the world community and of the high importance that world events play in our journey towards the future.

No man, it is said, is an island unto itself. So is it also true of nations. Thousands of miles away from home and close to the very throb of life in other parts of our world community—this perhaps was the first and most important insight confirmed by our journey.

We look at events and developments here at home against the larger canvas of a world in ferment, and we see how irrevocably our lives are joined to the fortunes of all humanity. We consider our strivings as a nation in the broad sweep of events on the global stage, and we realize to what extent our success depends critically on the strengths of our ties with other peoples and nations similarly striving for stability, for peace and for progress.

It is therefore with a keen sense of the world out there that I shall venture here today to review the highlights of our recent journey and to address those issues which are of grave national concern today: the problem of security and the challenge of development.

Expectations and Results

It will perhaps be recorded by historians, as it has already been said by contemporary observers, that no visit by a Filipino President to America was ever undertaken with less expectations, and none has proven in the event more fruitful of understanding and productive of results, than our recent journey.

Our state visit to the United States was mainly undertaken to honor a promise to President Reagan to make an official visit to Washington, and to return his own visit to our country back in 1969. In a broader way, it was our hope that through this visit, we would gain deeper understanding and confirmation of the new orientation of American foreign policy today, specifically as this relates to the nations of the Third World and to the issues of world peace and development.

At the same time, we must say frankly that on the very eve of our departure for Washington, there were in fact many misgivings and doubts as to the probable results of our journey. Among our people and within this Assembly itself, great was the apprehension that our visit would do nothing to advance relations between our countries. Many were the reminders made to me of the serious fluctuations in policy that for nearly a decade have marked American attitudes towards us and toward the cause of the developing nations.

The mood of uncertainty that shadowed our visit arose mainly from a period of disarray in international relations, and a prolonged period of ambivalence in our bilateral ties. The last ten years have profoundly reminded all nations of the fragility of bilateral and multilateral relationships, and of the rise of isolationist sentiments in many nations in the face of the travails that bedevil all—developed and developing nations alike.

But in the event, our journey has confirmed that the bonds which unite America and the Philippines are stronger than the uncertainties and fears of the day. And our links with various communities in the United States and with the larger family of man are more supple and promising than we have imagined.

In this supreme time of travail for our world community, we have received from the United States of America an earnest reaffirmation of the paths and purposes which we pursue in common; and from the communities and forums with which we visited, a stirring reminder that our strivings as a nation are regarded with much encouragement and support.

This is not rhetorical extravagance for a ceremonial occasion. It is rather the hard, tough-minded reading of the results of our long, and sometimes physically punishing, journey to America.

In words which many of us will long remember, President Ronald Reagan set the tone for our entire journey in his welcome for us in Washington, D.C., and in our meetings at the White House. He took note of our own achievements and aspirations as a nation, and cited the contribution we are making to the cause of peace and progress in the world. To him, we are “a respected voice for reason and moderation in international forums,” and “a recognized force for peace and security in Southeast Asia.” and of our bilateral relations, he proclaimed that “the United States deeply values its close friendship and alliance with the Philippines.”

These were sentiments that fully found expression and content in the review that followed of the full range of our bilateral relations, and in the specific understandings and agreements that were concluded during our visit.

This new understanding I now proposed to review in detail.

The Problem of Security

The first cornerstone of our relations with the United States relates to the vital question of defense and security.

In the review of relations that took place, our two governments firmly concurred in affirming the importance of our security alliance to the maintenance of peace and security in the Pacific and the need for constant and close consultations between our governments on security matters.

Our security relationship derives its beginnings in the world that came into being at the twilight of the last war. Embodied in three agreements—covering mutual defense, military bases and military assistance—this relationship today derives its meaning and importance in a world that has vastly changed in the interval of three and a half decades, with its own profound challenges to the security of our nations, our region and the world.

There is no simplistic measure of the extent of the perils to security today, but we can immediately recognize its more alarming aspects which underlie our continuing commitment to our alliance with the United States.

First of all, there is the implacable reality of continuing tension and conflict in the world today. From region to region, nation to nation, the specter of conflict and confrontation goes on.

In the Middle East, the intervals of conflict are longer than the uneasy truces so often forged. Presentiments of a new Arab-Israeli War are rife on the heels of the tragic and disturbing events in Lebanon. The war between Iraq and Iran has taken on new dimensions, threatening to engulf the whole region in a wider war.

In Afghanistan, death continues its grim harvest as Afghan patriots struggle to regain their homeland from alien military occupation.

Nearer our shores, in mainland Southeast Asia, Kampuchean Nationalists continue their war to liberate their country from alien control.

And in various parts of Latin America and Africa, innumerable conflicts rage on, in various forms and with varying dangers to the stability of nations and regions.

Secondly, shadowing these conflicts is the larger rivalry of the superpowers, which has taken on wider dimensions than the earlier Cold War, as it now reaches the far-flung corners of the globe. Today this rivalry finds expression in proxy wars waged in the very heart of the developing world, and in contests for supremacy in key regions and superiority in arms.

Here in our part of the world we can be in no doubt about the dangers to security posed by the rising Soviet military presence that is unmatched by a countervailing presence of American power. As Asia and the Pacific have attained a new prominence in world affairs, so have intensified the need for a defense shield to ensure balance of power in the area.

Thirdly, there is the overwhelming buildup of armaments on a global scale that underlines the challenge to peace and security today. The quantum leap in nuclear armaments alone has already reached approximately 50,000 nuclear bombs, of which more than ninety-five percent are in the arsenals of the superpowers. Matching this buildup is the growth of weaponry in the hands of many developing countries, which vie with one another as customers of the one industry in the world today that is the most profitable and recession proof. Where three years ago, expenditures on arms were estimated at only 300-400 billion dollars annually; today, expenditures are now running close to \$700 billion dollars annually.

This is a situation that can only be described as insane and maddening; yet the imperative cannot be avoided: we as a nation must work to attain a level of security against this backdrop of peril and tension. And we cannot escape our own obligation to contribute in every way we can to securing peace and stability in the Asia—Pacific region.

It is in this light that we reaffirm the continuing importance of our security relationship with the United States. This alliance, as President Reagan said during our visit and with which we fully concur, threatens no one, and seeks only to provide for an equilibrium of power within our region that can safeguard the peace. It does not trespass upon the lawful interests of other nations; neither does it threaten the security of others.

Within the ASEAN, we have spoken of our avowed goal to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia. Yet realistically we cannot but regard this as a long-range objective, that must be pursued step by step as its feasibility becomes more attainable. In the context of present realities, and in full realization that the United Nations today remains incapable of achieving the Pacific settlement of disputes and of exercising any real form of control over conflicts, we have to recognize one incontrovertible fact: that the only acceptable principle for the promotion of peace and security is through the balancing of power in our region. We recognize, as indeed our ASEAN partners likewise recognize, that the United States should be encouraged to maintain its presence in Asia.

This was the context within which we approached the matter of the military bases in our country and our mutual defense pact with the United States. And this, I believe, is how we must approach every effort from hereon to adjust our security alliance.

Specifically, our journey provided the occasion for an understanding between our two countries on the following points:

1. The renewal of our respective commitments under the mutual defense treaty;
2. The holding of regular consultations between our Governments at ministerial level beginning February of next year; and
3. The start of the scheduled five-year review of the Military Bases Agreement in April 1983 in Manila. Such review will entail the examination of the provisions of the agreement to ensure that they continue to meet the needs and interests of both countries.

With respect to the bases, it is important to remember that the old bases agreement originally provided for the lease to the United States of over 400,000 hectares of land for 99 years for free. Moreover, Philippine sovereignty over the bases was not adequately covered by the agreement. And it was only through a long process of negotiation, characterized sometimes by important differences and irritants between our Governments, that the original provisions of the agreement have been successively revised and amended.

In 1956, the period of lease was reduced from 99 years to a period of 25 years starting from the date of this amendment.

In 1975, in the communique signed at the end of President Gerald Ford's state visit to the Philippines, it was agreed that United States use of Philippine military bases should be conducted in clear recognition of Philippine sovereignty.

In 1976, the two countries further agreed to renegotiate their Military and Mutual Defense Agreements, with emphasis on the military bases.

From here, and as agreed upon during our state visit, our two Governments will now proceed to review the agreement commencing next year, including such matters as objectives, provisions, duration, and manner of implementations.

Beyond the agreement to commence the review of the bases agreement in April 1983, I will say now that it was my impression during the recent talks, that the United States views in a conciliatory light the various issues which we have raised in regard to the agreement. Certainly, we are convinced more than ever that there are no issues between our two countries in this regard that cannot be resolved through the auspices of negotiations.

This is therefore the spirit in which we should now approach on our part the need to periodically adjust the bases agreement and look toward eventual American withdrawal from the bases at some future time which would be conducive to the prospects of ASEAN neutralization and detente between the superpowers.

The Economic Relationship

The cordial spirit that attended discussion of our security relationship similarly characterized the broad and detailed discussion of economic relations between our two countries.

It was not our expectation that our visit would provide the venue for the writing of specific agreements between our Governments. The most that we truly expected was a frank and friendly discussion of outstanding problems in our

bilateral economic relations and a broad consultation on the problems and prospects facing the global economy today.

The American economy, and American economic policies, plainly put, have an impact on the world economy as a whole, and on various national economies in particular, including our own, that is clearly without parallel in the international community today. This is not because our nation or others like us are economically dependent on the United States; this is simply a reflection of the way most countries today are affected by the size and influence of the large American market.

Moreover, in the prolonged state of recession that in recent years have plagued the world economy, the magnitude of this influence and impact has become virtually critical for every prognosis or hope of global economic recovery.

We sought therefore during our recent journey the temper of American perceptions and policies for economic recovery and economic cooperation with our country and the rest of the world. We wanted to see how these policies would mesh with our own plans for economic recovery and growth.

The result of this process of consultation and exchange has been invaluable in both the insights we have gained, and in the various agreements that in the event were forged during our visit.

American policy makers today, I am pleased to report, are neither unmindful of their responsibilities as a global economic power, nor insensitive to the problems and aspirations of countries like the Philippines and developing regions like the ASEAN. In a time of difficulty for the American economy, as for the rest of the world, nevertheless we have found in President Reagan's administration the desire to make the necessary adjustments in policies and programs and to make common cause with other nations in turning the situation around.

This outlook of America's preparedness to cooperate is well reflected in the various economic agreements that were the hallmark of this phase of our visit. These specific agreements cover the following areas:

1. The exchange of instruments of ratification for a Tax Treaty between the United States and the Philippines.
2. The completion of a Civil Aviation agreement which allows both countries to fly more frequencies up to 18 flights per week.
3. The conclusion of a Tourism Agreement designed to encourage reciprocal tourism between both countries.
4. The signing of an Agricultural Cooperation Agreement involving cooperative programs for agricultural development and scientific and technological exchange.
5. The conclusion of an agreement with the Export-Import Bank of the United States, subject to Congressional approval, that guarantees the amount of \$204.5 million for the Bataan Nuclear Plant.
6. The conclusion of an agreement to explore new cooperative measures for the reduction of losses to life and property due to typhoons through the utilization of advance tracking and warning technologies.
7. The provision for a sustained dialogue between our Finance Ministries concerning finance and economic issues through a Joint Economic Commission.
8. The organization by the U.S. Government of an investment mission of American businessmen to the Philippines and other ASEAN countries in 1983.

Of great significance in reviewing the import and meaning of these understandings and agreements between our Governments is the fact that several of these were concluded at the initiative of our American hosts. In particular, we take note of the establishment of a Joint Economic Commission which will serve as a device to sort out problems

and issues at ministerial level This is a consultative mechanism which has long been needed in our economic relationship, given the many outstanding issues and concerns that underlie such important links between our governments and our business communities.

Parenthetically, I take this opportunity to report to this Assembly that the various agreements forged during our U.S. visit are in the nature of executive agreements. Except for the agreement with the export-import bank which is subject to Congressional approval by the United States Congress, all the above agreements do not require ratification by either the United States Congress or our Batasang Pambansa. They are in the nature of agreements between our Ministries and their counterparts in American government.

This is not to say, however, that this Assembly had no part to play in the writing of these accords, and has none in the fulfillment henceforth of their provisions. For it is well known that our Parliament, working with our Cabinet of Ministers, has been fully part of the shaping of our position on the issues and concerns involved, as well as in the actual process of discussion in Washington.

And there is no question either that in the work that must now begin to fulfill the promise of this new understanding between the United States and the Philippines, this Assembly has a role to play in providing counsel and support to the executive machinery of government.

I shall submit forthwith to this body the texts of the various agreements signed, and shall here cite only the key provisions of several key agreements.

The real measure, however, of the benefits that have accrued to our economic relations with the United States resides not so much on the specific agreements signed, but on the earnest desire demonstrated by both governments to work and consult together, and to harmonize approaches to the principal problems that affect the global economy today.

In our meetings with American economic policy makers and American business leaders, there was much shared understanding of the factors for economic decline and difficulty in the world today, and of the way American policies at home affect profoundly conditions and developments in developing countries like the Philippines. There was tough-minded assessment on all sides of the problems, but there was also some optimism about the prospects for the future. As President Reagan himself pledged in his parting words to us: "we will all do more in the years to come, and our continuing commitment to one another. . . will be solid now and for the future."

The Prospects of the National Economy

There is a sense in which the truly important achievement of our recent journey to the United States is the perspective it has provided on our problems and prospects as a nation today.

It has made us conscious more than ever of our inescapable bond with the rest of the world in the economic travails of the day. But this journey has also been a time of realization of the fundamental strengths of our economy today and the prospects ahead of us as the world at this point in time perceives the first glimmers of global economic recovery.

The severities of the economic crisis are the common lot of all nations today—developed and developing nation alike, oil importing and oil exporting countries together. In this period of prolonged recession, which has been running for three years now, the world may be in fact living through a state of profound depression.

Commodity prices are at their lowest point in nearly a decade. Sugar prices are at a new ten-year low. Copper prices, when duly adjusted to inflation, have never been so low since the days of the Great Depression. Coconut oil prices are at a new five-year low. And prices of wood products are at their lowest level in many years as housing starts have dramatically tapered off in the face of the recession.

On the other hand interest rates have nearly doubled what it was during the last 20 years. Unemployment is on the rise everywhere. And many countries are now facing severe difficulties in servicing their debt obligations.

In the midst of this specter of gloom, we now perceive the first cautious notes of recovery for the global economy. One such sign is the decline of interest rates in the United States, which many hopefully pray will be the prelude for new investments in the American economy. Still another is the surge of the American stock market to new unprecedented levels. And just as important perhaps is the major reversal of American policies on tax increases, which promises a reduction of the federal budget deficit, a matter of urgent concern to many countries.

Whether this hoped-for turn-around will indeed take place or the climate of depression will continue, only time will tell yet it is nonetheless demonstrably clear that as a nation we have lived through this period of difficulty stable and resilient; and if indeed the promised lift should transpire, we are in an excellent position to ride the tide of recovery and growth.

This verdict on our national economic performance is no subjective reading on our part. In its September issue for 1982, Euromoney rates the world economies according to three categories: economic performance, prospects up to the end of the century, and country risk ratings.

Significantly, the Philippines rated creditably in all three. We were ranked as number 18 in economic performance during the 1974-82 period among 81 countries, and number 11 among 20 best performing developing countries.

In the rating of prospects, we were classed among the “comet” group of new powers in the world economy, in contrast to the “falling star” group of countries which are projected to recede in importance.

Finally, in terms of country risk rating, we were ranked number 69 in a field of 117 countries. Under this category ratings from 80 and above are considered excellent risk and 25 below as worst risk standing.

This independent survey underline what we have long believed: that fundamentally we are a country with many strengths and pluses on our side, and with the full capability to achieve dynamic growth in a more hospitable international economic environment. By almost every indicators for economic health, performance and capability, we have a fundamentally sound economy.

Against the prognosis of the future therefore—be it auspicious or otherwise—let us remind ourselves of these strengths, and thereby measure how we will fare tomorrow.

First and foremost, let us take note of the composition of our exports today. Although our commodity exports declined by 27 percent over just a period of one year, our non-traditional exports compensated for the decrease with an increase by 17 percent despite the recession. Today our manufactured exports account for more than half of our total exports. Any improvement therefore in commodity prices will certainly and dramatically increase the volume and level of our export trade.

Secondly, there is the conservative debt management policy which we have judiciously followed and maintained at 20 percent of the previous year's receipts. Today, our debt service ratio stands at 19.2 percent. The ratio has been high of late not because we have overspent, but because our receipts have gone down in the face of declining export prices.

It bears stressing that our proven capacity to manage our debt burden of \$12 billion is creditable, especially when compared to other countries which today have debt burdens of over \$50 billion and debt service ratios running as high as 50 percent and above.

Thirdly, there is fundamental strength provided by our energy development program. Our massive and farsighted investments in this program are now beginning to bear fruit. At the start of the program, our dependence on

imported energy stood at 95 percent. Today this is below 70 percent, and the chances of continued accelerated improvement in this area are excellent.

Fourth, we have demonstrated our capability in food production for self-sufficiency. This has been most evident in the MASAGANA Program for rice production, which has consistently recorded surplus production for several years now. We expect to achieve the same in the MAISAGANA Program for corn production, and in other programs in our agricultural sector.

Fifth, we have effected major structural adjustments in industry in line with our policy to accelerate the development of small-scale, medium-scale and heavy industry. For many years, our industrial sector has been overprotected by high tariff walls that tended merely to encourage inefficiency. Today, we are in the midst of a major modernization process in the industrial sector, while decreasing at the same time protection for our industries. Tariff reform has been one major instrument in this process.

This is a case of taking the necessary medicine now to prepare the way for the more rational and dynamic growth of our industrial sector. For it is our belief that when recovery does come, this sector will be in a strong position to compete and develop at a rapid pace.

Sixth, the growth of foreign investments in the national economy today has been rapid, particularly during the last two years. During this two-year period alone we have been registering \$250 million a year in foreign investments, compared to a \$70-million annual level during the previous 10 years. This is an international vote of confidence in the Philippine economy, at a time when capital in the rest of the world is said to be retrenching from new investments.

Seventh, inflation has decreased further to 10.5 percent as of the first three quarters of this year, as compared to the 13.2 percent recorded during the comparable period in 1981. In 1979 and 1980, the inflation rate stood at 18 percent.

Eighth, the level of domestic savings has continued to move upwards. As of August 1982' the growth rates of savings, time deposits and deposit substitutes stood at 20.2 percent. This is yet another strong indicator of the reserves of strength in the national economy today.

Finally, for the first three quarters of the year the national economy recorded a real growth rate of 2.4 percent. This is clearly a deceleration from last year's growth level, but it is remarkable nonetheless in the light of severe problems we have faced in our export trade. What I wish to emphasize in assessing the prospects of the nation today is the very basic fact: that the fundamentals are there for accelerated national development of our country. It has simply been our bad luck that for nearly three years in a row; our economic efforts have had to confront a prolonged recession in the global economy as a whole.

This is a conviction shared by many in the American business community with whom we had the occasion to meet in the course of our recent visit to the United States. They are bullish about the long-term prospects of the country. And they are prepared to back up that faith with investments in our economic future.

With even more concern and regard, I take this opportunity to pledge our full support to our private sector. We will not let you down. We will assist you in every way we can to weather this present time of difficulty.

I believe we have already made manifest our determination to help distressed sectors of economy in the actions we have taken in various industries. One clear example of this is our copper financing scheme, under which we are at present purchasing our copper production at 10 to 15 cents above world prices.

That policy of assistance and support to the private sector, I will say again, will continue.

At the same time, however, I should like to take careful note of the plaint of those who worry about government intervention in industry. Let me say this in reply. We have not done this out of choice. In those instances where we

have intervened, it has been mainly because we have had no choice, and also because you asked us to intervene. To do otherwise would have been gravely injurious to the entire private sector, to industries in particular, and to the economy as a whole.

The primacy of the private sector is the keystone around which we seek to develop the economy. And I say now that it is fully our intent to give back to the private sector as soon as the occasion permits those enterprises which government has had to take over for reasons of necessity.

Conclusion

Judging, then, by the economic indicators, there are hopeful signs of recovery towards the end of the year. The recent re-activation of the American market, brought about no doubt by lower interest rates and a perception that there will be no tight credit policies, are only the beginnings of an American recovery from which the Philippines must inevitably benefit.

However, we must view this against the pervading gloom that has been called “euro-pessimism.” The O.E.C. D. (the European Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) observes that European unemployment, which is 10%, will continue until next year. For this reason restrictive economic policies are expected. As the O.E.C.D. report concludes, “slow growth tends to engender slow growth.” There is a candid anxiety about political instability in the face of economic hardship.

How “euro-pessimism” will affect the International Economic Environment, particularly the developing countries, requires our study and anticipation.

The worrisome region, therefore, is not ASEAN, which is fast growing, but Europe.

On the other hand, the energy crisis continues and it presents a formidable challenge to the so-called O.I.D.C.s, the oil-importing-developing countries, of which the Philippines is one. In a recent study by Althea L. Duersten and Arpad van Lazar in a book entitled, “Global Insecurity: A Strategy for Energy and Economic Renewal,” it is concluded that “domestic growth rates may be threatened, equity objectives jeopardized, and the adjustment process slow and painful. In a world of shrinking resources for public investment programs, the pressing social or welfare programs will be the first candidates for curtailment and elimination. This may exacerbate social tensions in the O.I.D.C.s, particularly in countries with large disparities in income distribution and inequitable access to services. The warning is clear. The tenuous social contract that holds together the fragile body of societies in transition may well be strained beyond limits by a world of uncertain and expensive energy.”

This warning, fortunately, is not new to your leadership. We appreciated the signals long before this time and it is for this reason that we have earlier made plans for alternative sources of energy. All of us anticipated the strains on the social fabric by economic hardship. It is for this reason that we embarked early this year on the KKK, our massive program for the wide distribution of opportunity and economic enterprise.

But as I have said again and again, the world today is an interdependency from which there can be no escape. Although we can protect ourselves, we cannot insulate ourselves from external events and influences. What happens elsewhere in the world must affect us in one way or another.

Thus, American determination to solve economic problems concerns us. The pervading gloom of pessimism all over Europe is, for us, a matter of concern. Our reaction to all these is an exertion of political will, a greater and deeper commitment to self-reliance.

Thus, in my just-concluded visit to the United States, I expressed some anxiety over the efficiency of a political system which is characterized by a continuing conflict between the legislative and executive powers. The world is moving fast but our political processes are too slow. There has to be a restoration of political will and adequate response to crisis without sacrificing the essential democratic values.

As we see in Europe now, to quote a prominent European economist, “we have a race against time in Europe. The question is whether markets can produce positive results before the political system collapses under the strain of rising unemployment.”

The historical lesson is too recent for us to forget.

We have been lucky as a nation to have responded to crisis when we did—only a decade ago. Our political system has proved resilient in the face of crisis after crisis.

But luck has been informed by a sustained political will.

And so as we face the future, as we anticipate recovery, we must exert ourselves even more, for it is not enough to survive. We must above all, prosper. This cannot be accomplished short of national unity and collective resolution.

The task, then, before the Batasan, is to develop those mechanisms for initiation and response that have been so far, on an ad hoc manner, the basis of our survival in adversity.

There must be an intellectual focus, an economic and social concentration, on your deliberations. Individual political fortunes are, of course, important, but the national fortune is urgent.

The world has become more complex and precarious since we assumed the presidency sixteen years ago. The political perceptions of some of us have not kept up with this drastic change. A few of us still hanker for the past, being impotent before the present and fearful of the future. But no nation can survive which fears its history. No people can prevail who are blind to reality.

Nothing can touch us for so long as we remain united.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos during the 70th Anniversary Dinner of Manila Hotel, [October 11, 1982](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the 70th Anniversary Dinner of Manila Hotel**

[Delivered on October 11, 1982]

As you know, I have just returned from a state visit to the United States. In spite of the extensive publicity it received from the media, no one knows of a secret mission I had when I went there. I am now in a position to reveal it. My secret mission was to shop for an appropriate birthday gift for the Manila Hotel on its 70th Anniversary.

I am happy to announce that I have come back not with one but with three birthday gifts.

One is a Tax Treaty which, by eliminating double taxation and thereby encouraging United States investments in the Philippines, will naturally bring more American businessmen to this country. The second is a Tourism Agreement, which will encourage larger volumes of American leisure travelers to visit the Philippines. And the third is an Air Agreement which will provide more airline frequencies to take both businessmen and tourists here.

All this means more customers for the Manila Hotel, higher occupancy rates, more revenues, and more profits. Come to think of it, perhaps the next time the Manila Hotel declares a bonus out of its profits, they should include me among the recipients!

I am sure that with these three birthday gifts, I have helped to make this occasion a very happy birthday indeed for the Manila Hotel.

I am happy to join the many well-wishers of the Manila Hotel, not only in this country but all over the world, in celebrating the 70th Anniversary of this venerable institution, this durable Grande Dame. When I issued Presidential Decree No. 645 in 1974, it was not for the purpose of simply restoring a mere hotel. Otherwise, I would have yielded to the pressures of the designers and contractors then who considered the original Manila Hotel building too old, obsolete, and deserved to be completely demolished. They all suggested that a brand-new hotel be constructed on top of the ashes and debris of the old.

I recoiled at this suggestion and rejected it outright. It would have been a disservice not only to a durable institution but also to the country's history. It would have betrayed our people who had the right to demand that their historical landmarks not only be preserved but be restored to them in their former splendor and glory. It would have been a pity if an institution that not even a savage World War could raze to the ground would finally cave in to the methodical and efficient destruction of a demolition crew.

That would have been an unforgivable desecration of history. For if these walls could speak and narrate the 70-year-old story of this institution, it would indirectly be narrating Philippine history, for the Manila Hotel's story almost runs parallel to, and remarkably reflects, the broad sweep of Philippine history from the early 20th century on. To this history, the Manila Hotel has been a silent but active and affectionate witness.

The Manila Hotel was established in 1912, in the early days of American colonial rule. Characteristically, it was built as an establishment catering exclusively to Americans and from which — in typical colonial fashion — natives were barred as patrons, although not as employees. And just to emphasize the point that this was to be an American institution, it was inaugurated with lavish balls and fireworks on July 4, 1912, to coincide with the Independence Day celebrations of the American community here.

But as you know, the Filipinos's fight for his own independence never stopped. The fight waged by Rizal, Mabini, Bonifacio, and Aguinaldo in the 19th century, starting in the intellectual and political battlefields and eventually breaking out as a military conflict in the Philippine revolution against Spain in 1898, continued as a war against the new American colonizers in 1898, until the efforts were defeated temporarily in 1901. I say "temporarily" because it did not take long for the campaign to resume, shifting once again to the political arena.

The Filipinos fight for the recognition of his own dignity and sovereignty in his own homeland was likewise reflected in the policies of the Manila Hotel. The initial barriers of social discrimination that existed between whites and browns, which effectively barred native Filipinos from access to the enclaves of the whites, eventually broke down in this hotel. It is significant that the drive to demolish these racial barriers was a joint effort between Governor-General Francis B. Harrison and then-Senate President Manuel Quezon. Quezon, as you know, led and inspired the country's efforts to obtain its independence from the United States.

For about five years, this hotel became the residence of General Douglas Mac-Arthur, a close friend of Quezon and appointed by him as Military Adviser to the Commonwealth Government which President Quezon headed. (In order to avoid paying rentals, General Mac-Arthur was appointed Chairman of the Board of the Manila Hotel, also by President Quezon.) He occupied the entire top floor of the West Wing of the building. His apartments, according to historical accounts, were appointed with tasteful opulence. It housed, among others, an irreplaceable military library that Mac-Arthur, former West Point Superintendent and ever the military scholar, kept.

Indeed, according to his biographers, when Mac-Arthur was once asked what he considered were his happiest homes, he cited two. West Point was one. The Manila Hotel was the other. He nostalgically made mention of the veranda that overlooked the Manila Bay.

The story of the Manila Hotel continued to reflect the shifts and turns of Philippine history when General Mac-Arthur left for Australia on orders of President Roosevelt and the Manila Hotel, like the entire country, was taken over by the Japanese. It is one of history's ironies that when Japanese Premier Hideki Tojo made his first State Visit to the Philippines on May 5, 1942, he stayed at the Mac-Arthur Penthouse. Its last occupant, before Mac-Arthur fulfilled his promise to return, was General Yamashita.

It is quite significant that, for the returning General Mac-Arthur, the long line of famous battles to liberate the Philippines, which included the historic landings at the Red Beach in Leyte and at Lingayen Gulf, was right here in this hotel. Mac-Arthur himself led a patrol to recover the hotel from the Japanese, who had converted it into an armed fortress and decided to make one of their final stands here. The Americans set up their artillery at the Luneta and trained it on the Manila Hotel building, which became the scene of floor-to-floor and room-to-room fighting.

General Mac-Arthur himself joined the patrol that rushed the hotel. It might be interesting to read his own words from his memoirs:

"I was anxious to rescue as much as I could of my home atop the Manila Hotel, and I accompanied a leading patrol of the division. It had been reported to me that the penthouse was intact, having been preserved probably because of two vases at the entrance which had been presented to my father by the former Emperor of Japan.

"We reached the New Luneta, but were temporarily pinned down on Burnham Green by machine-gun fire from the hotel itself. Suddenly, the penthouse blazed into flame. They had fired it. I watched with indescribable feelings, the destruction of my fine military library, my souvenirs, my personal belongings of a lifetime. It was not a pleasant moment.

"The patrol finally worked forward to the hotel, and, flanked by submachine men, I climbed the stairs toward the top. Every landing was a fight. Of the penthouse nothing was left but ashes. It had evidently been the command post of the rear guard action. We left its colonel dead on the smoldering threshold, the remains of the broken vases of the Emperor at his head and feet — a grim shroud for his bloody bier. The young Lieutenant commanding the patrol, his smoking gun in his hand and his face wreathed in the grin of victory, sang out to me, 'nice going, Chief.' But there was nothing nice about it to me. I was tasting to the last acid dregs the bitterness of a devastated and beloved home."

After the Filipinos got their independence on schedule on July 4, 1946, the Manila Hotel reemerged from the destruction of war, during which it was damaged but not demolished. It became for two decades the social center of Manila, but this time no longer a colonial establishment but the Filipino's own. That was the Manila Hotel of the Rigodon de Honor, the Kahirup, and the Mancomunidad, and the Manila Hotel of political conventions.

My own determined campaign for the Presidency of this Republic reached a milestone right here in this hotel, at the old Fiesta Pavilion, which was roughly where the present Champagne Room is, when the Nacionalista Party nominated me as its Presidential standard-bearer in the elections of 1964. As you know, I won that election, and every Presidential election ever since. Two other conventions took place after that: in 1968, when the Nacionalista Party nominated me to run for reelection, and in April 1981 when the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, or KBL, gave me a mandate to run for President of the New Republic. Thus, three times have I taken the oath as President at the Luneta under the watchful eyes of the Manila Hotel. And I owe it to Divine Providence and the mandate of the Filipino people that 17 years later, in the same hotel where my Presidency was launched, I now stand here and address you, still as President of the Republic.

As many of you will remember, the Manila Hotel was temporarily outclassed from the mid-1960s by the brand-new hotels that emerged under the management of international chains. In 1974, I ordered the hotel closed and issued Presidential Decree No. 645. By virtue of that decree, the hotel was renovated, expanded, and modernized, but preserved the ambience of the original.

It was renovated, in other words, during the early years of the New Society. Once again, the Manila Hotel, served to reflect the great movements in Philippine history. Presidential Decree No. 645 liquidated the old Manila company and authorized the formation of a new Manila Hotel Corporation, which was placed entirely under the ownership of the Government Service Insurance System. The renovated Manila Hotel, preserving and enhancing its past elegance and glory, is now owned by the more than one million members of the GSIS, all those who serve and work as employees of the government and all its branches and instrumentalities. The profits of the Manila Hotel — and I am happy to note that it has been consistently profitable since 1977 — have been flowing not to wealthy capitalists and businessmen but to the country's civil servants and military personnel — including public-school teachers, soldiers, office workers, policemen, street cleaners, and the like—in the form of social-security and -insurance benefits, as well as dividends. I believe this point is worth emphasizing: this majestic institution, this major business enterprise, is ultimately owned by ordinary workers in the government.

One can say with some flippancy that while the Manila Hotel's customers are the rich, its beneficiaries and its owners are ordinary wage earners. But in all sincerity, we can call the Manila Hotel a powerful symbol of one of the New Republic's social goals: that of spreading, and making accesible to the ordinary citizens, the opportunities for social and economic improvement. It may stretch it a bit too far to call the Manila Hotel an example of a successful KKK project. But the substance and spirit of our mass-based livelihood program is here. This enterprise, one of the counters best known landmarks, an institution well known all over the world, and financially successful and profitable, is owned by a million common citizens. The size of the enterprise does not matter: it can be as small as a bootblack business or as large as the Manila Hotel.

While the Manila Hotel provides a haven to our foreign visitors and the civilized pleasures of life both to our tourists and its local clientele, it it distributes the profits from its success to the ordinary people who own it.

Some may call this a hotel. Others may call it a landmark. Still others may call it a historical monument. But because it is widely owned by a large number of people earning ordinary salaries, it deserves to be called a social symbol, a paragon of the egalitarian social and economic goals of the New Republic.

At this point, allow me to congratulate all those who have been involved in the success of the Manila Hotel.

And in fairness, I must start with none other than the First Lady, who inspired and supervised the design of the renovated Manila Hotel, in accordance with her overriding philosophy that a project like this must reflect the true, the good, and the beautiful.

I would also like to site Mr. Leandro “Lindy” Locsin, the Architect, for the elegance that he has produced.

(The President may wish also to congratulate all those involved in the successful operations of the Manila Hotel, including the following:

Roman A. Cruz, Jr. Chairman and President; Manuel L. Lazaro, Executive Vice-President (also Government Corporate Counsel and Presidential Assistant for Legal Affairs); Mr. Frans Schutzman, General Manager; the 900 or so Filipino employees of the hotel whose charm and courteous services have won for the Manila Hotel its fame all over the world, and lavish compliments from a growing number of clientele, many of whom call it the best hotel they have ever stayed in; Minister Jose D. Aspiras, whose tourism program has contributed to the success of the Manila Hotel.

(The President may wish to conclude by extending his wishes for the future success and continued profitability of the Manila Hotel.

(If he so wishes, the President may offer a toast to the Manila Hotel and all its many friends in this country and all over the world.)

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on observance of the World Food Day at the International Rice Research Institute, [October 16, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On observance of the World Food Day at the International Rice Research Institute**

[Delivered on October 16, 1982]

It is fitting that we should commemorate World Food Day here on the grounds of the International Rice Research Institute, and in this town of Los Baños, Laguna, where our country's agricultural research complex and other international research institutions have risen. Through the years the IRRI has come to represent one of the greatest triumphs of science in perhaps the most urgent of human causes: the world struggle for food sufficiency. Its revolutionary discoveries of higher-yielding rice strains and advanced production technology have stood at the vanguard of the green revolution in fully half of the world where the cereal is a staple.

In addition, it exemplifies the collaborative efforts of many nations and scientists in the fulfillment of this mission. To this place have come men of science from many nations to dedicate their talents to IRRI's noble program. And from this place have flowed landmark discoveries and achievements towards farming communities in many parts of the world where they have made, and will make, the difference between hunger and survival, between stagnation and growth.

Surely there are few finer examples of the heights that can be reached and the good that can be produced when science and technology are harnessed for the welfare of man.

This is a success story that is all the more significant in the light of the global economic crisis which the world is living through today, and the disturbing crisis in world food supplies which constitutes a part of the global crisis.

In the midst of the present period of uncertainty, all nations, developing and developed, are more than ever conscious of the external factors that impinge upon their efforts to make development and progress. They see their efforts as inescapably bound to larger global trends over which, more often than not, they have no control.

Yet, however disturbing the trends, we also know that there are factors over which we have control. And one of these surely is the decisive influence that agricultural scientific research can play in the race between catastrophe and survival. IRRI for the world, and the Los Baños complex for the Philippines, demonstrate for us beyond words that the race in food production can be won, where will and resolution animate our labors.

We have here in Los Baños today a dynamic scientific community and a complex of institutions that are the unique outgrowth of the endeavor we began two decades ago. And it says something of the results that today the Philippines is one of the few countries that exceeded the annual growth rate of 4 percent in agricultural production targeted under the United Nations second decade of development and has been cited for agricultural growth by the World Bank in its world development report. We are a beneficiary and a contributor to the success of the IRRI as an institution for international cooperation, and we are both proud and thankful for these.

I want to take the opportunity therefore to congratulate all the scientists, scholars and staff of IRRI on their success in helping to improve rice production in nearly all countries where rice is the staple. This would not have been possible but for the missionary zeal and total dedication to the service of the small farmers which Dr. Robert Chandler, Jr. and his successors have imparted to the work of IRRI.

And we are very glad that on this commemorative occasion, the institute is releasing a book on its history written by no other than its founder director, Dr. Chandler.

The lesson that we have learned during these years of investing time, effort and resources in scientific research is specially instructive. Science can only show the way for the achievement of food sufficiency. Only a political will, professional skill and people's action can truly convert scientific know-how into wealth meaningful to the people. For this reason, the hunger challenge cannot be viewed in isolation of many other factors of which the following are especially important. First, the natural weather conditions in most countries in the southern hemisphere are highly variable and floods, typhoons and drought are rather frequent. As a result, agriculture becomes a very risky profession. Secondly, demographic pressures force poor countries into a never-ending race between production and population. Thirdly, colonial rule led to a situation where the agricultural economy remained barely above subsistence level and was centered mainly on cash crops. Fourthly, the fall in the real prices of the cash crops which developing countries are in a position to export has aggravated balance of payment problems. Finally, the problem of unemployment and underemployment arising from inadequate attention to rural development leads to the unplanned migration of landless poor to cities.

This is where Science and Technology will have to play an increasingly important role. From all agricultural raw material, value-added products should be prepared. We are now taking steps to prepare a series of valuable chemical products from the coconut.

Similarly I welcome IRRI's initiative in organizing jointly with UPLB a demonstration program on the theme "prosperity through rice farming." such a demonstration will help to show how the rice straw can be fortified and used as an excellent animal feed. Rice bran is a source of good quality oil both for edible and non-edible purposes. The de-oiled bran could be made into valuable poultry feed. The rice hull could be converted into bricks and cement as our scientists at F-O-R-I have shown. The rice straw which is now often burned can be used for paper manufacture. Preferably it should be incorporated into the soil so as to provide additional nitrogen and carbon and improve soil structure as recommended by IRRI. We thus see a vast panorama of opportunities for generating wealth from waste.

Likewise, we need to step up research on maximizing the return from the investment the farmer makes on inputs like seed, fertilizer, water and pesticides. We must help small farmers to improve the efficiency of the management of their farms through a proper integration of cash inputs with non-monetary inputs. We must teach them how to grow their own nitrogen through azolla, blue green algae and other forms of bio-fertilizers.

Finally, there is need for a cheap source of plant protein in the tropics, for greater emphasis on aqua-culture research and on marine fisheries, and for developing more effective ways to control the weather. The directions for research in this decade embrace many areas of urgent concern. For they reflect the revolutionary impact that science can have on food supplies.

It is a reflection of this new awareness that in December this year we shall be convening here in Manila the International Conference on Chemistry and World Food Supplies. Modern chemical research has opened our eyes to the uses of Chemistry in food production, particularly in terms of genetic engineering, nitrogen fixation, and plant resistance to diseases.

To speak of science in agriculture is finally to renew faith in ourselves and in our future. Science overwhelmingly reminds us today that where there is a will, there is always a way.

We can now take heart, I think, in the knowledge that unlike in previous years, there now is unanimous awareness of the critical dimensions of the food crisis among leaders and nations of the third world, as well as those of the developed countries. There is a heightened realization of the imperative for greater concert and cooperation which has resulted in more willing support of the initiatives being undertaken by the United Nations and its agencies particularly the food and agriculture organization.

And perhaps most important of all, we know that scientific research has produced an unprecedented abundance of new agricultural technology which are region-specific and directly applicable to food production problems in third world countries. We know that the breakthroughs achieved in such countries as India, Indonesia, Mexico, Pakistan, and the Philippines are replicable in most other similarly situated countries. under the U.N.'s Consultative Group on

International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), hundreds of scientists are hard at work in at least 13 international research institutes (including the IRRI) all over the world discovering newer technology with which to solve specific regional production deficiencies in various cereal grains, root crops, livestock and poultry. Some two years ago, we became the second developing nation to support the C-G-I-A-R in its signal contribution to scientific research directed towards this vital concern.

While we should certainly look at problems in a global context, it is my belief that an enduring food security system will emerge only when every country builds a strong national food security system. It is towards this end that we have accorded the highest priority to agriculture and rural development. With the ongoing regionalization of our development programs, of which the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran is the umbrella strategy, it should be possible for all parts of the country to grow speedily and harmoniously. I am happy to learn that you had a very fruitful technology transfer workshop at IRRI early this month where you developed an integrated strategy for improving rice production as well as for reducing the cost of production. Such a “lab to land” movement should be replicated in all crop and farming systems. We must also consider better means to protect the health of the soil while promoting intensive cropping. In this the F-A-O’s world soil charter should be an invaluable guide.

I am confident that we will achieve our goal of eradicating hunger and malnutrition in the Philippines sooner than many experts believe possible. My confidence arises from what I have seen of the dedication of our scientists and extension workers and the enthusiasm and receptivity of our farmers. We have only to look at the progress achieved in the farm sector over less than a decade. If we help farmers to help the nation, they will ensure that no one need go to bed hungry. Just as mineral fertilizer stimulates the growth of a plant, assured and remunerative marketing stimulates the interest and initiative of the farmer. We must therefore pay equal attention to production and post-harvest technology, as well as foster producer-oriented marketing.

These and many other tasks await our attention. And it is especially appropriate that we rededicate ourselves to these tasks, on this day of worldwide observance of world food day and on this occasion of renewal of the mission of the International Rice Research Institute.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Inauguration of the Magat Dam, [October 27, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Inauguration of the Magat Dam**

[Delivered on October 27, 1982]

In the story of every ambitious undertaking, many chapters can be written of the many difficulties and trials encountered along the way, but there always comes a point, for so long as we persist, when at long last we find fulfillment and vindication for all the labors borne and expended.

We have come at such a point in this ambitious and impressive Magat River Multi-purpose Project. And this is truly a day of pride for all those who have worked on the project, and for all our people and our country.

For today we bear witness to the fulfillment of a vision that has taken all of twenty years to realize, and a tremendous expenditure of time and resources. We look to the month of October 1962 as the beginning of the project for it was then that the Magat River Multi-purpose Project was first conceived. That year marked the signing of an agreement between the Philippine Government, represented by the National Economic Council (NEC), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), calling for the establishment of a comprehensive program of water resource investigation and development in seven major river basins of the country, of which the Magat River was one.

Fully two-thirds of these 20 years were spent in undertaking a series of in-depth surveys and economic and engineering feasibility studies, which employed the services of Filipino, American, Japanese and German engineers. The surveys were completed in 1971, and subsequently the Magat River feasibility study was completed, and this reported the engineering feasibility and economic viability of a multi-purpose project within the Magat River basin area.

Based on the study, I subsequently promulgated P.D. No. 693 on May 7, 1975, authorizing the construction of the Magat River Multi-purpose Project, with full provisions for its financing and for other purposes. And for the next seven years, implementation was undertaken without let-up.

What we witness here today is the completion of the dam component of the project, which is all the more remarkable because it has been completed two months ahead of schedule. Sometime next year, the power component of the project is expected to be completed.

By itself, the M.R.M.P. is the biggest single infrastructure project ever undertaken by our government, and it is also believed to be the largest single on-going water resource development project in Asia today. Such is its complexity and scope that the project has required the full-time involvement of two major government agencies, the National Power Corporation and the National Irrigation Administration, as well as the invaluable support of the Ministry of Public Works and Highways.

To all of them, we now express our warmest congratulations and thanks at this inauguration. When fully completed, the Magat River Multi-purpose Project is expected to cost about \$750 million. Its 45 square kilometer reservoir has a storage capacity of some 1.25 billion cubic meters at full supply levels. The completed Magat High Dam is said to stand some 114 meters from its present streambed and has a crest-length stretch of 4,160 meters. Its massive spillways have a discharge capacity of 30,600 cubic meters of water per second which is seven times greater than the Pantabangan Flood Spillway capacity.

But quite apart from the technical dimensions of this facility lies the greater significance of its beneficial effects on the farmers who will be its foremost beneficiaries. Together with the irrigation infrastructure that is concurrently being built, the Magat Dam will extend irrigation water supply to a total of 102,000 hectares of farmlands in some 22 towns in the provinces of Isabela, Quirino, and Ifugao. As a product of this vital input, it is projected that average palay yields will at least double from the present 2 tons and 2.1 tons per hectare during wet and dry seasons respectively, to 4 and 4.2 tons per hectare. Combined with an increase of almost 100 percent capacity in intensive cropping, this will result in an annual rice production of 16.34 million cavans, almost four times the present annual harvest of 4.78 million cavans.

This irrigation aspect of the Magat River Multi-purpose Project will be further complemented with the power delivery phase sometime next year. At an estimated maximum installed capacity of 540 megawatts, the electricity to be generated by the Magat turbines will be sufficient to supply the energy requirements of Northern Luzon and parts of Central Luzon. It might bear pointing out that this hydroelectric power capacity is more than twice the combined output of the Ambuklao, Binga and Pantabangan power plants and will represent an annual saving of 2.06 million barrels of oil.

The importance of this facility therefore is incalculable when measured in terms of its impact on the development prospects of Northern Luzon. It is altogether foreseeable that in a future much nearer than once thought possible the three provinces directly affected by the M.R.M.P. Project will be transformed into the food basket of the north. When fully operational, the M.R.M.P. will make possible through the delivery of a wider network of cheap electric power the envisioned industrialization of the Cagayan Valley and its neighbors. For such are the two major ends for which we have entered into the implementation of the Magat River Multi-purpose Project, namely, that with its irrigation phase, we shall provide our northern farmers with the critical input of water in order to increase their food production capabilities, and with the power generation phase, the electricity required to enhance existing industries and invite the entry of newer ones.

When viewed in the total scope of our development efforts for the entire country, this project will stand out for its sheer size and scale; yet it is also important to remember that it is but one of many facilities that through the years we have incessantly constructed throughout our land as an essential foundation for national development. Its meaning therefore does not stand apart from other facilities; it complements others like it. And it represents one more manifestation of our ambitious vision of the future.

We sometimes hear it said that we are a nation with many dreams. That is true. But we are also a nation that fully matches its dreams with deeds and accomplishments. And this Magat River multi-purpose project is proof of this.

As we look towards the future, we think not merely of a few among our people, or a few communities, participating and sharing in the fruits of progress. We think of all our millions and all our communities sharing in the achievement of a new life.

And there is I believe no better demonstration of our government's commitment to our countrymen than the completion of this magnificent facility—whose singular purpose is to lift up the lives of millions whom it will touch, and the national economy which it will irrevocably help to develop. For them and the nation, therefore, this project is fittingly inaugurated today.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 10th Anniversary of Tenant Emancipation, [October 27, 1982](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 10th Anniversary of Tenant Emancipation**

[Delivered on October 27, 1982]

Year after year we have gathered without fail to commemorate together the promulgation of the Tenant Emancipation Decree on October 21, 1972; and today we stand here together to bear witness to the completion of a decade of land reform throughout the country.

By that singular act of our sovereign government ten years ago, we declared as a matter of national policy an end to the vicious system of land ownership which for centuries had kept millions of our countrymen in bondage to the soil, and proclaimed a new beginning for farming families and communities throughout our land.

As we recall today the hopes and expectations awakened by that historic moment, so do we take note with justifiable pride that what we decreed in law has taken root in fact. The audacious dream we shared together has found realization not only here at this site of our ceremonies today, but in hundreds of other villages and communities all over our country.

And it is a cause that goes on—alive in the efforts of all, of those of us in government and you who till the farmlands, who together strive to make land reform an authentic instrument for individual liberation and national development.

This is the meaning I see in our commemoration today—that on the one hand we recall here a landmark achievement of our people, and on the other we renew our commitments to the continuing challenge of land reform and national development.

For I do believe that no other piece of legislation in the entire history of my presidency, and no other program has been so crucial to our success, than agrarian reform. As we declared in that historic decree which as you all remember I penned in my own handwriting: “reformation must start, as a foundation, with the land and with the tiller of that land emancipation from his bondage.”

Without land reform, all our attempts to stem the tide of rebellion and restore peace to our nation would have proved futile, for the discontented millions of our farmers were fast falling for the false hopes and promises of subversive propaganda. Without land reform, a significant sector of our society would have been left impoverished and hopeless about their future. Without land reform, we would have perpetuated a social and economic system that gave the least reward to those who labored most.

But from the start, we always knew that land reform and tenant emancipation could only be the beginning, for our ultimate objective was not merely the transfer of land ownership to the farmers but to effect a total transformation in the lives of our farmers and farming communities. With the redistribution of land, productivity and welfare must follow. Thus, even as we began land transfer operations, we also set in train a number of complementary projects that would enhance our farmers’ productivity and income and therefore strengthen their hold on their newly acquired possession and allow them to buy the many little things that make life and living pleasant. Through the extension of liberal credit facilities, we provided funds for our farmers to purchase the inputs required to cultivate the land at maximum efficiency. We made the latest breed of rice and corn and the newest technology available almost as soon as they were being developed. We built irrigation systems so that our farmers would not be dependent on the seasons to provide water. We adopted a crop insurance system which will adequately cover the investments of farmers against losses caused by national calamities. We have provided price support to the produce of our farmers.

To further boost farm incomes, we have built farm-to-market roads to facilitate access to commercial centers and assure them better prices for their produce. And perhaps most significant of all, we have launched the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran, which is an integral part of our program for the uplift of people and communities throughout our country.

Today, as we look back to the decade just passed, we have reason indeed to be heartened and encouraged by the sight of these investments yielding bountiful returns, of our efforts and sacrifices being handsomely repaid, and of our faith being fully vindicated. And I do not mean only the bumper rice harvests we have now from year to year, but even more important, the dramatic changes that have come upon the lives of our farmers and farming communities.

During this decade of resolute agrarian reform implementation, we have demonstrated beyond doubt that we can have both social justice and productivity, and that as reforms take root, the prospects for the future become immeasurably brighter.

This is nowhere better demonstrated than in the fact that our national livelihood program—the KKK—has become at this stage a dynamic aspect of our total land reform program.

It is a well-known fact that long before the launching of the KKK, many of our farmers were already engaged in various livelihood projects to increase their incomes. Today this is a growing reality in our farming sector. With the new opportunities provided by the Kilusan, many of our farmers are embarking on ventures in addition to their work on the farms. Some are banding together to engage in livelihood ventures that tap their access to various raw materials.

This is a direction that we fully intend to encourage and support. For this is really the meaning of the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran—that it is primarily an instrument to awaken the sense of enterprise of all sectors of our society, especially the lower income groups.

We take this opportunity therefore to congratulate here the land reform beneficiaries who have lifted their eyes beyond the horizons of their farms and engaged in other productive ventures under the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. These are the twelve individual and 3 group awardees who were awarded trophies by the first lady earlier. I would like to think that land reform has also had the effect of reawakening the once dormant spirit of enterprise among our farmers so that where once they would have been happy to enjoy the increased incomes from their farms they are now starting to venture into other areas of livelihood. It is our hope that many more of over a million farmer beneficiaries of agrarian reform will open their eyes to the new possibilities for further improving their lives that the KKK has to offer. By the same token, let me also congratulate Minister Estrella, President Basilio Estanislao of the Land Bank, and all their co-workers in the Ministry of Agrarian Reform and the other cooperating agencies for their devotion to duty, their perseverance and industry in implementing the government's land reform program. All of you have earned the gratitude of some six million men, women and children who have benefited from the land reform program and the rest of our countrymen for making this program a viable instrument of social justice, economic productivity and political stability.

But while we can certainly look back with pride to our accomplishments, let us remember also that we need to further improve on our efforts in the area of land reform. For this reason, I am now asking the pertinent ministries and agencies of government to accelerate their efforts to expand the land reform program through resettlement, land consolidation, compact farming, and cooperative farming. We should look into ways of opening up more public lands for possible cultivation by our landless farmers.

To further expand the benefits of the program to those who are not presently covered by it, I will sign before you today the following letters of instruction ordering:

First, the segregation of a seven-hectare portion of land owned by the Mountain State Agricultural College and the transfer of titles of the same land to the Igorot tillers or occupants at cost;

Secondly, the acquisition of the 574-hectare property of the Sagana Plantation in Kapalong, Davao del Norte; and

Finally, the acquisition of some 267 hectares of land owned by Rosa Cuenco and others in Anakan, Gingoog City.

To make this celebration of the 10th Anniversary of Tenant Emancipation more memorable for the rice and corn

Farmers, I am directing the Ministry of Agrarian Reform and other pertinent agencies of government to start giving emancipation patents to farmer beneficiaries who have made at least two consecutive amortization payments to the Land Bank. By this measure, we would like to reassure the farmer beneficiaries that it is the government's intention to give them titles to their lands at the earliest time possible. It is our hope that in return, you, our farmers, will respond by fulfilling your obligations as new landowners.

Let me close by saying once more that our government, for as long as I am President, will never waver in its commitment to land reform and to all of you who constitute the vital farming sector of our country. Land reform has been, is, and will be the bedrock of our democratic revolution.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on Parangal sa Bagong Pilipino, [October 28, 1982](#)

**Talumpati
ng
Kagalang-galang na Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa Parangal sa Bagong Pilipino**

[Inihayag noong Ika-27 ng Oktubre, 1982]

Nagagalak ako at nasisiyahan na makapiling uli ang mga kinatawan ng Kabataang Baranggay mula sa iba-ibang dako ng ating bansa sa pagtitipong ito na inyong tinawag na parangal sa Bagong Pilipino 1982. Talagang ibang-iba ang kabataan kung maghanda ng palatuntunan. Nagulat ako sapagka't akala ko, sa Bulakan ako napunta dahil sa husay tumula ng bawa't kalahok sa programang ito. Kaya tuloy, ibig-ibig na ring tumula ng inyong lingkod.

Mangyari nga, ang mga kabataang babae at lalaking ating inuukulan ng parangal sa pagkakataong ito ang tunay na sagisag ng mga simulain at pithaya ng kabataang baranggay. Sila, higit kanino man, ang nagpapaalaala sa atin ng bagong sigasig at siglang patuloy na umaalab at nagpapakilos sa ating bansa at sa ating Bagong Republika. Kaya nga, angkop lamang sabihing ang mga sandaling ito ay isang tunay na parangal sa Bagong Pilipino ng ating bayan sapagka't ang buong bansa ay buong pag-asang nakatingin ngayon sa bagong sigla at punyagi ng kabataan ng ating lahi.

Nothing can make me prouder as your President than to be associated with the rise to national importance of the Kabataang Barangay: both with respect to being a recipient of your invaluable service to government and our people, and also to the fact that in some way I have been personally of assistance to the advancement of your objectives as a national organization.

At sa pagkakataong ito, ikinararangal at ikinaliligaya ko na ang aking supling na si Imee ay kabalikat at kaisa ninyo sa dakilang simulain at mga gawaing nauukol sa ating bayan.

Walang sino mang makatatawad sa inyong mga nagawa sa lilim ng kabataang baranggay. Sa loob lamang ng maikling panahon ng kilusang ito — na masasabing higit na bata kaysa sa iba pang samahan ng kabataan — namukodtangi na ang KB sa iba-ibang larangan ng paglilingkod at pagtulong. pinatunayan ninyo na ang kabataan ay maaaring makagawa ng maraming mga dakilang gawain, at hindi bilang tagapagbunsod lamang ng mga simulain.

True to the guiding vision and faith of the KB. As a catalyst for enabling the youth to do things for themselves and for their country, we have witnessed in so many projects for so many years now this ethic of work alive and full of vigor.

A day like this is therefore an occasion to telescope both the achievements of your organization and the growing scope and challenge of the work which you are engaged today.

I find noteworthy, first, the fact that at this point when you approach the end of the second year of your five-year K. B. development plan, you have achieved most of the goals you have set for yourselves, in such diverse areas as skills training, for out-of-school youth, self-employment assistance, scholarship grants, the organization of K. B. school chapters, theater workshops, choral competitions sports and athletics, and such special projects as the K. K. K. ng kabataang, the appropriate technology project, and international relations and youth exchange. The complimentary nature of your programs and projects in these areas provides all of us with an invaluable understanding and experience that will certainly be of great use in other undertakings now and in the future.

Bilang inyong pakikiisa sa K. K. K., nabatid ko na ang inilunsad ninyong K.K. K. ng Kabataan ay nagbibigay-pansin sa mga proyektong ang namamahala ay ang mga kabataan. Sa loob ng nakaraang taon, halos isang libong

iba-ibang proyektong katulad ng ibinabandila ng K. K. K. ang inyong nailunsad. Naging tunay kayong masigasig sa pakikibalikat sa kilusang ito, at sabi ni Imee sa akin, baka sumobra pa sa talagang itinakda inyong pakay ang magawa ninyo sa loob ng susunod pang ilang taon. kaya nga, lalo pa ninyo akong pinahanga at dahil dito, makatitiyak kayo na mamadaliin ng pamahalaan ang paglalabas ng mga pondong kailangan ng K. K. K. ng Kabataan. Alam ko na ang karamihan sa nakikinabang sa inyong proyektong ito, walang iba kundi ang mga kabataang hindi na nakapagpatuloy ng pag-aaral o out-of-school youth.

As your projects grow in number and complexity, there rises the urgent need to further strengthen your organization. In this regard and in response to your request, I will support the formal organization of the Kabataang Barangay National Secretariat. I am aware that the Secretariat is vital to the National K. B. Movement for the staff support and the increased management control that will be required your expanding operations. Likewise, we shall now look into your proposal to construct your own K. B. building on the premises of the Amoranto Stadium in Quezon City.

At kaugnay ng layuning mapatatag pang lalo ang matatag nang Kabataang Baranggay, palagay ko, panahon nang dapat na pag-ibayuhin pa ang pagsasanay ng mga susunod na saling-lahi ng ating mga lider. In line with the goal of strengthening, you need also to look into the flow of leadership and membership within your ranks. You must ever keep in mind the principal K. B. objective of providing the youth in the 15 to 21 age bracket with the opportunities for leadership training and its positive exercise. Thus, it is probably time for you to call for an election so that new leaders can be given the chance to learn from the experience which many of you have been sharing these past few years. If you have done as well in your leadership training programs, then you can rest assured that there will certainly be enough numbers to take over the burdens of leadership.

Almost always the crucial test for the stability and strength of an organization rests on its ability to pass on the torch of leadership from generation to generation, from one set of leaders to others. More so is this a crucial challenge to the Kabataang Barangay, for you are as it were a continuous river, where new members enter and others leave to take up the broader challenges of full maturity.

Nananalig ako na sa yugtong ito na ang Kabataang Baranggay ay pumapasok sa isang pang taon, salig sa inyong mga nagawa na at sa inyong matibay na bigkis ng pagkakaisa, walang alinlangan na patuloy kayong tatahak sa landas na pasulong upang lalong maging uliran at tunay na lara wan ng Kabataang Pilipinong handang ipasan sa murang balikat ang pananagutan at saguting iambag ang kanyang talino, kakayahan at lahat ng magagawa alang-alang sa inang bayan.

Sa araw na ito ng parangal sa Bagong Pilipino, nagpupugay ako at bumabati sa mga tumanggap ng parangal, gayundin sa lahat ng mga lider at kasapi ng Kabataang Baranggay. Umaasa ako na hindi magmamaliw ang inyong malasakit at pakikiisa sa pamahalaang ito, at sa inyong lingkod, na, walang pangarap sa buhay kundi madala ang Pilipinas sa rurok ng tagumpay, kasaganaan at katahimikan upang bigyang kahulugan at katuparan ang malaong unsiyaming pangarap ng ating lahi. Nalalasap na nating unti-unti ang bunga ng lahat ng pagsisikap na itong taos-pusong iniaalay sa inyo na siyang susunod na Saling-lahing Pilipino. Huwag lamang ninyong lilimutin, ang lahat ng aming pagsisikap, ang lahat ng aming pangarap, ang lahat ng aming ginagawa. . . walang ibang hantungan at dahilan. . . kundi ang ipaghanda kayo ng matatag na kinabukasan sapagka't bilang ama ng bansa, sa lahat ng sandali, ang kapalaran at bukas lamang ng kabataan at ng lahing Pilipino ang iniisip ng inyong lingkod.

Mabuhay ang Bagong Pilipino! Mabuhay ang Kabataang Baranggay! Mabuhay ang Bagong Republika!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1982). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 69th Anniversary of Iglesia ni Kristo, [July 27, 1983](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 69th Anniversary of Iglesia ni Kristo**

[Delivered on July 27, 1983]

On this happy occasion marking the 69th anniversary of the Iglesia ni Kristo, it is our great privilege and honor to join the members of this Church in celebrating this event and to wish the Iglesia long life and success in service to our people and our society.

We take the opportunity to express our greetings and good wishes to Ka Erdie Manalo and his fellow ministers as they complete another year and begin a new one in leadership of this Church.

An anniversary like this inevitably calls to mind the beginnings of this faith of many millions of our people; and we remember above all today that admirable man of faith and vision who laid the stones that built this Church into what it is today — Ka Felix Manalo. The late supreme bishop of the Iglesia was unquestionably a great countryman of ours; and it is surely one mark of his greatness that the Church he left behind lives on in the hearts of millions, and it continues to grow in vigor and in numbers with the years.

To contemplate the story of Iglesia ni Kristo is in a sense to be reminded of the early story of Christianity itself — of how from a single seed with only a handful of believers, it became one of mankind's truly great religions, and the one with the largest flock in the world today. For the story of the Iglesia ni Kristo parallels those beginnings. Born in a time of religious schism and intense nationalism in our country, this Church began its ministry in a small room in Sta. Ana. And from the initial handful of believers, it became a Church of hundreds, then of thousands, and finally of millions. We see its growth vividly exemplified by this center of the faith in Quezon City today. We see that growth in the devotion of its many followers and in the zeal of its leadership, which together underline the tremendous appeal of its teachings and beliefs to many millions of our people.

By the conventional standards of size and age by which we measure the strength of a church, the Iglesia ni Kristo is undeniably a young and relatively small congregation. It has nothing to rival the sweep of other great churches of the world, whose influence transcend national and geographical boundaries. But by another standard by which we measure the strength of a faith in terms of the devotion it receives from and the comfort it provides its believers — this is a Church of considerable vitality and influence. And because the Iglesia ni Kristo has ever been and is a Filipino church, we in this country, whether we belong to this Church or another, have reason to be proud of it.

We can take pride in the fact that since it began its ministry 69 years ago, it has not faltered as a spiritual haven and guide to its flock. It has protected and nourished them in their spiritual and temporal needs. And in the process it has contributed much to the well-being and stability of our society and our country.

It is of course a fundamental tenet of our political system that the Church and the State are separate realms. But this is by no means to say that these two indispensable institutions of society cannot serve the needs of our people and our country together. While recognizing the separateness of their domain, and the need to respect the independence of the other in their primal service to society, nevertheless we recognize that in the end they all serve the same people and the same society. And so we say that we can never dispense with the need for both Church and State to complement each other and to cooperate with each other in lifting up the lives of our people and of our society.

This approach to the service of our people and society can be said of all the churches which serve our people today. And this is manifestly true also of the Iglesia ni Kristo.

For those of us in Government on whom lie the principal responsibility of translating into reality the hopes and aspirations of our people, the Iglesia ni Kristo has time and again proven to be a stalwart and generous supporter. We acknowledge the cooperation that has been given our Government's overall efforts towards stability and national development by the leaders and the members of the Iglesia ni Kristo. In some of the darkest days at the time of our crisis government we could always rely on their ready and unequivocating assistance and support. It is no longer necessary to detail these instances for you and I remember them well and it will ever remain a bond of special regard between Government and the Iglesia ni Kristo.

We are cognizant likewise of the leadership which the Iglesia ni Kristo has exercised in civil endeavors. Aside from the eight resettlement areas it has established in different parts of the country which I understand even antedate the Government's Land Reform Program, we are also aware of its nationwide "Lingap sa Mamamayan" project established as the centerpiece of your 68th anniversary activities last year and which has become a continuing priority concern for the coming years. But perhaps what is even more remarkable than these decidedly large-scale socio-civic endeavors is the very structure of the Iglesia's basic missionary operations, which has been geared towards the individual wherever he may be located — in the neighborhood, the barangay and even the remotest farmer's hut in the rural areas. Because of this the Iglesia's Ministers can be said to be directly, even intimately, in touch with what we refer to as the Common Man. It is altogether possible that no other religious group in the country today can claim as pervasive and organized a presence in the lowest strata of Philippine society, where we know the needs are greatest and most acute, than the Ministers of the Iglesia ni Kristo. And if there is one clear contributory element to its continuing success, it has to be the attention and the concern which the Iglesia ni Kristo gives to this grassroots mission.

I am confident that today as we face the resurgent challenges and opportunities for economic recovery and development we can count on the Iglesia ni Kristo to involve itself as actively as it has in the past in the myriad tasks that are still ahead of us. Two days ago at the opening of the last Regular Session of the Batasang Pambansa, I made a special appeal for the involvement and effort of all in the tasks of recovery and growth. The work of Government alone will not suffice to establish the conditions necessary for our economy to capitalize on the changing global economic climate. All sectors of the national economy, all sectors of society and the citizenry must pitch in and contribute its share for us to achieve and to profit as we would.

For it is my belief that in the making of a better society. In the achievement of prosperity in our lives, there must always be the spiritual foundation of faith in the lives of men. And we must look upon our religious and cultural institutions, our churches and our schools, as the primal spring from which our people can derive the will and the vision to make life better, to change conditions, and to improve the lot of all.

It is in that spirit that we regard the Iglesia ni Kristo as our steadfast ally in all that we in Government seek for our country and our people.

And it is in that spirit, while acknowledging all that it has already done during the past 69 years, that we now pray for the long life and continued success of this uniquely Filipino and Christian Church.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Message of President Marcos to the Earthquake Victims, [August 18, 1983](#)

**Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To the Earthquake Victims**

[Delivered on August 18, 1983]

The First Lady and our children join me in expressing our deepest sympathies to the many men, women and children who have suffered so much from the tragedy that struck Laoag and other cities and towns in Northern Luzon last night.

With the earthquake victims and their loved ones, we deeply feel their sense of anguish in this unhappy time. And we are anxious and hopeful that we will swiftly recover from this devastation inflicted on our families, our homes, our towns and cities.

To the injured and the dispossessed, I say: your President and brother commiserates and suffers with you during these tragic hours, and offers earnest prayers for your speedy relief and recovery. Let me assure you that every agency of government is doing all it can to accelerate rescue operations, provide immediate relief to the injured and the sick, and rehabilitate damaged public facilities and properties. No effort will be spared to save lives and to bring the situation to normal.

I am certain that the rest of our countrymen share our wish and prayer that Divine Providence might spare you from further pain and suffering and that this time of sorrow will soon pass.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Message of President Marcos on the Inauguration of IBC TV – 13 Laoag, [September 11, 1983](#)

**Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Inauguration of IBC TV – 13 Laoag**

[Delivered on September 11, 1983]

Iti daytoy nga aldaw maisibbo ti broadcast ti IBC TV-13 Laoag ket iti daytoy nga okasion ipekta ti First Lady ken siak ti ragsakmi kadagiti amin a kakabsatmi nga Ilokano iti naimpusuan a kablaawmi. Saan koma a posible daytoy a pasamak iti media ngem iti maraem a serbisio publiko ti mangimaton iti Intercontinental Broadcasting Corporation, karbenganna ti madayaw ken makablaawan.

Namnamaenmi a kadagiti masungad a bulan mapasingkeda ti pateg ti serbisio nga itden daytoy a kuminikasyon kadagiti probinsia ken dagiti umili iti rehion. Malaksid kadagiti benepisio nga itden dagiti programa, namnamaek nga iti daytoy nga estasion, itdenna pay ti epektibo nga instrumento tapno maammuan dagiti umili ti nadumaduma a maar-aramid iti rehion ken iti nailian a panagrang-ay. Kinapudnona dakkal unay ti maitulong daytoy a pasilidad saan laeng a mangpasayaat kadagiti kailiantayo iti Ilokos no di pay iti serbisio iti nailian a panagkaykaysa.

Itay laeng tallo a lawas ti napalabas, iti dayta nasipnget a panawen a panaggingginedna a nangala iti biag ken nangdadael kadagiti sanikua, impaulogko ti maysa nga awag tapno marisut ti pannakabangon dagiti nadadael ken tapno mapabaro ti bilegtayo a napukaw. Nairugitayon daytoy. Ita nga aldaw paliwentayo ti maysa pay a napateg nga addang iti pannakapabaro ti kumonidadtayo.

Agyamanak ken naimbag nga aldawyo.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on the First ASEAN Forestry Congress, [October 10, 1983](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the First ASEAN Forestry Congress**

[Delivered on October 11, 1983]

Since I received the invitation to speak before the first ASEAN Forestry Congress, I have been keenly anticipating the pleasure of meeting all our friends in ASEAN who would be coming to Manila either as delegates or as our special guests. So it is with great reluctance and a deep sense of disappointment that I had to defer my meeting with you to a more propitious time because of so many urgent matters demanding the immediate attention of the president of the Philippines.

My absence from this inaugural session of your congress, however, does not prevent me from extending to you a very warm welcome to our country and our best wishes for a successful conference.

Neither should it be interpreted as a sign that we in the Philippines attach only passing significance to this meeting, for the concerns that have brought you together are matters that we clearly recognize to be of the highest importance to the Filipino people as indeed they are to all of humanity.

Fifty or even as late as twenty years ago, it was still possible to talk of our forests as practically an inexhaustible natural resource. Then forestry's concerns went no further than the maximization of profits for investors and foreign exchange earnings for nature's favored nations.

But it took only so long for the world's population to double, and with it the pressure on our forest resources for land, food, shelter, forage and livelihood has more than tripled. The situation has been further complicated by the growing use of wood as a cheap alternative to oil as fuel not only for domestic uses but also for industrial purposes.

The net result has been today's unequal race between deforestation and reforestation. The Food and Agriculture Organization, for instance, estimates that every day at least 15,000 hectares are being lost world-wide, while a meager 1,000 hectares per day are being reforested.

Under these circumstances, the day may not be far off when the full fury of what scientists call the "greenhouse effect" overwhelms us. Under this terrifying scenario, the continued degreening of the earth leads to a point where the atmosphere becomes saturated with carbon monoxide. This then blocks the escape of hot gases, and consequently the earth's temperature rises to such a level where the world's glaciers and polar ice caps melt, unleashing a deluge from which humanity may not escape.

Of course all this sounds like something drawn from science fiction. But even today, there are already perceptible signals of nature's displeasure over our profligate ways. The experience of the Incas, and the peoples of Lebanon and parts of China give us a forewarning of what may yet come to pass. Closer home we have begun to experience a succession of floods and droughts of unusual severity in recent years.

But whether out of fear or unbelief we refuse to contemplate such a doomsday scenario, we cannot ignore the reality that our forests or what is left of them have become today's new breeding grounds of poverty and discontent among a significant portion of the World's population. Millions of what the World Bank calls "the poorest of the poor" today face a relentless assault on their land, their homes and their means of existence. In the ASEAN region, we count several thousand. Forest dwellers and tribal people whose survival is continuously threatened by our unmitigated abuse of our forests.

It is therefore heartening to note the growing consensus among people and nations that forestry is of “strategic interests” and must assume for itself economic, social and political dimensions; and that it should concern itself not solely with forest engineering but social engineering as well. In the words of Erik Eckholm: “the challenge facing world forestry is not just to halt deforestation and to plant enough trees to satisfy commercial and environmental needs. From a social perspective, top priority must also be given the elementary forest and wood needs of the poorest one-third of humanity. And with forest products, as with food, merely growing more produce is not necessarily sufficient to eliminate deprivation. Who does the producing and how the benefits are distributed are equally crucial considerations.”

This view of an expanded role for forestry which puts equal emphasis on the promotion of social justice and the elimination of poverty has already gained universal acceptance following the approval by participating nations of the Jakarta declaration during the last world forestry congress. And it remains for us in ASEAN to give substance to this policy by creating the institutions and promoting the attitudes, values and practices that will bring it about.

I believe we should begin by asking ourselves how we are going to utilize our forest resources. Shall we, for example, continue parlay our future, the future welfare of our people and the environment, to satisfy our immediate need for foreign exchange? Shall we allow our loggers to push back our tribal forest settlers to the innermost recesses of our forest lands?

The answers to these and similar questions are quite obvious. But we have to make a hard and unpleasant decisions fast. It has been our common experience in Southeast Asia as well as in many third world countries to be perennial exporters of raw materials. This has been the case with so many of our products. Perhaps with some of these products, we are left with few alternatives considering the state of our technology and the scarcity of capital.

But this is not the case in our wood industry, at least not in the Philippines. For so long, the major portion of our export receipts from forest products consisted of proceeds from the exports of raw lumber. Yet today our wood processing plants are operating at only 55 percent of their capacity. We have the capability to process 9 million cubic meters of logs per year, but we actually process 5 million.

There can only be one explanation for this and, to be frank about it, it is our greed, our propensity to make money quickly regardless of the consequences.

In the same manner, we can ask ourselves who will ultimately profit from a sincere effort to reforest the logged-over areas. And yet some people who have made a nest egg of our forests are loathe to maintain them.

It was for these reasons that I ordered a total ban on logging in certain critical areas of our country sometime last month. We revoke the licenses of 71 logging concessionaires, and allowed only 122 to continue operations. And those that are left to operate are constantly being monitored for compliance with the rules on selective logging and the requirements on reforestation. You can rest assured that we will not think twice about cancelling the licenses of those who are caught violating our laws on logging.

For those who were let jobless, we offer alternative employment opportunities through the national livelihood program, the Kilusan Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran. I have instructed the ministry of natural resources to accommodate the displaced workers in government reforestation projects. Others are to be encouraged to go into agro-forestry or forest-based cottage industries.

Even the loggers whose license have been revoked will not be left to fend for themselves. We are seriously looking into the possibility of using their managerial expertise and resources in the task of rehabilitating our forests. Following the successful experiment in Thailand, we plan to engage the services of the private sector in the reforestation effort through a system of profit-sharing or co-managership.

Earlier in July last year, we adopted social forestry as a government policy and launched the integrated social forestry program. This program has been designed to reduce the incidence of wasteful slash-and-burn cultivation of our forest lands while at the same time promoting the economic well-being of people that have traditionally

depended on our forests for their livelihood. Through this program we provide incentives to the forest occupants, especially the kaingeros or slash-and-burn cultivators, to engage in food production and countryside development as well as forest conservation. Also through this scheme, we hope to harness the experience and expertise and the knowledge of the kaingeros about the ecology of the areas they have been cultivating for the reforestation effort. Finally by giving them a measure of security of land tenure, it is our hope that they will begin to exert their utmost to increase their productivity, improve their lives and live with dignity.

Our reforestation efforts have yielded encouraging results. For once we have begun to bridge the gap between forest denudation and regeneration by enlisting the involvement of our citizens in the tree planting program and through the vigorous implementation of the government's program for ecosystem management or profem. Since 1978, the deforestation rate was drastically reduced from 170,000 hectares a year to 65,000 hectares.

I have cited all these programs and achievements in the same spirit that brought you together in this gathering: the spirit of cooperation and frank exchange of experiences from which concrete actions

And achievement ultimately spring. I have no illusions whatsoever that the problems facing the world of forestry can be solved by a single individual or even a single nation, and it is for this reason that we warmly welcome your effort to consult with each other on the problems and concerns of forestry. Nothing less than the concerted action of nations can stave off the growing problems affecting our forests, our environment and significant numbers of the world population.

Perhaps more than any other people, we in ASEAN must begin to take concerted action to save our forests. Today, two-fifths of Southeast Asia's timber have been cut down. Thailand has lost a fourth of her forests during the last ten years, the Philippines one-seventh during the last five years, and Indonesia harvests one-thirty-fifth of its commercial timber every year. Studies made by the World Ecological Areas Program lists down Thailand, the Philippines and Peninsular Malaysia at the top of the critical list of countries with dwindling forest resources. Deforestation has becoming endemic in Sabah, Sarawak, Sumatra and Kalimantan.

The problem threatens to get out of hand unless each country takes concrete measures to arrest the despoliation of our resources. And I am sure the leaders of ASEAN look to you to provide us with workable measures that would stop the rape of our forests. Together we can work to fulfill the theme of your conference and its objective to keep the ASEAN forests as "a World Heritage."

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 9th Philippine Business Conference, [November 10, 1983](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 9th Philippine Business Conference**

[Delivered on November 10, 1983]

Mr. Distinguished Chairman of the Prime 9th Philippine Business Minister
Ladies and gentlemen of the Philippine Business Community:

We meet today to keep our annual appointment with each other under the auspices of this National Business Conference, and to joint our efforts anew in the quest for national stability, recovery and growth.

It has always been the abiding purpose of this yearly conference to address itself to the paramount problems of economic life in the country, and to assist in shaping the nation's response to them. Yet perhaps never more than now has it been more urgent and necessary for the government and the private sector to pull together in meeting the problems and challenges before us.

For we meet today in profound awareness of a new time of travail in our country, marked above all by difficulties and anxieties in the economic scene the features of this new period of national trial are clear enough to all.

In the short span of three months, extraordinary developments have taken place affecting the financial foundations of the country. The nervousness of present world capital markets reached our shores at a time of vulnerability, ironically just when the nation was beginning to recover from the global recession. Demands for the payment on short term obligations to foreign lenders have mounted and new investment and loan inflows abroad practically ceased the export buildup and import slowdowns that resulted from measures taken earlier in the year provided insufficient to compensate for the deterioration on capital flows. And all these have gravely affected the country's balance of payments position. As a consequence, the peso was depreciated by 21.4 percent on October 5: major adjustments have been made in the pricing of oil products and various commodities and services as well as in wages; and on the whole the availability of capital for development activities has been affected.

Matching these developments on the economic front are the new issues that have arisen in our political life issues that relate to the very capability of our political system to effect change and reform and to ensure the continuity of democratic processes and institutions.

It does not need belaboring by anyone for us to recognize the gravity and urgency of the present situation grave as these problems are, however, our present travail is not rooted in any kind of collapse of our economic or political fortunes. Rather, it stems from a climate of uncertainty and doubt that reflects on the one hand the apprehensions of the International Financial Community about the country and underlines on the other anxieties of the nation as a whole under the shadow of one tragic event in our country, the nation has been torn by division at home and held in doubt abroad. And the impact of this climate of anxiety has been to sow major economic difficulties for the nation.

The time is past for recriminations and regrets on how the country has lurched overnight into the throes of this present travail, and how spectacular, panic and fear have deeply aggravated our problems and provoked false impressions abroad of national instability and chaos. We can only face and we must, the situation before us, and together address ourselves to the task of recovery and reform.

Let me say now, that it is the firm resolve of your government to lead the nation in this recovery and reform effort. It will seek from all — not least from our business community — their counsel and support. It will not shirk the decisions and the action that the times impel.

Already you are well aware that I have endeavored to consult with all sectors of our society in order to shape what should be our national response to the problems before us, also, you are doubtless aware of the various actions which government has already taken to squarely meet the present situation.

All these form part of the comprehensive program for recovery and reform that government is resolved to undertake. So let us take the time to see this program in both its totality and detail.

It is overwhelmingly clear that whatever we may do in the present situation is greatly dependent on essential progress being made with regard to the restructuring of our foreign debt, and to the availment of new financing for economic development efforts. The financial foundation of the economy consequently must be our first priority.

In a certain sense what we face in regard to our financial requirements is not new. And it is also temporary. Practically the entire developing world has had its share of problems in this regard, and the Philippines is only one of 35 countries seeking rescheduling of its foreign debts and new financing for its development efforts.

What is new is the impact of international uncertainty upon this process, and the various effects that this uncertainty has had on normal capital flows into the country. The crisis and instability perceived initially by the international community were more imagined than real, but the fact remains that serious damage was done to the confidence of international financial institutions in the country. And this in turn precipitated the wave of speculation, capital flight and gloom that eventually brought us to our present predicament.

Recognition of the basic falsity of this perception of the Philippines has taken some time, but at last we can say now that international confidence in the stability of our country and the fundamental soundness of our economy is returning. Mainly due to fact-finding visits made to the country by International Financial Missions and through the intensive consultations and discussions our government has undertaken with them. The broad program to relieve the financial crisis is now in the stages of finalization.

Over the weekend, I am sending Prime Minister Virata to the United States to finalize the various plans and agreements. It is expected that these plans will assure support to meet development and balance of payments targets and effect the restoration of the international reserve to a reasonable level. These involve among others the new agreement with the international monetary fund for the availment of new credits, and the reopening of new financing facilities to the country by the world bank and other financing institutions.

The remaining financing gap is proposed to be closed with assistance from international banks, both in the form of rescheduling of loan payments due in the next few years and of the infusion of new funds, including a committed facility to assure growth in International Trade Transactions.

This expected development notwithstanding, however, we must press on with our program to conserve our foreign exchange for vital needs of the economy. And to stress production efforts at home our goal must be on the one hand to permanently strengthen the country's financial foundations, and on the other to address ourselves to the challenge of living on what we have and can produce.

It is for this reason that government has moved swiftly to cope with the severe transition problems attendant to the present foreign exchange situation.

The first step has been to adopt the measures necessary to arrest the immediate adverse trends and to lay the policy groundwork for structural adjustment taking into account the present situation. These include the peso depreciation and the adjustment of oil prices, together with the consequent changes in transportation and electricity costs and in

minimum wages, the measures represent this first steps in realigning our imports and investment plans with our Foreign Exchange Generating capability.

Some immediate-term measures have been taken. Luxury and unnecessary imports have been banned. Consignment imports have been allowed for the raw materials needs of electronics and garments exports. No dollar import policies have been relaxed. In order to facilitate the inflow of needed material where these can be financed without calling on banking system dollar resources. Other arrangements are considered on a case to case basis.

The banking system has been the need and has agreed to pool with the international reserve, for as long as the emergency situation lasts, 80 percent of all foreign exchange receipts from exports of goods and services. This will ensure the maintenance of oil imports and thus keep the wheels of industry turning. Provision is also being made for the import requirements of export industries and for the import requirements of the absolutely vital domestic industries.

Needless to say, this effort is bound to be painful in the transition period that is now underway and we are not insensitive to the plaint of business in the light of austerity measures we have urged. But the times call for the full cooperation and goodwill among all sectors of the country — whether exporter or importer. Producer or consumer public or private entity — in order to transform the difficulties of the present into lasting foundations for economic stability and growth.

With similar resolution we must now stress and promote production efforts, especially toward the task of generating foreign exchange to pay for our import needs. The slogan of shifting funds. Energy and time production has always been a popular political slogan. Sometimes more honored in word than in deed today. This has become an economic reality or if you prefer a grim necessity for economic survival. We must place a premium on production and penalty on imports.

The priorities in the use of limited foreign exchange that we may be able to obtain in whatever form must be clearly set. Oil will be the first priority. Of course second are the raw materials for the manufacturer of goods and spare parts.

Like other non-oil producing developing countries. The Philippines had to suffer from the oil shocks of 1973-1974 and 1979 which caused oil prices to spiral from \$2 – \$4 a barrel to the present level of \$34 a barrel and consequently for the country's oil bill to soar from \$300 – \$400 to the present \$2.1 billion out of total imports of \$7.5 billion estimated for 1983.

It is in this spirit that we propose to assign our priorities of our import program. We must henceforth make every dollar count and ensure that foreign exchange is used only for essential needs. In this manner, we can continue to support our industries and manufacturing ventures by bringing in vital raw materials and machineries and thus promote the further growth of our non-traditional or manufactured exports.

As of 1982, these exports brought in \$2.5 billion in foreign exchange receipts — about half of total exports. And it is envisioned that these will increase three-fold in the next five years. If we but address ourselves to the challenge of producing more for exports.

In addition, we must also stress the need to lay a strong foundation for self-sufficiency in agricultural products, especially food supply for our people we are deeply disturbed by reports to the effect that our farmers and food producers are not getting what due them and that the old vice of many middlemen intervening and adding various surcharges which finally account for the untoward price increase of food items and prime commodities. This must immediately be stopped, if necessary, I will issue a decree making it illegal to the middlemen to impose unusually high premiums or costs for their services. Our policy henceforth will be to shorten the journey of goods from producers to consumers.

As an example, there is the action we have taken in regard to sugar. I have directed that we flood the market with sugar, in as much as we have plenty of this commodity. Those who have been hoarding sugar for the past several months and have been trying to manipulate its price will then be faced with losses in their inventories.

We are wholly confident that with the expected easing of the various financial stresses on the economy, we can fully hold line on inflation and at the same time fuel the broader process of economic recovery. We are in no doubt about the fundamental stability of the national economy, and that in time the engines of enterprise and production will revive and grow.

To our business community, let me assure you now that we fully realize the all-important role that you have in this recovery effort, we are mindful of your needs, and will do all we can to help, even as we also stress the need for a measure of austerity at this time the times are hard and require the application of strong medicine; but it is not our goal to achieve equilibrium in our balance of payments at the expense of our private sector and certainly we will move to avert any possible bankruptcies and mass layoffs of workers from happening.

Finally, I wish to turn briefly to certain political questions which I believe have been also a major concern of your present conference.

Let me say first of all that now more than ever there should be no reason to doubt the strength of our resolve to effect reforms in our political institutions and to ensure the continuity of democratic processes in our land. Where it is necessary to amend our fundamental laws, we shall amend where it is necessary to strengthen processes by decree, we shall write the same.

It has always been our resolve that the elections of a new parliament in 1984, as prescribed by our constitution, must take place to strengthen and make manifest the continuity of democratic government in our country. That resolve remains, and we will definitely hold elections next year.

For these elections, however, it is necessary that major reforms be undertaken in our election code in order to ensure the broadest participation in the electoral exercise. You will remember that this matter formed a substantive part of our message to the Batasan last July. In addition further reform measures have now been recommended among which is the change from the election of assemblymen by region to one by province, the elimination of bloc voting, an amendments relating to the preparation if necessary of new voter registration lists, and the provision of inspectors to the opposition. Likewise we have invited the opposition to nominate their representatives to fill two vacancies in the commission on elections,

These constitutes the earnest of government to hold clean orderly and democratic elections in 1984 and there should be no basis now not to participate in this electoral process for anyone and any group who truly desire parliamentary resolution of political questions in our national life.

Secondly, the question of succession has been raised, and it is felt by many that the device of succession provided for by the constitution is inadequate to avert turmoil in the fortuitous event of my inability to exercise the powers of the presidency. This extends far beyond the issue of the President's health, which remains, thank god, good contrary to all the rumors you hear. But while the executive committee provision may have sufficed before to answer the question of succession, it may be that it no longer suffices now to answer public clamor for a fail-safe process of succession.

I believe that action we take on this matter should not precipitately returns to the presidential form of government and summarily sacrifice the move towards the parliamentary system that constitutions has provided for and which have taken.

The solution as I see it lies in investing the succession in the office of prime minister, and in preserving the provision that will require for the calling of presidential elections within a period of 60 days subsequent to his assumption of presidential powers. Whether an amendment is necessary and how it should be made, we must now resolve.

With regard to the so-called proposals for the revival of the Vice-Presidential Office, let me say now what I frankly think about this. Because of recent history. I've become allergic to the idea of the vice-presidency. Vice-Presidents have become instant and ardent cardiology experts while listening to the heartbeat of the president.

And while we are on the subject let us dismiss once and for all those fears about so-called threats of a military takeover of our government. You and I know that this has always been largely the figment of the imagination of zealous foreign media men and of some oppositionists who while not believing in it hope to profit from all the talk about it. The whole idea is repugnant to our traditions as a people and we dishonor our military in assigning such dark intentions to it.

In the last analysis, burying this speculation can only come from the actual and demonstrated strength and continuity of our democratic processes and it is in this light that the elections of 1984 and other political reforms become so important and require the support of all of us.

We should not despair so soon of the political system we have instituted. Simply because of the rumors we hear or the challenges before us now. Indeed, we should remember that it was this very system — its resiliency and strength — that enabled us to surmount crisis after crisis in the past. It is a system open to reform and change, and it is open now to the kind of reform that the times truly require but it is a mistake to imagine that under the present situation we are called upon to return to the ways of the past, and to the recreation of offices that never served us well and are unlikely to serve us in future.

Applying ourselves to these twin tasks of economic recovery and political strengthening. I have no doubt that the nation will fully surmount the present time of trial.

There is no question that in the days ahead, we must all brace ourselves for self-sacrifices and burdens that will be for a time exacting and stringent. But this simply means that we all must exert ourselves more than we ever did before for it is not enough for the nation to surmount the adversities of the day. We must above all prosper.

This cannot be accomplished short of unity of action and resolve.

This government, let me repeat will lead in this effort of recovery and reform. It will not spare itself the austerity measures that the times demand. It will not relent in fundamental reforms necessary to the strengthening of our democratic institutions. It will not compromise in the tasks of reshaping the very machinery of government to make it more effective and responsive. It will be the first to practice and bear what it urges others to carry in this period of national trial.

But let us also recognize that the present situation is not helped by the actions of those who endeavor to manufacture an image of instability in the country. You in the business community know only too well how such actions have in the end gravely affected your sector and how the entire nation has reeled under the erosion of international confidence in the fundamental stability and health of our country.

In my meetings with various groups some weeks ago, I sought their support in desisting from such actions which I believed then would be injurious to international perceptions of the country. Unfortunately, my efforts were summarily taken as some sort of cover-up of the Aquino case and the complications it brought about.

There are real problems enough for us to face and resolve. There are tasks for everyone to bear in their respective sectors of our society. So there is no need to manufacture imaginary ones. That unfortunately are taken by others seriously even while it may be just a picnic for some of us.

As we face our problems and difficulties together, let us say in all realism that the task at hand is formidable, and that recovery and stability cannot be the work of a single day or a single act, but of many. But let us also take heart from the sure and certain knowledge that united and working together, our nation will surely survive and prosper.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on “Parangal sa Bagong Pilipino”, [December 20, 1983](#)

**Pangungusap
ng
Kagalang-galang na Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa Parangal sa Bagong Pilipino**

[Inihiyag noong ika-10 ng Disyembre, 1983]

Makisig ng Barangay; ng mababait ng Kabataang Barangay; mga kababayan: na Pambansang Richard Benjie masusugid tagapangulong Konseho Tagarao, Valdez, pinuno Edward ng mga at Chua Kabataang tagapangulo masisipag, kasapi

Natipon na yatang lahat dito sa Baguio ngayon ang mga kabataang Pilipino. Saanman ako tumingin, ang nakikita ko ay ang masisigla, masasaya at tunay na makababayang kabataang Pilipino na kabalikat natin sa pagtitindig ng bagong Republika. Palibhasa’y nasa kasiglahang talaga ang kabataan, aba, nagulat ako sa dami nitong mga resolusyong ibinigay ninyo ngayon. Naisip ko: tila nabalik yata ang dating Kongreso noon na panay ang patibay ng resolusyon. Nguni’t sa wari ko, ang mga resolusyon ninyong ito ay isa lamang katunayan na ang kabataang barangay ay talagang mulat sa pananagutang pambayan at sa mga tungkulin bilang tagapagmana ng lahing kayumanggi. Bayaan ninyo at ang lahat ng inyong kahilingan ay pag-aaralan natin at pagbibigyan kung nararapat.

Natutuwa ako na makapiling uli, makausap at makapalitang-kuro ang pili sa lalong mga piling kabataang Pilipinong kasapi ng Kabataang Barangay mula Aparri hanggang Jolo. Lalo akong nasiyahan nang malaman kong ang pagtitipon palang ito ay ukol sa pagbibigay parangal sa bagong Pilipino....iyong Pilipinong marunong magbanat ng bisig upang mabuhay nang marangal; iyong Pilipinong ang iniisip sa tuwina ay ang mga bagay na makatutulong hindi lamang sa kanyang sarili, at sa kanyang mga sariling pangarap, kundi higit sa lahat, sa kapakanan ng lahi at ng bansa; iyong Pilipinong marunong magpahalaga at kumilala sa pagsisikap na ginagawa ng pamahalaan upang ihanap ng lunas ang mga suliranin ng bayan; iyong Pilipinong hindi paninira at pagwawasak ang iniisip at ginagawa; at iyong Pilipinong nananalig na ang pagkakaisa, pagtutulongan at tapat na kapatiran ang tunay na landas tungo sa katuparan ng lahat ng pangarap ng ating lahi.

Nagpupugay ako at bumabati sa lahat ng bagong Pilipino na pinarangalan natin sa umagang ito. Ipinakilala at pinatunayan ng mga nagkamit ng parangal sa bagong Pilipino na ang edad ng isang tao ay walang kinalaman sa pagkakaroon ng malasakit sa kapakanang panlahat. Kaya kung tunay mang ang parangal na ito ay hindi natuloy nang una nating balakin nang nagdaang Setyembre, dahil sa mga suliraning likha ng mga taong muli na namang nagtatangkang maghasik ng lagim at magpunla ng kaguluhan sa ating bayan, ang pagtitipon natin ngayong araw na ito, dito sa makasaysayang Mansion House ang saksi ng pagmamahal, malasakit at walang katulad na pagpapahalaga ng inyong lingkod sa kapakanan, kapalaran at kinabukasan ng kabataang Pilipino.

Maselan na naman ang panahon. Marami na namang suliranin. Alam kong alam din ninyo na ang suliranin sa kabuhayan ay hindi ang Pilipinas lamang ang dumaranas. Laganap ito sa buong daigdig. Kahit ang tukod-yamang bansa na gaya ng Amerika, may suliranin din sa kabuhayan at kawalang hanapbuhay. At sa mga ganitong panahon, parang kabuting lumalabas ang mga bulaang propeta at mga propeta ng lagim na walang hangad kundi akayin ang ating mga kalahi, lalo na ang kabataang Pilipino, sa bangin ng kasawian at kapahamakan. Kaya nga, higit kailanman, ngayon dapat maging tunay na mulat, alisto at matalino ang mga kabataang tulad ninyo. Isipin muna ninyo at pag-aralang mabuti ang ano mang sinasabi at iniaaral ng mga bigong nilikhang naghahanap lamang ng damay sa kanilang kasawian at kabiguan sa buhay. Alam naman ninyong may mga taong kapag nabigo sa kanilang pangarap at ibig mangyari, ang ibig ay mabigo rin at masawi ang lahat sukdulang mapahamak pati ang ating lupang tinubuan.

Alam ko na may kahirapan ang buhay ngayon. Kaya nga, walang inaaksayang panahon ang inyong lingkod at ang pamahalaan upang hanapin ang lunas sa mga suliranin. Lahat ng pagsisikap ng inyong lingkod ngayon ay nakatuon lamang sa hangaring makaahon tayo at makatighaw sa mga suliranin. Nguni't, ang lingkod ninyo ay hindi si superman na makakayang mag-isa ang paglulunas sa suliranin. Kundi makikibalikat ang ating mga kababayan, lalo na ang mga kabataang tulad ninyo na siyang hantungan at tampulan ng lahat ng aming mga pagsisikap, mabibigo ang inyong lingkod at ang pamahalaan. Subali't, kung nasa likuran ko kayo at ang nakararami nating mga kababayan, kung kasama kayo ng inyong lingkod, walang gulat nating haharapin ang ano mang panganib, gaano man kalaki at gaano man karami.

Kaya nga, nananawagan akong muli sa mga piling kabataang natitipon dito, gayundin sa lahat ng ating mga kababayan, magkaisa tayo. Iwaksi ang poot at galit na ibig ipunla ng iba sa ating mga puso. Magkaisa tayo. Magtulungan tayo. Magdamayan tayo. Walang mangyayari sa paghahasik ng gulo at ligalig; walang buting mapapala kung pagkakagalitin natin ang ating mga kababayan; walang biyayang makukuha ang sino man kapag nagkawatak-watak ang mga Pilipino; lalong lalaki ang suliranin natin kapag binayaan natin ang mga magugulo sa kanilang panliligalig. Ang pilipinas ang tangi nating bayan. Tayo ang unang-unang may sagutin at tungkuling magmalasakit sa ating bayan. Ito ang tanging pamana sa ating lahat ng Maykapal kaya kailangang mahalín at iligtas sa panganib ang ating bayan, kahit buhay man natin ang maging katumbas.

Hindi ko alam kung anong uri ng mga tao iyang kung magpanggap, sila ay Pilipino, nguni't walang ginagawa kundi siraan ang ating bansa sa mata ng daigdig matupad lamang ang kanilang maitim na balak na magkagulo sa ating bayan at agawin sa tulong ng dahas ang pamahalaan. Salamat sa dakilang lumikha at iilan lamang ang mga ganyang uri ng tao sa Pilipinas. Ang nakararami sa ating bayan ay ang mga kabataang tulad ninyong uliran at naniniwala sa sariling punyagi, sikap, sipag at tiyaga upang lunasan ang mga suliraning pang-araw-araw. Kaya naman, tapat ang aking pananalig sa talino at kakayahan ng lahing Pilipino, lalo na ng mga kabataang tulad ninyo. Naniniwala ako na hindi maililigaw ng mga propeta ng lagim ang ating mga kababayang nakaaalam na ng tunay na balak at hangarin ng mga ganitong uri ng tao.

Uulitin ko ang pagbati sa mga tumanggap ng parangal sa bagong Pilipino. Sana, sa isang taon, higit na marami ang pagkakalooban natin ng parangal na ito. Ipagpatuloy ninyo ang mga sinimulang dakilang gawaing mamumunga ng mabuti at kaunlaran para sa inyong mga sarili at sa ating bansa sa kabuuan. Huwag lamang kayong magsasagawang makibalikat sa inyong lingkod at sa pamahalaan, ang inyong lingkod at ang pamahalaang ito ay hindi magsasawang umisip ng paraan at magsikap na gumawa ng ano mang hakbang sa ikalulutas ng ating mga suliranin. Nasa inyong pakikiisa at pakikibalikat ang tatag at lakas ng loob ng inyong lingkod.... at diyan din nakasalig ang tunay na tatag ng Pamahalaang Pilipino.

Maraming salamat sa inyong lahat. Mabuhay ang kabataang Pilipino! Maligayang Pasko sa inyong lahat.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Christmas Message of President Marcos to Filipinos Overseas, [December 25, 1983](#)

**Christmas message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
To Filipinos Overseas**

[Delivered on December 25, 1983]

My countrymen:

In behalf of your relatives and friends here in the Philippines, allow me once more to extend to you and every member of your family our warmest Holiday greetings.

As we celebrate this joyful feast of the nativity of the Christ child, our thoughts inevitably turn to those among our countrymen who cannot be home with us this Christmas, for it is our cherished tradition to spend this day with the family.

This year, there is an even more compelling reason for us to hope that you could have been with us, for distance has a way of distorting the realities of everyday life in our homeland and causing needless anxieties among those who are ill-informed. While it is true that we are passing through one of the most difficult periods in our history, it is equally true that the fabric of national unity remains strong and our people are determined to cope with the stresses of the times. Adversity is no stranger to our people, and we have overcome seemingly insurmountable problems before. This time I am sure we will prevail once more.

Despite all the problems we face, our people's confidence remains undiminished and despite the relatively modest scale of our celebration, our spirits remain high for the Christmas message of goodwill to all men reigns in our hearts.

My family joins me again in extending to you and your families our best wishes for Christmas and the New Year. May the Lord continue to shower you with the blessings of good health, happiness and success in all your endeavors throughout the year and in the years to come.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Christmas Message of President Marcos, [December 25, 1983](#)

**Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Christmas day**

[Delivered on December 25, 1983]

On this festive day of Christmas, once again we gather in the quiet of our homes and in the company of our loved ones, to hear its ageless message of joy, peace and goodwill.

Of all the feasts of Christendom, Christmas is the festival of family and home. Today, I think especially of the larger family that is our nation and our people

We are coming through a year of many trials and difficulties. And it may seem that for many members of our family, it will be hard to feel the happiness and merriment that naturally belongs to Christmas.

Yet there is in the midst of all these, much that as a people we can be proud of, and much also that we can be thankful for. For together we have shown the way in confronting the many difficulties and challenges before us, through our fortitude and our resolve. In the midst of crisis, once more we have proven ourselves resilient and undaunted. Under the threat of chaos and disunion. We have kept faith with one another. Now as the Christmas season comes upon us, there are many things that should not fail to lighten up our hearts and raise our hopes for the future.

It is no doubt the timelessness of the Christmas message that makes this day so special in our lives. We know that even as the world keeps on changing, and our circumstances with it, certain things do abide and endure. And it is not so much the material blessings that gladden our hearts today, as the spiritual possessions that are ours: the friendship and love of others, the warm knowledge of national solidarity and unity, the undiminished hope in the blessings of tomorrow.

In good times or in bad, the message of Christmas is one of joy and hope. And so today my family and I fervently pray that such will be yours this Christmas Day. Merry Christmas to all.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1983). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Constitution Day, [January 17, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Constitution Day**

[Released on January 17, 1984]

We commemorate today a monumental event in our nation's history. Eleven years ago, we set a new course for the attainment of our national destiny by ratifying a new Constitution. That Constitution altered the form of government in our country. It memorialized the duties of citizens, at the same time that it reaffirmed all the traditional rights and immunities of the individual. It advanced the frontiers of state programs for social justice and national development. Above all, it enshrined for us all the national purpose, which is the attainment of the political liberation, the economic liberation, and the lasting unity of the Filipino people.

Sentiments and occasions such as these are common enough in the histories of nations and peoples everywhere yet in our case, we do well to remind ourselves of the meaning of Constitution day to our people and our country, for it has been our pervasive experience as a nation to struggle for our rights and prerogatives as a free and independent nation.

We begun national independence under the aegis of a foreign Constitution written by a Constitutional Convention called by a foreign law, which in turn was approved by a foreign president. We shall not recite here the circumstances that led to these strange beginnings of Filipino nationhood, but we do well to remember that under that Constitution, another nation claimed sovereignty over vital bases and territory in our country, for a period of 99 years. And under that Constitution too, another people were able to claim and secure parity rights with our people here in our own land.

It has taken some time and not too little effort on the part of several generations of our people to correct and banish these fundamental defects under which we begun our nationhood. And in all this time, we have always known and fervently believed that only through the full rejection of these limitations to our political liberation can we truly claim our place in a world of independent and sovereign nations.

It is in the light of this national experience that the ratification in 1973 of our new Constitution derives its meaning and import. For by that singular act of national will and resolve, we enshrined within sight of the world a new fundamental law of the land, written by and for Filipinos. And since that time, there has been no end to our efforts to achieve our full national liberation: to erase every limitation upon national independence, to free our people, politically, economically, socially, culturally, as is worthy of a free nation.

It is true that this new Constitution has been from time to time subjected to the criticism of those who seem to pine for and who would shackle the entire nation to the irrelevance and shame of the past. It is true that time and again, during the last 11 years, there have been challenges mounted against the legality and efficacy of the new Constitution, for whatever reasons you can imagine.

But the overwhelming fact is already clear to all. The effectivity of this Constitution is now beyond all manner of debate. In no less than 50 decisions, the Supreme Court has acted to uphold as well as interpret the 1973 Constitution. The very efficacy of this Constitution has been proven in countless national referenda and elections since its ratification.

It is not therefore to these sterile debates and futile cavils that our attention is called in this 11th anniversary of our new Constitution. But to the continuing challenge of making this charter fit the changing needs and circumstances of national life. Ten days hence, our people will exercise their twin right and duty to participate in a national plebiscite

that will decide upon important amendments to the Constitution. And they will do so in the same spirit under which they had ratified that charter: that only their mandate sets the course for the government and the nation to follow. Only their mandate will decide how we may proceed to promote the national purpose to strengthen the sovereignty we claim for ourselves, and to attain the just aspirations of all.

We have travelled much since 1973 in our goal to remove limitations on our political liberation. Philippine sovereignty is now recognized in the remaining military bases in our country. For the first time, our flag flies alone over these military facilities. Similarly we have expanded the electoral franchise to include citizens from 18 years and above, as well as those who cannot read and write. We have recreated the Pre-Spanish Filipino barangays to widen the base of participatory democracy. In numbers alone, this means an increase of the national electorate from eight million to about 24 million voters today.

And we have introduced as well many changes in the Constitution designed to enhance the political liberation of our country and of the individual citizen.

With similar resolve, we have significantly moved to achieve the economic liberation of our people, knowing that while a people can be politically free, they can yet remain shackled under various forms of economic bondage, captive to either the control of others or to the terrible prisons of poverty and underdevelopment.

Economic liberation for us means what I have repeatedly said: the transformation of a mendicant society into a productive society, self-sufficient, self-reliant, proud and dignified because each individual earns a livelihood and contributes to the nation's vitality and strength. Our Constitution specifically recognizes this economic dimension to national liberation, in stating in various provisions the need for the promotion of gainful opportunities for every Filipino and the need for the nation to address itself to the tasks of development.

Thus, reforms in the national economy have flowed in the light of this national purpose. We have put into place a National Land Reform Program, which continues to liberate many of our farmers from bondage to the soil. We have consecrated ourselves to a national development effort, that places on the state the task of leadership and on individual enterprise and initiative the responsibility of making economic change.

Under this new Constitution we have expanded the national vision from the mere objective of securing political rights, to include now the equally important objective of securing economic rights. And this is because we believe with the social scientists of the age that political rights are irretrievably linked with economic and social rights. That there is in the end no political freedom where there is no economic freedom. That only the man who is economically independent and self-reliant is truly politically free. And only in those terms can we then become a united and strong nation.

I would put it to you, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Philippine Constitution Association, that it is in the light of these fundamental themes of our National Charter that we must examine and deliberate the issues posed to us on January 27.

For this is truly not an exercise merely for the sake of change; rather it is a national reckoning of proposed changes designed to aid the nation in the quest for national progress and stability.

"The Constitution," as Justice Felix Frankfurter once said, "is neither a printed finality nor the imprisonment of the past, but the unfolding of the future." In the same vein, Justice Brandeis looks at the Constitution as "a living organism." As such, he says, "it is capable of growth — or of expansion and adaptation to new conditions — and growth implies changes, political, economic and social"

It is, therefore, in this spirit and against this background that the Filipino people will, once again, be asked on January 27 to make an important amendment to our Constitution.

The proposed substantial amendments to our Constitution — particularly the abolition of the Executive Committee and the restoration of the Vice-Presidency — will be submitted to the people for ratification. This brings into focus once again the debate as to what is the form of our government, or how the proposed amendments will affect the structure of our government.

The Supreme Court of the Philippines, in the case of Free Telephone Workers Union vs. MOLE, 108 S. C. R. A. 757, Oct. 30, 1981, held that the features of parliamentary system in the Constitution does not alter its “essentially presidential character.” It stated that –

“The adoption of certain aspects of a parliamentary system in the amended Constitution does not alter its essentially presidential character. Article VII on the Presidency starts with this provision: ‘the President shall be the Head of State and Chief Executive of the Republic of the Philippines.’ Its last section is an even more emphatic affirmation that it is a presidential system that obtains in our government. Thus: all powers vested in the President who, by virtue of his election by the entire electorate, has an indisputable claim to speak for the country as a whole. Moreover, it is he who is explicitly granted the greater power of control of such ministries. He continues to be the executive, the amplitude and scope of the functions entrusted to him in the formulation of policy and its execution leading to the apt observation by LASI that there is not one aspect of which that does not affect the lives of all.”

The form of government under the 1973 Constitution has merged the effective features of a presidential type of government with a dominant President and the essential character of a parliamentary form of government which is the fusion of the Legislative and Executive departments of the government. Under the parliamentary system of government, there is a greater blending of powers between the Executive and the Legislative departments.

In contra-distinction with the presidential type of government, there is a meticulous assignment of powers between the Legislative and Executive departments.

At the outset, I do not feel it important to give a label by which we should classify our form of government. The truth is whatever name we attach to it will not alter or change what it is. As Shakespeare would put it, “a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.”

However, I will venture on an analysis of our present form of government which reflects what I have already said in my speech at the opening of the Fourth Regular Session of the Batasang Pambansa on July 27, 1981. To my mind, the principal test to determine our form of government is to know whether or not there is a clear cut cleavage that separates the legislative and executive powers in the present setup. For if there is none, then it is a parliamentary form of government.

Although the President enjoys a stature of prominence in our government structure, our form of government retains and enjoys the essential features of a parliamentary form of government. This is because there is a fusion, though not total, of the Legislature and the Executive departments. There is a close and intimate collaboration between the Legislative and Executive branches of government, thereby modifying or diluting the system of checks and balances between the Legislative and Executive department in the presidential system. The majority of the members of the Cabinet are members of the Batasang Pambansa. This setup is to our utmost advantage especially during these times when vital decisions should be implemented posthaste. The blending of the Legislative department which makes the laws and the Executive department which enforces it, set in motion the policies of the government with definite celerity.

Therefore, the Batasang Pambansa retains its dual function of legislation and control over the government. There is a sharing of executive power between the President and a Prime Minister responsible to Parliament. The power to dissolve the government by a vote of no-confidence is retained by the interim Batasang Pambansa. Thus, our Constitution unequivocally provides:

The Batasang Pambansa may withdraw its confidence from the Prime Minister by a majority vote of all its members. (Section 13, (1), Art. VIII, 1973 Constitution).

On the other hand, the President, through the advice of the Prime Minister, may dissolve the I. B. P. and call for new elections. Sec. 13, No. (2) of Article VIII provides:

The Prime Minister may advise the President in writing to dissolve the Batasang Pambansa whenever the need arises for a popular vote of confidence on fundamental issues, but on a matter involving his own personal integrity. Whereupon, the President may dissolve the Batasang Pambansa not earlier than seven nor later than fourteen days from his receipt of the advice, and call for an election on a date set by him which shall not be earlier than forty-five nor later than sixty days from the date of such dissolution. x x x

These are the essential features of our parliamentary system which dilutes the dominance of the President. The legislative process is initiated by both the Government or the Executive and the Parliament. In turn, bills and proposals of the Cabinet are studied by the Parliamentary Committee before they are debated in Parliament.

One might be misled, however, that no check remains in the process of legislation or, for that matter, in the execution of laws. This is not the case. What has been eliminated is the pernicious practice in the presidential system whereby the Legislature and the Executive are pitted against each other, that their primary functions is to watch and check each other rather than be active collaborators.

Related to this effective integration of executive and legislative processes is the institution of party responsibility. There is now a growing consciousness that our present structure of government rests on party responsibility. Thus, the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, the majority party, is now the entity responsible to the people and not just a particular leader.

For the benefit of those who have the mentality that nothing is legitimate unless it is recognized in the United States or in Europe, let me point out to you that the form of government that emerged under the 1973 Constitution and its amendments is closely similar to the French form of government under its 1958 Constitution. There is also a strong French president which is its predominant feature there is a sharing of executive power between a non-accountable Head of State and a Prime Minister responsible to Parliament and the powers of dissolution of that government, by Parliament and of Parliament by the government. But the government remains subservient to the President who is elected by universal suffrage. This power was wielded first by De Gaulle from 1958-69 and then by his successors.

The Batasang Pambansa is often labelled as a mere “rubber stamp” of the President. This is because, apparently, every major proposal of the President is approved. The criticism is based on a lack of awareness of the changes in the structure and operation of our government. Actually what happens is that every major proposal in the Batasang Pambansa sponsored by the majority party is first decided in the party Caucus. The party decides on the issues before the bills are introduced to the floor of the Batasang Pambansa. The recent example was the resolution on the proposed amendments in the forthcoming plebiscite. I think most of you are aware that the issues on the restoration of the Vice-Presidency was hotly contested even within the ranks of the majority party. This mechanism of deliberating and threshing the issues of a proposed bill in party caucus demonstrates not a docile legislating assembly but a working party government.

The restoration of the President elected directly by the people instead of by the Batasang Pambansa from among its members was the most important change in the structure of our government brought about by the 1981 Amendments. One feature of the parliamentary system, namely, the merger of the Executive and Legislative branches at the highest level thus disappeared. The Chief Executive as Head of Government, no longer a member of the Batasan but a separate entity with a fixed term of office, may not be removed by the Batasan on a vote of no confidence. In this sense and to this extent there has been a reversion to the presidential system. The amendments in 1981, however, did not bring back entirely the presidential system under the 1935 Constitution. Our government still has the essential features of the parliamentary form. Rather than having a Legislature that is at odds with the Executive, we have a Batasan that effectively carries out the policies of the ruling party. The legislative power is still primarily vested in the Batasang Pambansa. The 1981 Amendments state that it is the President that “shall formulate the guidelines of national policy. It further states that the program of government shall be as “approved by the President” and the “Prime Minister and the Cabinet shall be responsible to the Batasang Pambansa about this program.” This structural interrelation between the President and the Batasang Pambansa becomes an effective

mechanism in the implementation of the guidelines of national policy and the program of government as formulated and approved by the President.

The proposed restoration of the Office of the Vice-President will not in any manner affect the present structure of government. The Vice-President merely supplants the Executive Committee as the successor to the President in case of permanent disability, death, removal from office or resignation of the President. Whereas before it was a collegiate body that would exercise the powers of the President when a vacancy occurs, the amendment vests succession in an individual. The Vice-President. Thus, the Office of the Vice-President will not in any way alter the existing structural relationship between the major branches of government.

If ever our people decides in favor of the amendments, I still believe that our government will not deviate from being parliamentary in character. The new Office of the Vice-President will not alter the integration of the Executive and the Legislative. It would merely add a new office to prevent a vacuum in case the President, for reasons stated in the law, cannot function anymore.

Along with the amendment concerning Presidential succession, our people are asked to decide whether or not to revise the basis of representation in our Parliament from the present regional constituency to provinces with their component cities, highly urbanized cities, and districts in the case of the National Capital Region. This question is brought forth by the Batasang Pambansa whose members not only seek to improve the representation base for the law-making body but also provide equal opportunities for all community leaders to win popular elections in areas where they are naturally known, in their own provinces or cities. The approval of the amendment would give members of smaller and weaker political parties a sporting chance in campaigns and political combats with strong machineries such as what we have in the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan party.

Along with these proposed amendments there are two other questions in the plebiscite relating to economic and social goals. The first seeks to allow the government to grant alienable lands of the public domain as an additional mode of land acquisition for our landless farmers and tenants. Of the outcome of this particular plebiscite question, I am very curious and concerned. As you all know, I personally asked my KBL colleagues in the Batasan to study and debate on this matter which I deemed vital to the continuance of our Agrarian Reform Program. Which is why you must forgive me if, for a few minutes, I drop all convention and openly campaign for a “yes” vote on this question.

At present, the Constitution as well as subsequent legislations limit the acquisition and distribution of lands to the landless only through direct purchase, concessions, leaseholds and homesteads. While the Agrarian Reform Program which I initiated in September of 1972 was successful enough for the New Republic to rest its laurels on — as evidenced by the emancipation of the farmer from the old feudal land-ownership structure and his newfound willingness to responsibly cultivate his land which resulted in self-sufficiency in rice and cereals — the administration now realizes that past accomplishments somehow prove insufficient when taken in the light of present economic trends, both local and international. More and more clearly, we have come to realize that any great industrial leap forward necessitates accompanying strides in the fields of agriculture and agri-business.

On the other hand, we have made fruitful use of our remaining tracts of arable lands. We encouraged farmers to increase their harvests of rice, corn, vegetables and other staple through the expansion of agricultural credit, the teaching of modern farm technologies and techniques, the training of field technicians dedicated to assisting farming families, and the construction of rural infrastructures such as irrigation canals, dams, hydro-electric plants, farm-to-market roads, even rural health and medical care services. We organized self-help and self-employment enterprises through the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran to increase rural incomes and elevate the living standards in the countryside.

Concomitantly, we witnessed the rise of semi-urbanized communities in the once rustic areas, and the ultimate and necessary conversion of agricultural plots into residential lots. This, as you all know, is an irreversible process.

At the same time, we reserve today vast tracts of public lands from agricultural ventures. These lands simply remain as part of our untapped natural resources. But natural resources could remain unproductive unless wisely utilized in the country's search for progress.

Thus, we foresaw the need to convert some of these lands into “grants” to private individuals in order that both our agrarian reform and economic development programs are not stunted by mere statutory hindrances. If statutes work against the interest of the state and of its people, then of what use are they?

Which is why I now openly ask you to approve the proposed amendment, to empower the government to grant public lands to landless private citizens. I promise in turn to put such land grants to good use for our national welfare.

Finally, we are asked on Plebiscite Day to vote for or against “the addition of a paragraph to Section 12, Article XIV of our Constitution, to wit: “the state shall moreover undertake an urban land reform and social housing program in order to provide the landless and homeless with reasonable opportunity to acquire land and decent homes.” This question is again of paramount concern to the landless, to our millions of toiling people who have surrendered the hope of finally owning a decent home and lot as an impossible Filipino dream.

You ask, perhaps, why the last two questions are included in the proposed Constitutional amendments. Surely, you will cite, the Constitution already categorically provides that the state should “promote social justice to ensure the dignity, welfare and security of all people.” And more explicitly, the Constitution also specifies that, “towards this end, the state shall regulate the acquisition, ownership, use, enjoyment and disposition of private property, and equitably diffuse property ownership and profits.”

To this query, I say: if adopted, these last two proposed amendments will not only further define the powers of the state. More importantly, the inclusion of these two amendments in the Constitution will make it a duty of the government — not only of this administration which boldly launched the Agrarian Reform Program and the social housing concept in the first place, but also of future administrations — to initiate activities in both rural and urban land reform.

We celebrate therefore the 11th year of our 1973 Constitution on the eve of great decisions concerning the national future. We are faced in the coming plebiscite with major decisions that will certainly influence the course and the pace of national progress. And we will make these decisions in an atmosphere of unity and conciliation through this venue of peaceful and free voting.

And so, by way of closing, I would just recall to you the illuminating words of one of our brilliant Constitutionalists, Don Claro M. Recto. He said:

“Let us then bear witness to the Constitution so that, in the language of the gospels, all the people may learn to believe if our nation is to survive and attain greatness in freedom, the Constitution must live in our actions, both as individual and as a people, in the enlightened conviction and the steadfast belief that only in the spirit of the Constitution, made flesh among us, shall democracy abide with us and our nation forever enjoy the blessings of independence under a regime of justice and liberty.”

I would like to say that the Constitution is, in essence, the avatar of the Filipinos’ highest aspirations and ideals. It is the embodiment of our nation’s response to the global pursuit of peace and prosperity. Without a fundamental law to define the powers and limitations of government and the inalienable rights of the individual, the forces of destruction will have their day and a dim abyss may be our only future.

And so, let us be assiduous in guarding and protecting this Constitution; always remembering that it is the palladium of all our political, civil, economic and even religious rights.

This Constitution is our golden legacy to generations of Filipinos to come. Let us therefore cherish and preserve it not only for ourselves but for posterity.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the launching of the Sariling Sikap Movement, [February 14, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Launching of the Sariling Sikap Movement**

[Released on February 14, 1984]

We mark here today not so much the beginning of a movement, as the renewal of a covenant we made with each other 18 years ago.

There is much in the Kilusang Sariling Sikap that is perhaps novel and unique to our time — in its response to the difficulties our nation faces today, in its call to our people to turn once more to the land for national salvation, and in its imaginative application of new technologies and approaches to the perennial task of making the land yield its bounty and riches.

Yet the antecedents and the building blocks of this program are many. And it takes its place in a long line of many labors and undertakings we have engaged in through the years, and under the aegis of the national vision we raised before our people upon our assumption of office 18 years ago.

In words that many of you may still remember, I said then: “this is a vision of the jungles opening up to the farmer’s tractor and plow, of the wilderness claimed for agriculture and the support of human life, of the mountains yielding their boundless treasure, and of the rows of factories turning the harvests of our fields into a thousand products...

“It is our people bravely determining their own future for to make the future is the supreme act of freedom.”

Again and again, in all the years of my Presidency, in many programs and undertakings, in projects current as well as past, we find the shaping hand of this vision of national life.

This, too, governs this movement which we today commend to the support and participation of our countrymen, of communities and individuals alike, of citizens and public servants, and of the many sectors of our society.

What is new about Kilusang Sariling Sikap is the added and vital dimension it gives to the national quest for self-reliance. And this is the singleminded focus and sweep it invests in its program for national productivity and economic liberation.

In an important sense, we reach through this program and this movement the logical culmination of our efforts for national development through the years.

On the one hand, it is the final thrust forward that follows the landmark programs of the recent past: the epic effort to build the basic infrastructures of the national economy, the priority programs for food production, the heavy emphasis on agricultural research and the development of new technologies, the efforts to reduce national dependence on imported fuel, and the accelerated productivity and diversification campaign in the export sector — all of which have been primarily geared towards national productivity.

In another respect, Sariling Sikap is a major effort to correct certain imbalances in our development thrusts and to meet specific problems of the day.

Our national experience during the past 18 years in sum have brought us to this final struggle which we must wage — the full economic liberation of our people, and the achievement of national self-reliance.

We have seen during these years levels of productivity and evidences of success in many of our endeavors. But self-reliance we have not yet achieved.

We have seen the national product and income attain heights impossible to imagine at the time when we began. But the economic liberation of all our people we have not reached.

We have seen our commerce with the world and our place in the family of nations grow in volume and stature. But dependence on others and vulnerability to global crisis have not ended.

This unrequited goal — this dream of a national life fully sustained by our own strivings and achievements — underlines the national situation today, our captivity to the vagaries of international life, our anxieties in the face of doubting friends and allies.

This movement is a major step toward the fulfillment of the dream.

No single program, of course, can by itself erase the state of national dependence on others for various needs. Neither can we transform overnight the blight of poverty and underdevelopment in various parts of the country.

But Kilusang Sariling Sikap goes further than any program in the past to invest the national quest for self-reliance with practicable projects and attainable goals.

And it is the first of several programs for self-reliance we propose for the various sectors of the national economy, which can turn this time of uncertainty and crisis into one of opportunity and achievement.

The essential features of Sariling Sikap are easy enough to understand. Implementing it is the challenge.

In what the First Lady has called its “macro component”, Sariling Sikap seeks to develop and transform denuded, idle and under-utilized lands into Forest Farms or People’s Forests that are productive, income-generating, and a source of food, energy and livelihood. We have identified some 10 million hectares of idle lands that over the long-term can be harnessed and developed.

The basic concept of the forest farm is to plant initially these idle lands to ipil-ipil and to intercrop it with more permanent central and orchard trees. And the objective is to create first a large source of pelletized animal feeds and veneer from ipil-ipil and other fast growing sources; and in the longer term to create an abundant supply of coffee and fruits which can be processed into drinks and canned food.

The overall implementation envisions the development of forest farms at three levels: at the provincial level with a target area of 1,000 hectares per province during the first year; at the municipal level with a target area of a maximum of 100 hectares; and at barangay level with a maximum of ten hectares.

The really important aspect of this program is that it has the potential to harness the efforts of the low-salaried and the least advantaged in our society. Teachers and men in uniforms as much as individual families can take part in the tree-planting effort at any level of the program and realize substantial incomes or additional sources of incomes.

And let us not forget that this is a program rooted in actual case studies with demonstrated profitability and success. There are three of these today: 1) the Bolinao Dendro-thermal Plantation which is a 1,000-hectare government-owned plantation planted to ipil-ipil, and is the fuel source of the dendro thermal plant in that town. The plant now provides electricity to 47 municipalities in Pangasinan. And it is envisioned that in 8 years, the total project cost of P3.5 million will be fully recovered.

2) The Ilocos Norte Agro Forestry Estate Project which is a 500-hectare plantation planted to ipil-ipil trees intercropped with fruit trees and agricultural crops. A beneficiary is expected to earn an average net income of P5,235 per year after six years.

3) The Bayambang Ipil-ipil Three Plantation and Kiln Drying, which consists of 87 hectares planted to ipil-ipil and for the purpose of charcoal production.

The other component of the program, its “micro aspect”, is the self-reliant home movement or Kasipagan homes, which is basically an educational and technology dissemination campaign designed to transform Filipino homes into self-reliant and productive units. Seven technology packages are extended to participating families with homelots, and these involved projects as varied as home gardening, vermi compost, tilapia production and household improvement.

The objective of this project component is to involve 2 million families to participate in the initial year.

I shall not go into the details of these projects under Sariling Sikap, but shall merely underline the difference it can make in the national productivity effort and the challenge involved in implementing it.

We have right now the technological knowhow to undertake Sariling Sikap on a nationwide scale. We have 200 agricultural schools to serve as raw materials production input centers for the technological packages. We have entire ministries and agencies to assist in the forest farm effort. And we can set up the plants for the processing of farm products to secure maximum advantage from them.

To fund Sariling Sikap, it is not necessary to provide an additional outlay in the national budget. It will be provided by the mandatory savings from the expenses of maintenance and operations of the government, of which in 1984 some P2 to 3 million is possible.

In the last analysis, Sariling Sikap is really a question of people: hands to take up the work that must be done, men and women and families to take up the critical burden of this national productive effort.

The ethic of work and achievement, embraced on a national scale, is what really will make the difference success and failure in this program, between poverty and liberation, between dependence and self-reliance.

This ethic alone can transform Sariling Sikap into the program for national liberation that we envision it to be

Nothing less will do the job.

Eric Hoffer once observed that the essential problem of developing nations is how to transfer the mystique of political independence into the everyday world of economic toil and effort.

Liberation cannot come for us in lamenting the years we lost through colonial subjugation, in pinning over the riches of the land taken the foreigner for centuries, or in regretting the problems that have washed upon our shores. It comes from planting the land we have and from producing for our needs. It cannot come from angry invectives, or from vain hopes, or from breastbeating. I have said before: let the dreams and the words be dramatic, if they must be; but let us never forget that the real drama, the real fulfillment lies in the common place act of sowing in order to reap, of working in order to lift up ourselves.

This then is the challenge that we urge upon our people as we launch today the Kilusang Sariling Sikap.

Let us take up this burden and apply ourselves to the work at hand, for only thus can we meet the needs to the present time and become truly the nation we aspire to be.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Draft Speech of President Marcos, [February 14, 1984](#)

**Drafts Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines**

[Released on February 14, 1984]

SELF-RELIANCE THROUGH SELF-HELP

INTRODUCTION

Two years ago, we launched the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran – a movement that marked the genesis of awareness in our minds of the true meaning of self-reliance and the essence of community involvement.

The thousands of livelihood projects that were embarked upon by our people all over the country are in fact an actualization of the New Republic's soul-the economic liberation of a people in its most elemental manifestation.

Through their KKK projects, we were able to demonstrate that we can indeed take control of our own economic needs through mutual cooperation in reshaping our environment into one of productivity and enterprise.

This spirit of self-reliance, which for me is the most important task of the National Livelihood Program, needs an intensification as we now face greater economic challenges.

The stabilization of our economy lies in our own hands, in our innate tenacity as a people to surmount all forms of struggle, and in our vast reservoir of natural resources awaiting our utilization.

Our National Priorities

This government has always advocated self-reliance in fulfilling the basic needs of our people. Today, national priorities dictate a greater need to be self-sufficient in three major areas of concern: these are food, energy and shelter. Indeed, the significance of these three areas become all the more pronounced as we struggle for economic liberation and ultimately strive for a better quality of life. Needless to say, we have been dependent on external sources for a greater portion of our requirements in energy and in food, though to a lesser degree.

While gainful strides have been achieved in making the Philippines self-sufficient in rice and has in fact become an exporter of this commodity, we are still deficient in other food crops. Total food importation amounted to \$561 million in 1983, notably dairy and beef products, indicating the magnitude of potential foreign exchange savings in this area. Increased production of beef to supply domestic requirements should be accelerated. Locally processed beef accounts for only 60% of domestic demand which is ironical considering that cattle feed mainly on grass and hence do not require imported feed grains.

However, we must be more ambitious and look beyond mere foreign exchange savings and further to exporting our domestic food produce in order to generate valuable dollar receipts for the country. The export potentials of Philippine fruits like bananas, pineapples and mangoes as well as its processed variety like banana chips, dehydrated pineapple, and mango puree remains to be fully tapped. Papayas also face brighter prospects in the export market. Let me therefore emphasize that the agricultural sector is the major and most resilient contributor to foreign exchange earnings and every effort should be exerted to capitalize on the national production capability vis-avis international demands.

In the area of energy self-reliance, I am proud to say that substantial headway has been attained. Statistics show that in 1972, we were 95% dependent on imported oil. Because of our determined efforts to reduce the vulnerability of

our economy to the vicissitudes to the global oil crisis, we have whittled down this dependence to 68% in 1982 and further to about 65% in 1983.

Again, let me reiterate, that while credible gains have been posted in the development of alternative energy sources, much can be done, even at the household level.

Energy savings by the household sector will mean a substantial impact on our total oil bill considering the fact that household usage accounts for 14% of total energy demand. Even a 5% reduction of our oil bill which averages \$180 million a month will definitely help ease our BOP difficulties, help prevent a standstill in industry and at the same time cushion inflationary pressures. A concerted shift by each household to indigenous sources of home energy like ipil-ipil and charcoal will put us all in a stronger position to surmount these trying times. Farming trees for fuel in generating the power needs of the country through dendro thermal plants shall create employment, enhance ecological balance and prime both agriculture and industry.

With respect to shelter, there is a need to continue the momentum we have achieved under the National Shelter Program. The housing backlog, estimated at anywhere between one million to three million units, can be addressed with the production of indigenous and low-cost housing materials. The People's Forest, an anchor program of the Kilusang Sariling Sikap, will not only provide food and energy but also raw materials for the shelter industry. Moreover, on-going thrust to utilize woodwastes, if expanded under this movement, will further enable us to provide cheaper homes for the homeless.

And as we prime the construction industry, the attendant increase in sectoral productivity and income and employment generation spills over to the numerous industries linked to construction, thereby significantly boosting national productivity.

The impact of food, energy and shelter on the economy cannot be underestimated. All combined, these three items constitute more than 60% of the total family expenditures. Therefore, by attaining self-sufficiency in the home, family purchasing power effectively increases, enabling the household members to afford what could have been otherwise beyond their means.

Emerging Movement – Kilusang Sariling Sikap

The goal of self-reliance through self-help can only be attained through a continuing movement utilizing a wholistic, grassroots approach. Therefore, the Kilusang Sariling Sikap or Self-Reliant Home Movement recognizes the skills and ingenuity of 52 million Filipinos, the richness and vastness of our natural resources and the sincerity of the National Government in finding solutions to our problems.

Whereas the National Livelihood Program, implemented through the KKK, and the National Shelter Program have attacked our economic problems by providing low-cost financing for business or home building, the Kilusang Sariling Sikap relies on practical technologies using idle resources to augment income. Increasing livelihood opportunities and developing alternative energy sources are some of the most visible and tangible benefits of the program. However, over and above such considerations, is the primary task of transforming denuded idle and underutilized lands into productive enterprises and mobilizing settlers, forest occupants and the landless in an integrated farming scheme. The country's comparative advantage in terms of land and labor are thus efficiently maximized.

The Kilusang Sariling Sikap therefore focuses on man's most basic and elemental needs: food, energy and shelter. Food sustains his body, shelter allows him to have a decent life while energy provides fuel for the home and industry. However, the satisfaction of these human needs is being pursued relentlessly not simply to provide him with his physical sustenance but more importantly, to plant the seed of self-respect and self-pride in the individual, make him a productive member of society and the nation as a whole. The Kilusan shall therefore reinforce the foundation for individual commitment and participation in nation building and national survival. And as this dynamic movement we are launching today, radiate to every household, we can collectively avert the effects of the

rising cost of living, open new opportunities for increasing national income and generating employment for displaced and marginal workers.

People's Forest Program

The People's Forest was conceptualized to serve as the anchor program of the Kilusang Sariling Sikap. It is a food and energy campaign designed to propel the nation towards attaining self-sufficiency in food and shelter materials, the generation of alternative sources of energy, and the production of raw materials for industries through collective action.

Under this Program, idle and denuded lands all over the country shall be greened and reforested to meet the nation's need for food, fuel and shelter.

The People's Forest has an initial target of 73,000 hectares which is actually less than 10% of the potential ten million hectares of barren and logged over areas of the country.

Specifically, the People's Forest Program shall serve as:

- a. a base for the production of primary food crops and raw material inputs for food processors and other industries;
- b. a nursery for seed germination;
- c. a demonstration area for integrated farming technologies; and,
- d. a trading and commodity exchange venue for household produce.

I have mentioned earlier, three critical areas to which we have devoted full and undivided attention, namely: food, shelter and energy. Under the People's Forest Program, these three will be tackled simultaneously. For instance, the ipil-ipil variety is a good source of food, fertilizer, animal feeds, energy and building material. Its seed can be soaked overnight and cooked like mongo beans. The leaves are excellent feed for livestock because of their high protein content of 27% to 34%. As a leguminous plant, it is a good source of organic fertilizer. The young ipil-ipil is suitable for the reforestation of denuded, dry, nitrogen-poor tropical soil. On top of all these, ipil-ipil is a renewable and indigenous source of energy. Its abundance and adaptability to the Philippine climate augurs well for the country's Dendro-Thermal Program.

The Dendro-Thermal Program will be given more impetus with the establishment of People's Forest in every province of the country. It aims to construct 70 power plants with a total generation capacity of 200 megawatts before the close of the decade. A total of 70,000 hectares of tree farms is required to meet the fuel wood requirements of the 70 power plants. By generating 200 megawatts of electricity, we can reduce our oil importations by 2.0 million barrels. The cost of producing power from dendro thermal plants will also be cheaper than from diesel-fired thermal plants. An interesting fact is that because wood is a rural-based product, it is cheaper now and is likely to become more so in the future. This means cheaper electricity for the rural consumer.

Today, we are finding once again that the economics of wood-based energy is attractive. This led to the development of the gasifier for fueling irrigation pumps and transport vehicles. What are the implications of these trends? An alternative means of fueling irrigation pumps was designed to sustain the state of national rice self-sufficiency. The transport sector is accountable for 31% of our energy demand. Hence, the impact of gasifier equipped vehicles on displaced petroleum demand is significant.

With the rising cost of imported fuel, charcoal is emerging as a cheaper source of cooking fuel both in the urban and rural settings. The expected expansion of the charcoal market requires therefore more tree planting activities.

The People's Forest is also expected to enhance the availability of wood materials for the National Shelter Program. The ipil-ipil tree, as we all know, is a good source of lumber, posts and even floor tiles. Other building requirement such as floor boards and wooden components can be sourced from a wide variety of wood species to be planted in the People's Forest. In fact, wood waste materials can be processed into lumber and this will actually be done in the construction of the Kasipagan Model Homes.

Home Consumption Program

Another component of the Kilusang Sariling Sikap is the Self-Reliance Home Consumption Program. The Ministry of Human Settlements has designed two model households, known as the Kasipagan Homes, one suitable for an urban area and another for rural communities. This experimentation led us to realize and appreciate that a family on a 300 sq.m. patch of land can produce its food requirements including medicinal plants.

A specially-designed kit on home consumption will be disseminated pinpointing seven critical areas wherein a Filipino family can attain self-sufficiency. These are:

- a. Kitchen-Garden – Growing fruits and vegetables in a backyard can stretch the family's budget.
- b. Household Food – Processing and preservation techniques of food is another area wherein a family can save on food costs.
- c. Household Health – A family's health can be maintained at least cost by growing herbal medicinal plants for common ailments.
- d. Household Improvement – This home technology shall teach a family simple housecare and maintenance.
- e. Household Mechanics – This shall be used for the maintenance of household fixtures.
- f. Household Energy – This technology entails the Production of alternative energy sources for the home.
- g. Household Recycling – This shall teach how a family can recycle waste materials and other renewable resources in the home.

Evidently, the family becomes the building block of this Movement as it is in society at large. Thereafter, the family becomes part of communal farms whose outputs will be processed by strategically situated processing firms or anchor firms to be established by KKK.

In launching a massive movement like this, there must be a mechanism which will supervise and monitor proper implementation against the policy guidelines set. Organizationally, a National Coordinating Committee shall be established which will be the policy-making body of the Program. The Minister of Human Settlements is the Chairperson of this Committee. The Committee's membership includes the Ministers of the following participating agencies: Ministry of Natural Resources, Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Agrarian Reform, Ministry of Public Works and Highways, Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Education and Culture (and other related agencies). The Secretariat for this Committee shall be lodged with the Ministry of Human Settlements. I hereby direct all concerned agencies of the Government to extend the necessary assistance and make available their resources and expertise for the implementation of this Movement.

Ambitious as it may seem, this Movement will be funded primarily out of the savings to be generated by the government arising from the mandatory reduction of 10% in operating budgets of all ministries, offices and government corporations from the national down to the provincial level. Furthermore, the Shares in Kabuhayan, under the KKK Integrated Land Resource Management Scheme, shall be floated as equity issues against previously unmonetized landholdings. Investors who will subscribe to the shares will be given the opportunity to participate in the profits of projects undertaken through this scheme while being secured by guarantees as to principal values.

At this early stage of the Movement, I would like to take the liberty of setting some basic policy guidelines. Firstly, equitable distribution of the fruits of development shall be promoted. This will assure the individual a commensurate return for his labors. Secondly, maximum participation of beneficiaries in project planning and management shall be mobilized. And thirdly, ecological balance should at all times, be considered.

The success of this Movement rests on your support and commitment as leaders of communities. I earnestly enjoin all provincial governors, mayors, barangay captains and each and every Filipino family to rally behind this noble cause.

By producing even a portion of our home requirements in food, energy, shelter, we help free or mobilize financial resources for more critical uses.

Amidst these difficult times, we must solidly demonstrate the national will for survival, our resiliency and self-reliance.

By harnessing and mobilizing our vast natural resources, there is no reason why we cannot surmount the challenges we now face.

The prosperity that lies in our lands and waters equals only the vast reservoir of strength and courage that lies in our fiber as a people.

Let this decade see the birth of a new generation of Filipinos proud of his own labours. Let this new work ethics be the foundation of our advancement under the New Republic.

Thank you for your concern and Good Day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos during the 10th Anniversary of the Foreign Correspondents Association of the Philippines, [February 21, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the 10th Anniversary of the Foreign Correspondents Association of the Philippines**

[Released on February 21, 1984]

I welcome this opportunity to join you in celebrating the 11th Anniversary of the Foreign Correspondents Association of the Philippines; and I am glad that along with the invitation to lunch has come the privilege of addressing you in assembly.

It is not, alas, the easiest task for a man of government to appear before an audience of foreign correspondents and Western journalists. Given the long and broad background of government-media relations, of criticisms given and taken, a government official always faces a dilemma as to what stance to assume before you: whether friendly or belligerent, proud or terrified, threatening or accommodating. But all of you will probably say that it really doesn't matter very much to you what tack we take; you just want us to come and be grilled.

In a fairly long lifetime that has now been devoted for decades to politics and government, I know enough of the "adversarial" tradition in government-media relations to fill a memoir. But I must say that such a memoir if written will be crowded not only with complaints and laments about the liberties taken by the press at my expense, but also with recollections of my esteem for the profession as a whole, and for many who have served it with great distinction and pride.

Some of us politicians may rankle about that statement by a journalist that "the only way for a journalist to look at a politician is down." But some journalists themselves have taken exception to that. As the columnist George Will has said, "that is unpleasantly self-congratulatory." and he goes on to observe: "the idea that only an 'adversary relationship' with government is proper for journalists pleases some journalists because it seems hairy-chested, and because it spares them the tortures of thought."

Whatever way journalists may describe their calling, it is not my intent here to attempt a critique of journalism. I hope rather to inquire with you into the problems of our relationship and dialogue, and to see whether it will be possible for us to understand each other better.

The Foreign Correspondents Association of the Philippines is ten years old today, yet the history of foreign media coverage of events and developments in our country dates back much farther, to the time even when our people's destiny lay in the hands of others. I take the time to point this out, because it is surely not insignificant to note, especially in the light of the foreign correspondents' experience in other developing countries, that the work of correspondents in our land has had an almost unbroken history of free traffic, free flow and non-interference. There have been a few occasions when for explicit reasons publicly explained our government had to bar a foreign correspondent from working in our country, but I believe you will say with me that we have scrupulously adhered to the principle of allowing the foreign press to operate freely within our country.

Many countries are loathe to subscribe wholly to such a principle, in the belief that such will be injurious to their national interests. In our case we have been consistent in affirming it.

We subscribe to that policy not only because this has long been accepted tradition on our part, but because we believe that the service of the international press forms an important part of our links with our world community. It is one means whereby we can hope to be understood by the rest of the world, and to understand it as well.

It does not always work according to our hopes, of course. Oftentimes it has been our experience to have foreign journalists come and look for what they want to find and not to examine the situation and see us for what we are and it is in those times when I am besieged by the prodings of those who would prefer to insulate us from the outside world.

At the heart of this issue of government-media relations is the fact that governments and international media organizations do not entertain the same ideas of what the news flow must serve or promote. That is perhaps understandable. But we have suffered, in my view, from a rather narrow and self-righteous conception of the role of news media in our contemporary world, which has crystallized as their power and influence have grown.

The more visible aspect of this has to do with occasional errors and distortions in reportage, which can and have occurred in the course of the daily race with deadlines and other pressures. In the span alone of the last five months, there are any number of so-called “facts” reported in the media to quibble over, of government officials misquoted, of news stories that did not turn out to be true, of violent encounters that did not take place, including the heavy reportage on my health.

For a change, the old credibility charge against government has also been hurled against the media. And the celebrated journalistic frauds — in the New York Times, the Washington Post and the New York Daily News — have had the effect reinforcing the belief that journalists embroider the facts on the way to publication.

But the problem I think is much deeper and more disturbing. It has in essence to do with the “bad news” syndrome of the Western media, its obsession to catalogue catastrophe and ruin in our human world.

It is already a limitation when only “bad news” is seen or heard or read about by the international community of a given country. The picture is at least only incomplete.

But there is an even more disturbing tendency, and one that has become virtually an occupational disease of correspondent journalism. And this is the attempt to get ahead of events, to predict things before they happen. A former journalist Robert Maynard sometime ago wrote with insight about this problem, particularly as it relates to reportage on international affairs. It has been suggested that the Western media, because of the rude surprise of events in Iran and Nicaragua, have become more and more obsessed with trying to anticipate the next theater of upheaval and revolution, with predicting turmoil in the developing countries. It is suggested that media organizations more and more these days work with set scenarios, and they try to extrapolate a few facts into a full-blown story, that may or may not after all take place.

We in the Philippines have been so long familiar with this type of analytic journalism, that if we had for one moment believed any of these reports we should have long ago gone under. How many times for instance during the last ten years has it been reported that revolution and upheaval was just around the corner in our country? Who can forget Time's vivid portrayal of us as “The Powder Keg in the Pacific” back in 1979? How many times have the sorrows of Iran been foretold for us by foreign correspondents? And how often have recent travellers to the Philippines been astonished by actual conditions here in the light of the picture they had received of the country through the media abroad?

The trouble with journalistic fortune-telling is the same with all forms of crystal gazing. Events may belie what is predicted. The world of foreign affairs, with all its complexities and dynamics, is probably the least susceptible to easy prediction and analysis. And when taken within the context of journalism's fervid face and hurry, foreign affairs becomes very complicated indeed.

Some diplomats have complained, and I believe with justice, that the international news media report with facility and confidence what they themselves may not see after years of posting in a foreign country or will only speculate on with the greatest caution and reservation.

“We must have some concept of change,” Henry Kissinger says, “since history is not going to stop.” But that should be the business of those who are charged to direct and influence events, not of those who are supposed to report them.

To a very definite extent these very tendencies of Western media — to report only on bad news, to embroider the facts, and to predict events before they happen — have produced an equally unhappy tendency on the part of governments that contributes nothing to keep people better informed. I mean here the practice of governments to work more and more with less attention to the media, and indeed even to withhold information from the media. The attempt to limit contact, to restrict access, appeals to many governments of the developed countries. As a result the adversary relationship really then becomes two-way. And the service of the public’s need to know deteriorates and stagnates.

One is moved to ask in this light, whether some kind of reform is reasonable and possible? Is it not possible for the Western media to report on developments in the developing countries without being caught in the tirages of partisan politics and in the morass of Western prejudices and concepts? Is it possible for the Western media to undertake an earnest effort to understand the countries they report on, their aspirations, their labors, their struggles, their lives? Is it possible for foreign correspondents and their host countries to work a little better together without surrendering their interests to each other?

These are questions for which answers must be found because increasingly each side seems to be drifting towards policies and attitudes that in the end can only restrict the flow of information.

Late last year, it came as a major shock for the American media to discover public opinion heavily critical against it, while being supportive of the American government. The confidence rating of the press fell to as low as 13.7 percent, according to an opinion survey.

While this development occasioned some soul-searching on the part of the press in America, however, it seems hardly to have touched its attitudes and treatment of foreign countries.

I put this forward as an issue for us to try and resolve together, because I believe that your association in common with us would desire to preserve and promote our working relationship. My remarks would be for naught if they are taken to mean as merely a desire on our part to make the correspondent press follow our lead and sing our tune.

I seek something more vital and important for our country than that.

We are living through a time of tremendous challenge in our country today, and it is important that our present efforts and labors be understood by neighbors and friends all over the world. We have proclaimed a policy to look to ourselves for our own deliverance, to seek once and for all national self-reliance. But we do not mean by this any hostility to anyone certainly not isolation from the world.

We entertain the hope that in the midst of this national endeavor the correspondent press will help to cast light on the real problems we face in our country, on the labors that we undertake, and that it will not fail also to see the things and the achievements of which our people may be justly proud.

The other day I made a remarkable discovery in the course of my reading. When written in Chinese, the word “crisis” is composed of two characters: one represents danger, and the other represents opportunity.

I think of this period as such a time of opportunity for the Philippines, and I hope you will be around to see and report what we will make of this in the near future.

Thank you all very much.

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos during the PMA Alumni Association Homecoming, [February 29, 1984](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the PMA Alumni Association Homecoming**

[Released on February 29, 1984]

I can see from your rather brief roster of honorary members that you can be very sparing in your choice of individuals whom you admit into your exclusive fraternity. This year, for instance, only two among so many distinguished Filipinos are being thus honored: General Carlos P. Romulo, an accomplished writer, a great statesman and diplomat, and a compleat officer and gentleman in his own right, and Prime Minister Cesar Virata, a scholar and outstanding public servant who embodies the highest ideals of the peemayer: courage, integrity and loyalty. To find myself in such select company is therefore a great honor in itself. And to be raised above them as the most distinguished honorary member is infinitely more than what even your Commander-in-Chief can rightly aspire for. So I wish to thank you for bestowing upon me this supreme accolade you can give to one who never had the good fortune of graduating from the Philippine Military Academy.

There is still another reason why I consider it a pleasant obligation to join you here today, and it stems from my deep feelings of gratitude for your unequivocal endorsement of my leadership during the critical month of September last year, in rallying behind your Commander-in-Chief, you demonstrated once more your unflagging loyalty to the Republic, to its Constitution and to legitimate authority. You have upheld the finest tradition of our Armed Forces, the tradition of loyal and steadfast support for legitimate civil authority. By keeping this tradition alive and strong, the alumni of the Philippine Military Academy has set a fine example of firm adherence to the law and fidelity to the Constitution for the entire Armed Forces now and in the future.

Time and again, in war and in peace, the Armed Forces of the Philippines whose core of leadership is drawn from the ranks of PMA alumni has proven itself to be a strong, true and faithful defender and ally of our people and our people's ideals. This is an alliance which encompasses not only matters of defense but every aspect of national life as well. For while it is the soldier's primary duty to defend the nation and secure the stability of society, the special circumstances in which we find ourselves today require his involvement and participation in other urgent national undertakings, particularly those relating to our economic life.

The soldier's life today gains added dimension through his participation in the tasks of national development. The time has passed when the soldier can point to his role as keeper of the peace as his major contribution to the nation. It is true the soldier is sworn to defend our boundaries, to secure our national integrity and sovereignty, and to maintain internal peace and stability. It is equally true that in doing all these things the individual soldier and the entire Armed Forces ensure a climate of stability and freedom which is essential to growth and development. But our Armed Forces is being asked to do more today. It is being asked to participate fully and actively in the difficult task of nursing the nation back to health and promoting its economic well-being.

This is a task which the members of the Armed Forces should address with the same dedication and vigor as they apply to the defense of the nation. For development is a powerful weapon of defense just as internal security and national stability are essential tools of development.

I suppose I do not need to belabor this point further, for I have already seen with my own eyes the concrete response that the Armed Forces has made to this challenge of our times. In every military installation, the signs of your cooperation in the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran are very much in evidence. The PMA Alumni Association itself is spearheading the drive to involve its members as well as the ordinary soldiers in productive enterprises through the provision of literature on livelihood projects as well as through representations made with the KKK Secretariat for the facilitation of loan applications of members. And the Armed Forces, through its Chief of Staff, Gen. Fabian Ver, was among the first to make known its support of our program of self-reliance or sariling sikap.

Long before we launched Sariling Sikap, the concept of self-reliance was a established principle of our defense program. Our long-range defense plan calls for a Armed Forces that is truly self-reliant not only in men but also in materiel. Thus we have built up our manpower not simply in response to intermittent threats to national security but also with a view towards strengthening our defenses against external aggression. On a more modest scale, we have started to build up our capability to produce our own weapons and materiel in line with the Self-Reliance Defense Program of our Armed Forces. We have designed and produced patrol boats which serve better the peculiar needs of our anti-dissident campaign. We can make ammunitions for a number of small arms. We have refitted and repaired navy boats, trucks; communications and other facilities. We have, in short, taken the first decisive steps towards self-reliance in our defense requirements.

Today we should begin to find ways of accelerating these efforts and compressing the timetable for erecting a self-reliant defense structure. Of officers and men we have enough to meet any internal threats, and in case of external aggression, our citizen army has the number, the force and the will to carry on a prolonged struggle against any foreign enemy. But we must have weapons to fight, and it is time we begin to develop the capability to produce them.

In the fight against dissidence and separatism, we have always utilized our own resources. They have proven to be sufficient, and they will always prove enough so long as the Filipino soldier remains strong in his faith in our ideals and in his determination to preserve them. But against external threats, perhaps we have been lured into a false sense of security by our fragile web of military alliances with friends and allies. We have built our external defenses on the shifting sands of mutual defense agreements, and it is time we built it on firmer foundations, for in matters of defense the guarantees of friends can be modified to suit their needs and interests, as the history of nations vividly show.

Let us therefore prepare for the day when our allies shall have grown weary of their commitments. Our freedom as a people and our sovereignty as a nation are much too precious to be entrusted to friends. The safest guarantee to our freedom lies in building up our own strength and our defense capability through our own efforts and with the use of our own resources. In defense as well as in our economy, let us proceed towards our goals on our own, sa Sariling Sikap.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the Commencement Rites of the Philippine Military Academy, [March 18, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Commencement Rites of the Philippine Military Academy**

[Delivered on March 18, 1984]

Address of President Marcos at the Commencement Rites of the Philippine Military Academy

Address	of	the	President
Commencement	Rites	–	Philippine Military Academy
18 March 1984			

I have come today from the warmth of our nation's capital to the cool and tranquility of this city and this campus to mark once more with you these immemorial rites of graduation at the Philippine Military Academy.

In the long line of graduating classes that have passed through the gates of this institution into the service of our people and our country, you are the 18th batch in the line. And significantly too, the largest corps of graduates ever.

This rite of graduation is of a piece with a whole series of commencements being held throughout the country at this time of year. Nothing to my mind speaks so eloquently of what we are and what we value as a people than this high significance which we all attach to the years of training and learning in school.

Other societies may perhaps prize for themselves other things as their richest possession or as their most enduring qualities of character. In our case, I think, there can be no doubt, that we value above all, individually and together, the acquisition of learning and training. Individually, we attach with an education the promised fulfillment of individual hopes and dreams. As a nation, this is the chief means to fulfill the national purpose to conquer the barriers to national dignity and progress, to enable us to grow in national excellence as we increase in numbers, and to build towards the kind of society we all zealously covet and aspire.

Nowhere perhaps is this enduring link between schooling and the national future so well underlined than here at the Philippines Military Academy, which exists to serve no other purpose than the advancement of our national life. In a record of service that now spans 79 years, this institution has served as the cradle of leadership for our country's peace and defence forces. It is a key fount from which we draw to ensure continuity of leadership in our defense forces. It is a key to the maintenance of the undiminished sovereignty and security of our republic.

This is a specially appropriate time to reflect deeply upon these concerns of national life for we live today amidst stress and challenge to national life. This is a time when more than ever our country needs to renew herself in terms of vision, of purpose, of resolve, and of capacity.

In the life of a nation; we sometimes mistakenly think that all that is needed for it to survive and prosper is resolution and will. Yet as the historian Barbara Tuchman has so instructively observed, "not all the will in the world can suffice without capacity." and capacity is nothing less than the ability to accomplish the mightiest conceptions we may aspire to create, to attain the heights which we may dare to scale.

We talk all the time, particularly now when the election fever is upon us, about the things that we do not have and would wish to have, about the possessions which we implore our people to covet, about goals for national life that must be the main business at hand, about progress, wealth and security for the nation. But it seems to me that all this talk is but a case of substituting illusions for real solutions to complex problems, until we truly apply ourselves to

the mechanics of development in our society: to the tasks of meeting problems, of ordering priorities, of planning programs, and of achieving goals that are within our means and capacities.

For it is never enough merely to aspire and dream. We must achieve, or we are simply back where we started.

There is, it seems to me a vivid illustration of this in the challenge that we face in the realm of ensuring the defence and security of our country.

For a long time now, we have lived under the illusion that our national security can only be conceived in reliance on others, that our nation can only survive and endure in terms of submission to the wishes of external powers. But the lessons of experience have begun to teach us otherwise, and with disillusionment has come at last the profound and painful knowledge that, in spite of all that we have done to honor the letter and meaning of covenants and agreements, we are only as secure as the preparations and sacrifices we have made for our defense and security. We are only as sovereign and safe as the capacity we have installed in our defense and security system.

Everything else — the seeming illusion of another country's readiness to fight with us in the fortuitous event of armed event of armed aggression against us, the desperate belief that alliances will serve the ambitious purposes for which they were made — are really no more than hopes and illusions.

And so it is under this light that we must conceive, design and implement the Filipino answer to the dangers to national sovereignty and security.

The components of this response are many, but they all come down to one main theme: self-reliance. From the conscious acceptance of the fact that we can only rely on ourselves, follow the various factors of strategy, tactics, weaponry and training that make up the capacity of our armed forces.

Obviously, we are a nation that must live with various limitations that bar us from ever achieving total security and preparedness against the aggressive intentions of others. But given those limitations, the answer is neither dependence on others nor submission to the hazards of fortune. It lies rather in doing the things that are within our capabilities and resources to build and maintain.

One component lies in strategic planning against the principal scourge to the security of countries like ourselves insurgency and rebellion from within the society itself. If we have learned anything at all about the EBB and collapse of nations in the recent past, it is above all the fact that their collapse have been seeded from within and not from armed invasion. Insurgency has been the soul of this phenomenon of ferment and revolution. And indifference and helplessness against it have been the key to national decay and disintegration.

To this challenge therefore, we address the greater part of the attention, planning and preparedness of our National Defense Forces today. We align much of our work on tactics, weaponry and training to meeting this danger.

This is not to suggest that we are oblivious to the other danger of direct armed aggression against us by a hostile power. With the prudent and cautionary knowledge that we have gleaned from the complexities of international life today, we recognize that such dangers can come in many forms. There are some that we can realistically meet and therefore prepare for, and there are others that we can only parry and meet through the efficacy of good diplomacy and amicable relations. It is not necessarily the fate of small nations without the modern-day arsenals of destruction to be the object and victim of these weapons.

With this knowledge that there are conflicts which we can realistically meet and contain must follow the work of ensuring the absolute fulfillment of the missions and asks which our Armed Forces embrace. We must strive for the fullest exploitation of every resource within our means. Just as in the case of the Israeli Armed Forces, where a tank or a plane or a gun in their hands is expected to outperform its equal in other hands, so must we nurture this conception of our arms.

Thirdly, there is the training of our officers and men in the Armed Forces, which must strive for the highest possible training and preparation that is within our capability to nurture and sustain.

Here at the Philippine Military Academy, we have I think today a truly vital institution for the preparation of young men for the tasks of command in our security forces. What you have undergone during your years of study in the academy is both a model for the training in the profession of arms and for responsible citizenship in society. Of you, it may appropriately be said that you emerge from here truly prepared to become an officer and a gentleman.

But this is not all. Learning and training must not stop as you leave these portals. Service in our armed forces must in itself become a time of learning and growing too. And the same must also apply to the entire rank file when we must endeavor to continue to train, retrain, equip, and polish for the tasks that must be met.

We must expect the highest kind of training and preparedness from our standing Armed Forces, because our resources can only maintain a limited Armed Force. The professional career force must constitute a standing nucleus to meet national emergencies. And only in the event of grave danger to the nation should we then summon our reserve forces for the tasks of security and defense.

This is not to say that our reserves should not receive full focus and attention. Indeed, we must continue to build them up and to keep them in readiness and fitness. And as we have seen in our anti-insurgency effort, we must see even our local communities as indispensable supporters in the struggle for order and security.

It is not in pride and arrogance that we say now that we must base national security on an active sense of self-reliance. This is merely the lesson of the times, and we must learn it or else become servants to chance.

In a world full of many anxieties and uncertainties, in which the EBB and flow of events constantly place nations in the grip of various perils and difficulties, the goal of self-reliance has ceased to be merely a hope, but an imperative. And I mean by this, self-reliance in the totality of national existence itself, not just its security posture, but the whole of it, its economic, its political, its cultural dimensions.

What we have seen during the past months is an indelible lesson for national life which we must never forget. What we have learned in the course of coping is something that should not desert us when at last we hurdle our present difficulties.

The good news that I can tell you today, as you enter formal service to our Republic, is that in the midst of so many difficulties and adversities, our country today is fully showing its reserves of strength and character. Even with the protracted talks with world financial institutions, the national economy has begun to revive in vigor and activity. The stability of the nation, which for a time was the subject of grim predictions, has never been more assured and certain, to the despair of international media which continue to find their forecasts defied. And with elections of the new parliament at hand, the cause of national strengthening will further move forward.

Back during the time of the war, when the future seemed so uncertain and dark, the writer George Orwell picked 1984 as a touchstone for reading the shape of things to come. And he foresaw this year as a time of irretrievable retrogression for the human race.

The world may not look too good these days in some parts and in patches. Yet considering the human condition, and looking squarely at ourselves and at our prospects today, George Orwell, great writer that he was, did not divine the future. I profoundly believe that 1984 will be a good year for us, and hopefully for the rest of the world.

And this is perhaps a very good time indeed for young men like you to enter into the noble and demanding vocation of service to our people and our country.

Congratulations to you all and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos before the graduates of the Ideology Seminars, [March 21, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
Before the graduates of the Ideology Seminars**

[Delivered on March 21, 1984]

The Imperatives of Self-Reliance

Only a little more than a year ago, I signed Executive Order 879, creating the committee for the propagation of the Filipino ideology. I was impelled then by the realization that only the internalization of that ideology could bring us to a stage in which no man will need to go to bed hungry nor suffer further the injustices that have been our sad legacy from our colonial experience. I was no less convinced that the internal revolution that must take place in the hearts and minds of our people can weld us together and preserve our nationhood. This is an internal resource no one can take away from us even in those moments of crisis that inevitably touch the lives of nations. We therefore require in these times an understanding as well as a commitment to our national goals and the means to achieve them. Only the Filipino ideology can provide us this understanding and this commitment.

Your presence here today strengthens my hopes. It suggests the desire of our people for an articulation of the meaning of our national experience and the directions of our future. The enthusiasm of which you are a happy indication shows that as the present crisis we face passes, our vast spiritual reserves will enable us not only to overcome future difficulties but also to emerge stronger and more certain of achieving our destiny as a people in a society we can all be proud of. We must, indeed, face the future with optimism, and I am the most optimistic of all, because I see in you the spirit and the will that only a deep commitment to the Filipino ideology can muster.

We must continue to view our present difficulties as an opportunity. We must reexamine ourselves, our assumptions and our most recent experience in the light of what the Filipino ideology teaches us.

The Filipino ideology teaches us the imperative of political liberation and economic emancipation so that we may establish a society at peace with itself.

More than this, however, the basic lesson our ideology and experience has taught us is to shake off our dependence on others. This has been the central thesis of our great nationalist thinkers.

From Mabini and Rizal, to Claro M. Recto and our more contemporaneous thinkers, the point has been made again and again: we compromise not only our political independence, but our identity as a nation as well, if our society remains subject to the vacillating and undependable support of the strong.

Our political capability for policy formulation and implementation has been weakened by decades of dependence. Political power, which by right and necessity the government of a developing country must wield in the furtherance of national development, is itself compromised and tends to perpetuate the dependence of the economic system. Apart from the erosion of sovereignty that this implies, the perpetuation of a dependent economy reposes the national destiny in the hands of International Banking and Financial Institutions. This eventually finds expression in the lives of millions in terms of accelerated unemployment, massive inflation and social unrest.

Economic dependence is therefore twice a liability for developing nations. It is a matter of extreme relevance to the quality of the lives of a nation's people, if not a matter of life and death. It is also the single most important factor that shapes the dependency that plagues most third world nations.

Economic emancipation, one of the imperatives of Philippine National Development, therefore implies not only the achievement of actual economic aims: the abolition of poverty and the democratization of wealth and private property. It has a political dimension as well: it requires the emancipation of the economic system from dependency so that it must be within their power to shape as their needs dictate economic self-reliance is thus both a political and moral necessity.

I have elsewhere described, most particularly in towards a new partnership: the Filipino ideology, the shape of the economy which would, to my mind, most adequately meet present needs.

While we affirm the necessity of planned development, we also recognize that a regulated free enterprise can most effectively serve as the principal engine of growth and prosperity. These elements, though seemingly contradictory, in reality complement each other.

The imperative of planned development proceeds from a singular aspect of our economic history: the colonialism which stunted the growth of a vigorous entrepreneurial class in society at large, while it concentrated entrepreneurial talent in the state machinery.

The optimum social utilization of entrepreneurial talent, as well as the expansion of a sound entrepreneurial base for the private sector, inevitably becomes a state responsibility. State intervention in social and economic development guarantees the maximum harnessing of the entrepreneurial capabilities concentrated in the state machinery.

That the development so envisioned will result in democratic participation and in the achievement of humanist aims — such as the substantial improvement of the quality of life of the people, which realizes the flowering of their spiritual and intellectual potentials — is not debatable state intervention, however, does make these possible, while development without direction makes the achievement of those aims virtually impossible the reconciliation of the diverse, often conflicting claims of various classes and sectors requires state arbitration.

To assure that the state will function towards the realization of a human order through the democratization of wealth and the elimination of poverty, however, the state's functionaries who are charged with economic policy-making and implementation must be ideologized.

The core of the ideological imperative is the internalization of the necessity of liberation in the political and economic spheres. Self-Reliance in political and economic terms as the basic strategy of development must be understood as a fundamental national goal, without which efforts at development will miscarry sooner or later.

This is not an argument for a closed-door policy, but a recognition of the magnitude of the economic problems we face and will continue to face, so long as the economy remains a dependency of the advanced industrial economies. A self-reliant economy maintaining relations of equality with other economies is not a contradiction in terms: the first is actually a precondition for the latter. Without the capacity to fall back on its own resources, capabilities and technologies, the economy will remain a slave to the vagaries of economic boom and recession. It will remain a creature of fluctuating markets and the changing policies of the international banking and finance institutions, as well as of the foreign governments that control them.

Government has been able to initiate efforts to create the foundations of a self-reliant economy through a rational energy utilization and development program.

The national livelihood program, and the Sariling Sikap Program, among others.

It has been argued — and the argument became loudest after August 21 last year — that planning towards self-reliance must be abandoned in favor of total state non-intervention. Support for this argument essentially consists of the assumption that, economic development having been propelled in the industrialized countries of the world by private enterprise without benefit of state intervention, the same will occur in the Philippines.

This view disregards the distortions colonialism and neo-colonialism engendered in the economy such as technological backwardness, concentration on the production of cash crops, and the stunting of entrepreneurial skills. It also fails to distinguish among the industrial countries.

The western European countries and the United States developed essentially unhindered by foreign interference, and through their exploitation of the new world. This development spanned centuries of unremitting colonial plunder. In the American case, the plunder was internal, and achieved through American expansion westward, towards the Pacific and beyond.

Such countries as the Soviet Union, however, were able to industrialize in a relatively short period through planning, an indispensable part of the socialist strategy. We are not socialists, and we do not believe that the returns from the socialist strategy do not justify its human cost. We can, however, appreciate the need for planning, given the scarce resources and the critical state of the economic problem in our own society. No developing society can afford the social and human costs of “letting events take their course” in societies such as ours, this amounts to entrusting in the hands of chance the destinies of the millions who are poor, and whose lives are less than meaningful.

I have, in earlier works, referred to the demands of these millions as the rebellion of the poor. These demands must be met, not primarily to forestall revolution, but precisely to affect today’s revolution. The assumption that one must heed this rebellion only to protect existing social relations and preserve the power structure necessarily leads to ideas of “reform” as palliative. This is a view dominant among western and western-influenced thinkers because such “reform” ignores the basic need not only to plan economic development, but to plan it towards self-reliance.

A self-reliant economy, to repeat, does not imply autarkic development. The normal processes of international trade and other forms of economic relations will continue. What needs to be done is to remove those aspects of dependency that place countries such as ours at a disadvantage – and this cannot be achieved through state withdrawal from the processes of economic development, on the contrary, this need makes state participation even more urgent.

The disciples of state non-intervention, however, seems to make a virtue of dependency. “The interdependence of countries in today’s world” is a phrase that occurs often in their rhetoric. We submit that such an interdependence does not preclude the independence of national economies in terms of basic food, energy and housing needs. Such an independence permits them to resist both political and economic pressures and leads to social stability. It is, as such, a necessity.

Any agenda for meaningful change must therefore begin with the utilization of a self-reliant strategy as the cornerstone of development. This implies the active participation of government in the development process.

It demands that government direct and guide that process towards the realization of the historic demands of the majority who are poor. Without self-reliance as a strategic goal and without such participation, the change that will take place will be at best temporary and at worst an illusion.

As graduates of the numerous seminars on the Filipino ideology that have been held since March last year, you are among those in the best position to propagate among our people the virtues of self-reliance as a crucial element in our democratic revolution.

That revolution reaffirms the unity of nationalism and popular aspirations as the guiding principle in our quest for a just social order. It is our revolution, the revolution our experience as a people and the shape of the future we want, demand. At the core of this revolution is the idea of a self-reliant nation.

We cannot achieve this revolution without internalizing self-reliance this means depending on ourselves and relying on our own innovative capacities and enterprise rather than on the goodwill of others.

I congratulate all of you, and I assure you that this government, taking our interests, our hopes and our aspirations to heart, will continue to pursue, with you and the rest of our people, the goals and ideals of the Filipino ideology. In our quest for our destiny.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos during the KBL Proclamation Rally, [March 27, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the KBL Proclamation Rally**

[Delivered in Metro Manila, March 27, 1984]

It is fitting that our party and our movement should open the campaign here at Bagumbayan, at the heart of our great metropolis, and within sight of the whole country and the world.

It is appropriate because these are historic grounds on which we stand tonight, here many an event of national life have taken place and gathered meaning and importance.

It is also appropriate because you yourselves, the people of Metro Manila have installed the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan at the helm of our government, and have led in giving us the decisive mandates in various elections, plebiscites, and referenda,

It is most fitting above all, because in this way, this party and its leadership, speaking from this platform can speak to the nation and the world, that we are proud of what we stand for in this campaign and these elections—proud of the record we have wrought during the past so many years, proud of the policies and programs we have pursued for the welfare of people and country, and honored to seek anew your mandate in these elections,

We have heard during the past weeks and months many voices clamoring for our people's support, and offering themselves for the seats of authority and will in our government.

Now the time has come to put to test before the bar of public discussion and debate these claims, these promises, these hopes for the people's mandate. The time has come when all must submit themselves once more to the searching scrutiny and questioning of the national electorate.

We of this party and this movement, as ever, are ready to lay before the nation our case for the mandate to govern and lead.

We are prepared to submit ourselves—not just our candidates for the Batasan, but all who are of this party and who hold public office—to our people's judgement, because we know that these elections are not just a question of choosing men and women to sit in parliament, but a matter above all of deciding between alternative approaches to the challenging tasks of government today, of deciding no less than the future of our country.

During the period leading to this election campaign, the air has been heavily filled by the shouting and breastbeating of many, but clarity of choice we have found. We have heard emotion and bitterness and even hate expressed, but thoughtful reflection on the issues of these elections we have not seen. And it will seem to many of you that only the KBL has truly stood clear and unequivocal about what it stands for in this time of national reckoning,

There are some among those who call themselves the opposition who can only speak with bitterness about their well-deserved fate in being out of public office for so many years, and have nothing more to offer than their naked desire for power. There are others who seem bent on merely kibbitzing during this campaign, on sowing confusion in the elections by calling upon our people to deny themselves the opportunity of electoral choice. And we shall no doubt hear more of these rancorous and shrill voices before our people judge and decide in May.

But let us not be deceived by either the confusion or division in the ranks of the opposition into abandoning the real task we face in this campaign and in the elections, however others may debase the political dialogue in this campaign, the primary task remains and we must see our way through to the real choices before us and to the determination of a popular mandate.

Whatever the confusion of others, we must ourselves be clear about what these elections must mean for us and for the nation. We must recognize and distinguish between opportunistic and cynical politics and principles of government, between ruthless partisanship and public service, between naked political ambition and authentic aspiration to serve public office.

What do we see as we begin the period of campaign in these elections?

The times and the challenges we live with have crystallized for us, i think, the real opposing forces in our society today, the forces bidding for our people's mandate.

On the one hand, there is the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, tests party of the people because this is the party that has led in bringing a virtual tide of reforms to our society and has steadfastly sought to ensure the sovereignty of our republic and to bring dignity and pride to our people and our country.

And there is on the other side the party of betrayal, regression and reaction. We may see on the political horizon many political factions in the opposition bidding for attention, but in sum, despite their fratricidal conflicts and divisions, they stand for nothing more than these.

Betrayal, because they are the ones who during the recent period of national travail, have sought to make political stock of our problems and difficulties, and worse have gone to the extent of seeking the intervention of alien interests in our affairs.

Regression, because they want to go to the past, to the colonial 1935 constitution, even if this means the reemergence of the politics of deadlocks and stalemate.

Reaction, because they will not hesitate to roll back every reform that we have fought for and won,. In the interest of restoring the old society of privilege.

It is not however our intent in this campaign to ask for your mandate to lead on the basis merely of the shortcomings of those in the opposition.

We believe that we truly offer the better choice—the right course for the nation to take.

We believe that we stand upon a record of national achievement of which our people can be proud, and with which the nation can stay stable, secure and progressive.

We believe that this party and this leadership have lived up to the social contract we wrote in September 1972, when we embarked upon the dramatic course of national salvation and transformation, and which we have repeatedly renewed in many referenda, plebiscites and elections.

The first agreement in that contract was for the establishment of an effective and stable government to replace the impotency of democratic stalemate so pervasive in the old order. In the event, we had to turn to the extraordinary recourse of Martial Law, in order to gather the will and authority of the civil government and our military forces in one supreme effort to save our republic and meet the threats of the armed enemies of the state.

This part of our covenant, we have redeemed. The goal of a stable and effective government has been achieved. A new and truly Filipino Constitution stands today as the bedrock of our political ideals. And though this objective had to be delivered first via the aegis of Martial Law, we have proven that we can ride the back of the tiger and alight from it when the time was ripe. After the martial necessity was lifted, we returned with confidence to pull democratic government, and established in the process our New Republic.

The second part of our covenant covered the necessity for a broad program of reform for the transformation of society itself—to excise once and for all the vices of the old society upon which the chaos of national affairs had fed and festered. These basic reforms—basic to our hopes for a life of dignity, purpose and hope—have been introduced on a scale and scope unprecedented in our history.

These are now the very pillars of national life. There is first of all land reform, which freed our farmers from bondage to the soil, and to this day continues to open up new vistas for our farming communities and for the country as a whole.

There is secondly, government reform, which set forth the foundations for improved and effective public administration, and placed a major check on corruption in the civil service and in public office. Today, we are one of a few countries in the world that has a truly working ombudsman system, in our Tanod Bayan and Sandiganbayan.

There is thirdly, the reform of national economic effort as a whole, which decisively changed the whole approach to national development in laying the premise that to develop as a nation, we must plan and government must lead. During the time that has elapsed, our national wealth and our resources have increased many times over and productive capacities have risen. And there is no man who can say that the entire perspective of the country have not altered during this interval.

One salient statistic suffices to show the dramatic change that has taken place. In 1972, our gross national product stood at P55.5 billion. As of the end of 1983, National GNP stood at P377.7 billion, a rise of more than 700 percent during an interval of 11 years.

Fourth, has been the dramatic emphasis we have given to the delivery of basic social services—in education, employment, health, housing and social welfare.

In each of these we have ably demonstrated that we consider the social aspects of development as all-important to prosperity itself. We have invested much in the development of our young, in the transformation of our manpower, in the safeguarding of public health, in the provision of housing and other basic needs, and in making social welfare a means for the needy to help themselves.

The statistics are there in the record but they do not tell the full story of what has truly happened; the lives of people do. I am proud to say that here in Metro Manila, we see fully demonstrated the scale with which we have moved in the realm of social development, and the transformation that it has effected among our millions.

We believe that in sum the reforms which we have instituted have redefined the very meaning of being Filipino. They have given our people an identity as an: achieving and dynamic society; and they have earned for our country a respected place in the family of nations. Our concourse with the world has grown, as our efforts at home have strengthened us in productivity, unity, and in peace.

It was around these two broad precepts—of effective government and economic and social liberation—that we wrote our covenant with each other 11 years ago. And I say to you, look upon the record now and consider how this leadership and this party have lived by its letter and spirit.

And while you are at it, be aware that it is these very precepts of national life that have been and are being put to hazard by a small minority of ambitious demagogues in our country today. They have done all to undermine our very system of government before our people and in the eyes of others, even as they now seek to use that same

parliamentary system, we have established to come to power, supported by insinuations of violence. They have tried to coerce the present leadership and the people with violent demonstrations and mass action at a time when we could not take counter-action because of the economic situation and the negotiations going on with the International Monetary Fund.

No one may doubt that if these few should ever come to power, they will without hesitation and thought proceed to dismantle all the reforms that we have instituted. For they have not said at all where they stand on these primordial concerns of our society; on land reform, on economic reform; on social reform; on political reform. Indeed, they have said nothing at all about what they propose to do for the nation, should they be hurled by accident in to the seats of power and leadership.

What they have said insistently and noisily is to claim to speak for our people. Yet note well, that in no referendum, no plebiscite or election, have they ever won the right to speak for you.

But I will not accuse these political pretenders of being exactly idle. For they have been active in bargaining away our very independence and our freedom to alien interests. They have not been idle in journeying to foreign lands, to America and to Japan, and in begging these countries not to provide any aid to our country and our people. They have not been idle in smearing the name of our country before the world.

These men and groups today may quarrel about whether to boycott or participate in these elections. But they agree on one thing: their willingness to invite foreign intervention in the internal affairs of our country.

To the many questions raised by the media and by the KBL about this tack being taken by them, note well that in their replies so far, they have only gone as far as saying that they have not received funds from alien hands. The leadership of the opposition, whether for participation or boycott, have yet to disclaim our fear that they have sought the intervention of others in matters that are ours alone to decide and determine.

I put it to you then: is this proper conduct for men who aspire to serve in the high offices of government? Are these men and women worthy of your mandate in these elections?

Should we reward these acts of betrayal of the national interest with the scepter of authority of our government?

How shall we reply to the shame and humiliation they have inflicted upon our people, and indeed upon the very faith of generations before us, of men such as Rizal, Bonifacio and Recto, who breathed life and meaning to our national independence.

I say, reject them for the shame they have brought upon us and leave them their proper place of ignominy in the annals of our national life.

For if it ever comes to pass that such men should lead us, all the heroes of our country will probably rise up from their graves and denounce this foul degradation of the race.

If they have betrayed national pride and honor shamelessly, they have just as zealously tried to turn back the hands of time and resurrect the ghost of the old society. They want us to return to the sterile deadlocks that almost proved fatal to our republic, and today continues to be the cross of nations. Which have adopted the presidential form of government, including even the United States.

What was our experience with this system?

It is symbolized by one simple statistic—to be found in the annals of our irrigation system. When a survey was made in 1966, upon my assumption of the presidency, as to the area already covered by irrigation, we discovered that

although in the books money had been spent to build a national irrigation system covering some one million hectares,. In fact only 300,000 hectares of land had been irrigated.

Tins simple statistic tells all. Seventy percent of the money had been lost by this inefficient, corrupt and unstable system. For that system was marked by rivalry between Congress and the President, which usually stalemated decisions until they could arrive at compromises. And such compromises usually meant allocation of pork barrel funds to be spent at the whim and discretion of the politicians, without any accounting or auditing. Even the appointments of judges were at the disposal of politicians. And we therefore had justice by intimidation and corruption.

This is the record of the old system and the old regime which they want now to revive, to replace the new system which we have painstakingly built and tried to strengthen.

In this campaign therefore, the nation is presented two parties, two outlooks, two different faiths.

One party, those who call themselves the opposition, has its eyes turned towards the past, enthralled by the benevolence of strangers, pining for the discredited practices of a bygone time.

The other party, our Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, has its eyes firmly turned towards the future, firm in the faith that as a nation we can turn crisis and challenge into opportunity for making life better for all and for building the ramparts of a dynamic and achieving society.

Is there really any choice?

Do you really have to burn the midnight oil to decide which of these parties, which of the candidates, should receive your mandate?

I believe the answer is plain, for indeed it cannot and should not be otherwise. To turn back is to walk again the mean road toward deadends and disunion.

I believe the good sense of our people will prevail in this time of decision, for I know people long ago decided upon the well-deserved fate of the old society. And those who would resurrect it merely court our people's rejection at the polls.

The Kilusang Bagong Lipunan sees this campaign and these elections as not merely a matter of electing its candidates, but as a crucial test for the very honor, the pride, and the future of the nation and the race.

The challenge to us is not just to win the elections. Just as important, if not more, is the restoration of the nation to its fully earned integrity and pride, which the irresponsible among us have sullied carelessly and selfishly.

Just as important is the need to renew ourselves as a people in our faith that whatever difficulties and adversities we may face today, our nation will surely survive and will prosper.

Finally, the elections must decide whether we shall continue to seek the mean shelter of undefendable allies and friends, or achieve our full national regeneration by looking to ourselves—to our resources and capabilities—to scale the heights of our visions and our dreams.

If we do justice at the polls to these paramount concerns of national life, then indeed will we do justice to the future and destiny of the nation and the race.

What the KBL presents to the nation is a roster of candidates who stand for more than just their personal desire to serve in public office, but for also a whole philosophy and faith in the capabilities and prospects of the Filipino nation.

They represent something more lasting than the temporal nature of elections.

They represent the republic and the society we are today, and the future that may yet be ours.

They are the men upon whom this leadership will depend in providing flesh in law to our aspirations and visions for people and country.

I say then take them into your bosom as you would your own flesh and blood, and give them the support worthy of men and women who aspire for public office with high ideals and purposes.

Let us take these 21 men and women whom we are privileged to endorse tonight as our unfailing partners in the quest for the glory of our city, our people and our country.

Together, let us carry this banner to every corner and district of our great metropolis, and in the larger campaign, to every hamlet and village of our archipelago.

United, providence will not refuse us the victory that belongs to a noble and mighty cause.

Maraming salamat at mabuhay kayong lahat.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the KBL Proclamation Rally, [April 6, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the KBL Proclamation Rally**

[Delivered in Ilocos Norte, April 6, 1984]

It is exhilarating to be home once again in this province of my beginnings, and I thank you all very much for the warmth of your welcome.

Tonight, we formally launch the banner of our movement and our party in quest of the mandate of the people of Ilocos Norte in the May 14 Batasan Elections. Here we proclaim our party's candidates in the elections, and sound anew, as in times past, our call for our provincemates' unwavering and ever loyal support for our cause.

We begin this campaign with high expectations of victory, but sadly we must launch it with one of your chosen candidates absent from our ranks tonight. As all of you have already heard and for reasons publicly known, Imee could not be here with us tonight. The unfortunate event that stilled the life throbbing in her womb is a great personal tragedy to her and to our family, but the sorrow of this tragedy is in part dispelled by the knowledge of your compassionate concern and sympathy.

Saddened as we are, however, by her inability to be with us tonight, you have her firm assurance that she fully accepts the burden that has been passed to her by the majesty of your clamor and by the need for party unity in our ranks. And in accepting that charge, she will run for public office, and do her utmost for the victory of the KBL.

Tonight, let us then close ranks in proclaiming our support for our KBL candidates here in Ilocos Norte. Let us affirm our unwavering commitment to all that our party stands for in these elections. And together, let us carry the KBL to victory.

* * *

It may be that for many of you the victory of our party is assured in these elections. By the grace of our people's mandate in every exercise of electoral choice for so many years now, Ilocos Norte has been second to none in giving me and our party your steadfast support. And there is no reason to doubt that that support will again be ours in the coming balloting.

Yet I also believe, and I hope you join me in this, that there are things just as important as winning in these elections. Just as important, if not more, is the need to achieve through this electoral exercise a clear mandate for the course of government we propose, and a clear demonstration of our faith in the honor and integrity of our Republic.

Let us never for a moment ignore those in the opposition who have sought to make a travesty of these elections by inviting the intervention of aliens in national affairs.

Let us never forget that there are some among us who would wager even our very honor and integrity as a nation for their own personal ambitions.

And let us never presume that the shameless designs of our opponents can summarily be frustrated without ourselves exerting every energy and effort to gain the allegiance and support of the electorate for our cause.

We must ourselves submit to the judgment of the people, so that their verdict will be unequivocal and clear.

* * *

What are our people presented with as we begin this campaign?

I believe that the nation is presented a fundamental choice between two opposing forces, two parties, two outlooks, two different programs of government.

One side, those who call themselves the opposition, has its eyes turned towards the past, its nose under the bidding of strangers, and its outlook for the future guided by obsolete doctrines and ideas.

It looks to the past because its leaders seeks the return of the old colonial constitution and the old society. It dances to the bidding of foreigners because they have shown in word and deed that they will countenance even the intervention of foreigners for the sake of victory in these elections. And its outlook is mired in discredited ideas, because they have no program to offer the nation other than vague hopes and promises which cannot be fulfilled.

Against this are ranged our Kilusang Bagong Lipunan and all that it stands for—its proven record of achievement, its proven capabilities for local and national leadership which have been demonstrated time and again in many a national crisis and its program of government which alone can lead our country through this time of challenge and opportunity.

To the false hopes and promises raised by those in the opposition, we reply with the solid achievements and advances recorded during the last 11 years.

* * *

Let us look at the record.

To the credit of our leadership and our party, it must be said first of all that we are the party and the leadership that bailed our republic in the extremities of danger and crisis 11 years ago. In place of the chaos and disunity of our people in 1972, we successfully installed a stable, strong and effective government. And we have not had as long or as stable a government in our country in our entire national history as we have had in this country during the last 11 years.

Secondly, let us recall to ourselves that this is the leadership and the party that inaugurated the program of national transformation unprecedented in our entire history as a people. From the very first day of crisis government to the present time, we have introduced very basic and major reforms for the strengthening and transformation of our society. These reforms, as we all know, have spanned from the liberation of our farmers from bondage to the soil, to the liberation of our civil service from corruption and inutility, to the transformation of our national capabilities for economic effort and development, and to the critical transformation of our very standing in the family of nations.

Thirdly, because of these reforms, we have carried the national economy into feats of productivity unprecedented in our national history. We began our program of national transformation in 1972 sorely dependent on others for many critical needs and with the economy virtually in crisis after a devastating flood.

Whereas in 1972, we depended on imported energy to the extent of 96 percent, today this dependence has been reduced to 66 percent. And in a year or two, this will further go down to 50 percent.

In 1972, there was practically no farmhouse with electricity. Today, 2.25 million farmhouses have electricity.

In 1975, we still imported 600,000 tons of rice. Today, we export rice.

In 1972, there was a total of 743,000 hectares of irrigated land. Today, the total irrigated land area stands at 1,429,000 hectares, representing about half of all irrigable farm lands, compared to only one-sixth in the 1960s and one-fourth in the early 1970s.

In 1972, our transport, water and communications facilities were hopelessly limited to fuel any kind of growth.

Since then, road kilometerage has increased 1.8 times by 1982 to 162,274 kilometers;

Strategically located ports were upgraded, increasing the number of municipal and fishing ports by 1.5 times.

The airport development program raised the number of airports by 1.6 times and this included the putting up of the New Manila International Airport and the Laoag International Airport.

Postal communications expanded throughout the archipelago as the number of post offices increased 1.3 times by 1982; and

Provision of adequate water supply increased the access of the population to potable water by 1.4 times.

In education, our educational development program has more than coped with the increase in school population and the need to upgrade the quality of education. From an enrolment level of 7 million in 1972, elementary school enrolment rose to 8.6 million as of 1982. This was fully met by the construction of school-houses, whose total stock of classrooms reached 240,145 as of 1982. In addition, implementation of the textbook development project in 1976 has enabled us to attain the desired pupil-textbook ratio of 2 to 1.

Significantly too, with the introduction of educational reforms and the facilities buildup, the national literacy rate has risen from 75 percent in 1972 to 90 percent in 1983.

In 1972, the population growth rate stood at well over 3.1 percent. In 1983, since the launching of our population planning program, the population growth rate has been brought down to 2.49 percent. And this is further projected to go down to 2 percent at the end of our present development plan.

In housing, under the national housing program, 174,613 new dwelling units with community facilities have been completed, 40,795 units upgraded and 36,263 serviced home lots provided to marginal and low income families since 1972. In addition, the PAG-IBIG fund was successfully launched in 1979, and to date membership has now reached 2.12 million members, with the lending program initially benefitting 21,792 homeowners.

In 1972, the inflation rate as measured by the consumer price index averaged 8.2 percent for the year. At the close of 1983, in spite of the untoward developments during the second semester, inflation averaged 10 percent. And for the entire period from 1972 to 1983, inflation was contained at an annual average of 14 percent.

Finally, there are the key indicators: the GNP growth rate and per capita income. In 1972, our GNP growth rate stood at below 5 percent. At 1972 prices, our GNP has grown at an average of almost 6 percent over the 10-year period since, and this despite the fact that the real gross national product decelerated to only 1.4 percent in 1983 because of the severe drought during the first semester and the unfavorable financial developments during the second half of 1983.

Per capita income hence has increased from P1,428 in 1972 to P1,926 as of 1983, at constant 1972 prices.

As significant then as the indicators of economic development are the social indicators which tell us how the lives of our people—especially those living in our rural areas—have substantially improved during this period of 11 years in national life.

It will never be said of our leadership that our nation's wealth increased during our leadership while the lot of our people failed to improve. For the facts are well known to all.

And we do not need statistics to know that the lot of the people of Ilocos Norte has improved during these years. We only have to ask them.

And so is it true of every region throughout our country.

Indeed, it seems to me telling tribute to our success in raising the well-being and prospects of our local communities that in this present time of contention in national life, foreign observers have noted that it seems to be the rich who are against the government, while the rest of the country, and the poor especially, appear to be in support of it. In all those demonstrations that you read about late last year, you only have to look at what they wore and what they said to realize that these were at bottom an agitation by those whose privileges were cut by our program for the new society. And if they are agitating now for a change, it is for no other purpose than to effect a return to the old society of privilege and patronage.

Let us make no mistake about it. Regardless of the seeming confusion and disarray of the opposition nowadays, let us be clear about the choice being offered the nation. Let us not mistake reactionary ends for social change; let us not be deceived by postures of belligerence for the course of dependence and subservience to foreign interests that they in fact espouse; and let us not mistake promises for gains and achievements that are won only by hard effort and fortnight leadership.

* * *

The coming election is a critical test for our very future as a nation.

Foreign governments are interested in the outcome of this political exercise, as much as we are. And if we do not fully demonstrate that as a people we know what this is really all about, if we do not do justice to our republic at the polls, then it may well happen that all that we have worked for all these years may be gone when parliament convenes.

In sum, we should be in no doubt that more is at stake in this election than meets the eye. More serious issues are involved than just the merits of this or that candidate.

And we must thus carry the banner of this campaign with the aim not only of gaining victory for our party's candidates in the elections, but just as important, of educating our citizenry on the true stakes in these elections, of making them realize that their very future is involved.

The candidates whom we proclaim tonight represent interests larger than just the desire to serve public office. They are part of a total program of government and of a total vision of the national future; and if as I believe our provincemates will give them their mandate, you may be sure that they will sit in parliament as true servants to the glory of our province, our people and our country.

Take them then into your bosom as you have taken me all these years into yours as your ever loyal and humble servant.

Give them the support that you have given me all these years since I first stood for public office in Ilocos Norte.

And I promise you that alongside your loyal and humble servant, and along with the other KBL candidates throughout our country, we will constitute an authentic parliament for Filipinos, representing the interests of all the regions of our country, and beholden to no one but the republic and our people.

Mabuhay kayong lahat, at maraming salamat po!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the 1983 Diwa ng KKK Achievement Awards, [April 10, 1984](#)

**Remarks
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At 1983 Diwa ng KKK Achievement Awards**

[Delivered at Malacañang Palace, April 10, 1984]

I am proud and I am pleased to join you here today for this presentation of the 1983 Diwa ng KKK achievement awards.

These awards mean to honor and single out for national recognition a number of livelihood projects, and their proponents, for their exemplary achievements in their respective enterprises and endeavors. And when we consider each of them individually, I must say that there is much that truly deserves our commendations and congratulations. And I am glad that as chairman of the Pambansang Lupon ng KKK, I am able to join you here in feting our awardees.

But there is another sense in which we can look upon these achievements and these awards as truly a collective triumph for the KKK program and for our people for they represent in fact the vindication of an idea — the idea we held up before our people when we launched the KKK livelihood program in 1981.

In the achievements of those whom we honor here today is to be seen the greater triumph of this national movement, the flowering of our collective dream of self-reliance and productivity. In proving the efficacy of their endeavors and their labors, our awardees show the way for others, and that may well be the even greater significance of their personal achievements.

It is in itself impressive to think that the KKK program as of today is only three years old, and that in that short span we are now beginning to reap many fruits from the movement.

From quiet beginnings, the movement has become a veritable force in our national productivity effort today. And it is a force because from the first, it has always preached the powerful doctrine, that by relying on our own resources and energies, we can individually and together lift ourselves up and live more fruitful and productive lives.

Through the KKK, we have paved the way for a strong working relationship between the government and private sectors, based on the philosophy that true social justice can only be possible if both the government and the individual share in the burdens and the tasks, the fruits and the benefits of development.

Since its launching in 1981, the KKK has granted over P1.4 billion to 20,000 livelihood projects benefitting close to 300,000 families. It is interesting to note that about 75 percent of these projects were initiated by individual KKK borrowers, proof enough of the willingness of our entrepreneurs engage in profitable small-and medium-scale businesses if given proper assistance in terms of infrastructures, credit, technical services.

And it is the dynamic of this program, its forward thrust into the future, that is of the greatest significance to our country today.

Nowadays, we hear all too often many complaints about the adversities of the times, about the poverty of individuals and about the underdevelopment of communities.

We hear again many things being said, especially now when we are in the midst of an election campaign, about national problems and the like almost as though some people think that by talking about the problems they will go from our midst.

Rhetoric and big words, however, never solved a problem. Work does. And this is what is being proved daily, in so many parts throughout the country, by those who work our farms and factories, and those who undertake livelihood projects like yourselves.

In the last analysis there really is no substitute to the value that a society attaches to the labors of individuals and communities. There is nothing that can propel a nation further in its quest for stability and prosperity than the collective efforts of the people to self-reliance.

The meaning of these awards lies in the practical and incontrovertible proof that they provide to our people's capacity for self-reliant and productive effort.

If we honor our awardees today, even more do we honor here the ideal that brought us together under the aegis of this movement and in pursuit of national self-reliance and development.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Message of President Marcos on Easter, [April 22, 1984](#)

**Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Easter**

[Delivered on April 22, 1984]

Once-again in joy and celebration, we come together to welcome Easter into our lives, and to wish others who may not be of our faith its unique blessings of hope and rebirth.

Of all the teachings of our Christian faith, nothing tells us more eloquently of the wonder and power of God's love than the message of Easter Sunday. In the agony of the passion is promised to man "the crown of life." In the miracle of the Lord's resurrection is bequeathed to each of us the power for our own regeneration and growth.

As we marvel at the meaning of this great mystery to our personal lives, it leads us to ponder also its meaning for the larger life of our people and our nation.

It is not insignificant that as we celebrate Easter this year in our country, we do so after a long season of adversity and difficulty and at a moment when the clouds of anxiety and uncertainty are just lifting from our midst. Great for a time had been our fear that in the midst of our troubles we would indeed secede from one another, yet our bonds of community have proven stronger than our fears, and our resolve more than equal to the challenges of the times.

It may be that just as in our personal lives, our faith strengthens us for the challenges of life, so for our country this moment is an opportunity to make truly our own the new hope and confidence which comes with Easter.

For one and all, my family and I fervently wish and pray for a very happy Easter.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos during the Bulacan Agro-Industrial Fair, [April 23, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the Bulacan Agro-Industrial Fair**

[Released on April 23, 1984]

I consider it an honor and a pleasure to visit the province of Bulacan once again, and to join the people of this province for the opening of this impressive Agro-Industrial Fair.

It seems to me highly appropriate that a fair of this kind and magnitude should be organized here in this province, and that many illustrious sons and daughters of Bulacan should be present here today, for in many ways this occasion exemplifies the greatness and creativity of which all Bulakeños can be proud.

It is a truism by now that nothing that happens in this province is ever of small significance to the rest of our country. Indeed there is a feeling and belief that Bulacan, by reason of her history and her geographical position in the archipelago, serves as some sort of social, political and cultural barometer for the entire Philippines.

Historically, we remember Bulacan as one of the major seeding grounds for Philippine nationalism. Among many great Bulakenos of the 19th century, including the revered Plaridel, our hopes for nationhood first flamed and gathered momentum. And it was not surprising that Bulacan was among the first eight provinces to take up arms against Spain in the revolution of 1896.

And neither was it surprising that it was on these grounds in Malolos that the first Constitution of our First Republic was drafted and ratified in 1898, and that the founding of that Republic would also be marked here. History it would seem fated this province to assume a leading role in giving identity to the Filipino nation. But it is not for historical and political reasons alone that Bulacan can claim preeminence in our national life. Economically also, and by reason of her proximity to the national capital of Manila, this province has served as a precursor of Philippine economic development – in the development of agriculture in our country beginning in Spanish times, and in the later development of industry which came with modern times. For much of her history, Bulacan has been part of the so-called rice granary of our land. And for much of the 20th century, it has been here where we have seen the real prospects of industrialization coming to the Philippines.

Finally, it must also be said that Bulacan is a cultural barometer for the nation, because of her leadership in the evolution of what we are proud to claim as our national culture. In our arts and letters, in all that we claim as unique in our folkways and traditions, we can never fail to find the contributions of Bulakeños. And perhaps most important of all, in the propagation of our national language, we find the Bulakeño second to none in giving the national tongue richness and color.

So I say that in coming to Bulacan, I come here in part to pay tribute to the great achievements of this province and her people. And I come here also to acknowledge what you continue to contribute to the development of our country and to the enrichment of our national inheritance.

It is not of small significance to note today for instance, that a major part of my Cabinet is composed of Bulakeños, most of whom I trust are present on this occasion. There is first of all our eminent Minister of Labor Blas F. Ople, a true Bulakeño if there ever was one, who since the beginning of my Presidency has served in various capacities. There is also the Minister of Public Works and Highways, Jesus Hipolito, who has been instrumental in laying the major infrastructures not only of this province, but of our whole country. There is Minister Teodulo Natividad, who at present is Deputy Minister of National Defense, and who is well remembered for his work as a legislator and as a

champion of better law enforcement and humane penal reform. And there are many others whom I cannot single out by name because we'll probably be staying here all day.

the point at any rate is plain. What Bulacan has historically provided our nation and our people in terms of enlightened leadership and service, it continues to do so today. And it does so both in terms of the vital contribution of the province as a whole to the vigor and vitality of our national economy, our national life and our culture.

To turn to the importance of this agro-industrial fair, we can well say that we have here a virtual vindication of our policies for the development of an agro-industrial economy for our country. For Bulacan indeed is a practical demonstration of the feasibility and wisdom of integrating the development of agriculture alongside the development of industry.

On the one hand, this province has never turned its back to the land, in spite of the seeming attractions of simply becoming a satellite center of Metro Manila. To this day, the province, with its wide and flat terrain and the many rivers draining its plains, serves as a leader in the production of rice and other food crops. Neither has it been oblivious to the cultivation and extraction of the products of our water resources. Fishing is today one of the most important industries of Bulacan. And to this day it has the biggest fishpond production in our entire country.

In the field of livestock and poultry raising, Bulacan too has been a major contributor. It is not for nothing that the town of Sta. Maria has been described as "the egg nest of our country", because of its network of big poultry farms.

But in a decisive way also, Bulacan's economic development has not stopped at the margins of agriculture. It has moved into the vital sector of integrating agricultural activities with manufacturing and industrial enterprise. In the most basic step of manufacturing – which is the processing of agricultural products into manufactured goods – this province has demonstrated her prowess in small and medium scale industries, in cottage manufacturing, in hundreds of enterprises that have become virtual models for an industrializing society.

And finally let us take note that Bulacan has fully taken advantage of her proximity to Metro Manila in encouraging the establishment within her borders diverse manufacturing activities of size and complexity. Among the various industries we can find here for instance textile mills, cement plants, steel mills, feed mills, chemical plants, garment factories, tanneries and breweries.

What is truly significant and instructive to my mind of the economic development of Bulacan is the forward integration being made between agriculture and industry – the way in which the products of one sector become the raw materials for the other resulting in greater value added to economic effort. One impressive instance of this is the setting up of the plant producing industrial grade paper from bagasse, a sugarcane by-product. Others are the various food manufacturing enterprises which are wholly based on products produced by our farms and seas.

I think that in a broader way, what we are really exhibiting in this agro-industrial fair is not so much the products being produced by the province of Bulacan, but the fertility and feasibility of an idea – the idea that with enterprise and effort, success will not be denied the Filipino. It shows us what can be done and achieved where government and people cooperate and labor together. It shows us what energetic and earnest programs can develop in the way of strengthening our economic life.

We have spoken so many times in the past that economic development cannot take place without the necessary combination of various elements in the economic process – of economic infrastructure such as roads, power and communications; of agriculture research and technology transfer; of attractive financing packages to reach economic activities at all levels; and of support policies by the government.

It is easy to talk about these things, but it always takes political will to marshal and muster them together, to put in the necessary investments and to mobilize the people for productive effort.

Statistically, our investments in infrastructure in Bulacan alone are heavy indeed, amounting to many billions of pesos at last count and covering many types of public works. But the irrigation facilities we have put up, the roads and bridges we have built, the reforms we have instituted – all have paid us back in products and enterprises that will likely outlast our lifetime.

When therefore we hear the critics among us who criticize the emphasis we place on a balanced growth of an agro-industrial economy, we can well point to Bulacan as evidence of the success of that policy.

When we are asked what our heavy public investments mean in terms of economic development in our land, we can point for one to the record of growth of the Bulacan economy, which during the last ten years alone has grown at impressive levels.

Today we are in the midst of another election season, and we should never forget that there are deeper issues in this election campaign than just the election of men and women to the Batas Pambansa. We are in the last analysis passing upon the merits of opposing programs and policies of government, or more accurately between one party that has an entire program of government and others that can only express opposition to that program without alternatives.

When we ask of the people of Bulacan for their support of the KBL candidates in this election, we do so on behalf of their proven record of service in government, and we do so also on behalf of the larger program for national life which we all support and live for.

And when we promise that their leadership will mean something to Bulacan and all Bulakeños, it is because their leadership is umbilically linked to the very leadership of this nation and the entire country.

I have every confidence and faith that the achievements of Bulacan and her people, outstanding as they are already, are only a beginning. The future is full of the bright promise of this province and her constituents.

This province will remain a leader in our land, because it continues to hold before it the rewards of enterprise and exploration. This is what this fair is all about. And this is what economic development is all about.

Thank you and god bless you all.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the 13th Annual Meeting of the Asian Development Bank, April 30, 1980

An Instrument for Winning the Future

IT IS OUR great privilege once again to welcome the board of governors, the board of directors and the delegates to this annual meeting of the governing body of the Asian Development Bank.

As host country to this great institution, this is a yearly privilege accorded to our people and government, something we shall never weary of, but rather always cherish, the honor this bestows upon our country. It is also a distinction that enables us, I daresay, to follow closely the fruitful and exciting work of the Asian Development Bank in fostering economic developments and international cooperation in our part of the world.

And we are all aware of what is on record as we convene the 13th Annual Meeting of our Governor Council in the Asian Development Bank.

From 33 members in 1969, we are today, a family of 42 nations. Since the start of the ADB lending operations, there has been an impressive increase in the number of projects financed and the amount of loans granted. Over the 10-year period, from 1970-79, the bank has extended a total of \$6.5 billion for 395 projects. And we have seen as well, in recent years, the encouraging expansion of ADB activities into regional ventures and joint projects.

I should like, therefore, to commence by paying tribute to the President of the Asian Development Bank, Mr. Taroshi Yoshida, and the men and women working with him—all of whom are outstanding, exemplary international civil servants dedicated to the task of promoting and fostering the economic and social progress of the peoples of Asia and the South Pacific.

Their tireless efforts perpetuate a tradition that has been the hallmark of this institution since its birth 14 years ago. When the Asian Development Bank was organized in 1966, Southeast Asia was the scene of a protracted and bloody war. We had hoped then that after that unhappy chapter in Asian history shall have subsided, we could hasten the fulfillment of our dream of a developed, modern and progressive Asia built through regional self-help and international cooperation under the auspices of the ADB. That conflict is now behind us, and some of our sanguine hopes for the future have slowly begun to take shape.

In the work of the Asian Development Bank in particular, we have found ample confirmation of our desire to establish an effective instrument to fulfill some of our aspirations.

But this sense of stability and harmony has all too soon been marked again by the kind of tensions and conflict that attended the birth of the bank.

We meet today against a backdrop of doubt and disquiet. All over the world there are presentiments of war. There is a general sense that the march of events, far from defusing the tense international situation, daily aggravates our feeling of embattlement. In Iran, 50 Americans are still held hostage in an ordeal that has now lasted six months, and the picture here, if anything, is darker than ever. In Afghanistan, an ongoing war intensifies with every passing day, escalating the commitments of the contending forces. In the countries rimming these nations, mobilization for conflict seems to be taking place. And finally, between the United States and the Soviet Union, another stage of confrontation and rivalry appears to have been reached.

I have just returned from a visit to Hawaii, during which I had the opportunity to confer with various American sectors on many of these problems that have risen to the forefront of international life. I can report to you that the present climate of apprehension cuts as deeply in the United States as it does here in Asia.

I said in the course of my journey, and I say it again, that our only hope of averting World War III is for the United States to be strong, fully supported by her allies so that she can maintain the power equilibrium in the various key spots in the world arena—in Europe, in Africa, in the Middle East, as well as in East Asia and Southeast Asia.

We who are members of this institution are all profoundly aware that it is precisely in this kind of situation, where all our hopes for economic progress and development meet the greatest of their nemesis. Our struggle to dominate the future requires stability and security as a foundation on which to build our economic bastion. But we face the unshakable paradox that we must struggle for long-term economic goals amidst a setting in which stability, even when won, can only be short-term and fleeting.

That we have not achieved the needed regional and international stability required by a purposeful thrust to economic development and progress is a cause of dismay to us all. But we all know whereof it springs.

It springs from the environment of anemia and irresolution that has dominated our corner of the map for much of the recently concluded decade. For the seeming helplessness of many developing countries has invited with mounting frequency the intervention of aggressive forces and powers. And there is no possible order to be attained unless we fundamentally alter this environment by purposive action. By this I am suggesting that there is a preeminent need now for us to move towards a politics of strength sufficient to ensure peace and stability in our nations and regions, and that we must efface the seeming weakness and irresolution that all too often are misread by others and which eventually lead to greater tension.

To this, the maintenance of a balance of power in our part of the world is fundamental, not with the intent of reviving the Cold War, but with the supreme purpose of making known to all what kind of sacrifices we are prepared to make in defense of peace and stability in Asia and the Pacific. Decisions made under conditions of security and strength have the advantage not only of forestalling aggressive acts, they also are less likely to lead to miscalculations, overreaction or emotional errors. And this is greatly needed in the precipitous world of nuclear power.

The environment I speak of in which contending sides can deal from a position of strength can allow for more big-power disengagement from minor issues, even as the big powers continue supporting small countries through economic and military aid short of direct military involvement. And I believe, moreover, that such an environment is one that best allows for the full exploration and pursuit of common interests of the nations, such as we in the Asian Development Bank are pledged to foster. For where weakness tends to force emphasis on conflicts and to exaggerate the dangers, the knowledge of strength confers confidence and stability, enough to heighten perceptions of common interests with others and the readiness to practice the principle of “shared responsibility.”

What has been called the *competitive disruption* that has appeared to prevail in international life for almost a decade now can therefore be replaced by a kind of *competitive rapprochement*. In placing greater emphasis on “balance of power,” we are not suggesting that we turn our back on the reality of the interdependence of nations. Our common interests are as real as ever, but we have learned over the interval of years how global interdependence does not easily result in concourse and harmony.

I shall say again what I said at the inauguration of the bank in 1966: “Cooperation among Asians is no longer an option, but a necessity imposed upon us by the common objective of development. And there is no reason for us to revise this view today. Rather, with this we can add the knowledge, borne home to us by contemporary events, that the political division of the world has proven more intractable than anyone envisioned.”

But with this acceptance of the condition of the world at this point in time must also come the belief that we can still temper the asperities of divisions and differences with the resources at our command for introducing change and making progress.

This is the value we place in institutions like the Asian Development Bank which have chosen to fight the other war—the war against hunger, poverty, and underdevelopment in the developing countries.

The peoples of Asia, especially those in the ADB's scope of operations, have a stronger reason to desire peace than those already developed. Because we know that the apparatus of war, on which considerable resources are being expended, are convertible into engines of peace and progress; that if the treasures and energies lavished on the making of war are redirected to the peaceful development of the world, then the most optimistic visions of human progress will cease to be merely Utopian.

Still, we have reason to be proud that in a year marked by profound economic crises and difficulties, and punctuated at every turn by disturbing political turmoil and instability, Asia and the Pacific—which form the special concern of the ADB—continued to make redoubtable advances toward development. The region has inescapably been visited by the scourges of the times—inflation, food shortages, wider trade deficits, and declining growth rates. But many countries still managed a creditable increase in per capita income. And some have demonstrably shown their ability not only to cope but to grow.

The presence of institutions like the Asian Development Bank is, let us say now, one of the few forces that has kept our hopes high and our faith intact. For it is in institutions like this where we have been able, and are able, to utilize our collective efforts toward regional development in agriculture, energy, and social infrastructure.

Indeed, the Asian Development Bank has contributed much toward the improvement of the lot of Asia's millions. Although much remains to be accomplished, and much more can still be done by the ADB in advancing its aims, we can no longer be in doubt that we have here an institution vital to the winning of the future.

It is in this spirit that I would like now to commend for your consideration and study the following problem areas affecting regional efforts at development.

First and foremost, there is the problem of energy supplies. There is a crying need here and now to expand the supply of energy, continuously and at equitable prices, and to secure a global commitment to rationally manage existing resource-supplies in order to serve still unmet basic human needs. The uncertainties of the times are especially disturbing, because even short of full-blown conflict, there are real dangers that the flow of energy supplies can be disastrously curtailed or derailed.

Second, we have to strike a meaningful balance between food supplies and population, health and sanitation needs, and to provide a means whereby food emergencies can be met. My government believes this is positively the time to embark on a scheme of grain reserves that is nationally held but regionally coordinated.

Third, we must revise international trade and monetary policies consonant to the U.N. resolution calling for the creation of a new international economic order so as to take account of the real needs and interests of the developing countries. Little has been done to make this goal become a fact, and yet it can no longer be doubted that unless changes take place soon, the conditions of developing nations will not change for the better.

Fourth, is the need to further raise the level of economic collaboration in the region, both at bilateral and multinational levels. Within ASEAN, we have already attained a degree of collaboration and cooperation that manifestly show what is possible in our part of the world. And it is our belief that carried on an expanded scale to cover the countries of the ADB, we can create a system of cooperation that can be effective and productive.

Fifth, we submit that there is need to provide the less developed countries of the region with more relief in the face of political-geographic conflicts, natural calamities, and internal challenges to peace and security. Our attention to these problems in the region must not waver for it is from these that our larger regional problems all too often stem.

Finally, we ask that you give special consideration and attention to the need to increase production capacity and productivity throughout the region, through the transfer of scientific and technological achievements. This is the major key to the growing needs of every developing member country, which has, like the Philippines, established strong foundations for growth. Too, attention must be paid to the kind of assistance that will take the most advantage of every hopeful advance that has been made.

All of these do not by any means represent the whole of our agenda for the future. But if we can respond to these problems with understanding and resolve, we shall have at our command a program force for development to match what we are prepared to do in order to sustain peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

Source: [National Library of the Philippines](#)

Speech of President Marcos on Labor Day, [May 1, 1984](#)

Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Labor Day

[Delivered on May 1, 1984]

Mga pangunahing lider ng bisig sa ating bansa, mga pangulo ng mga unyon, mga manggagawang Pilipino na ngayon ay naririto at saan-man sila naroroon:

Nang kami ng Unang Ginang ay magbuhol ng puso maraming taon ma ang nakalilipas, sa unang araw ng Mayo, hindi ko akalain na yaon pala ay isang tripartite wedding. Sapagka't ang ikatlong parte sa kontrata ay kayo ang manggagawang Pilipino; kaya naman walang Labor Day sapol nang ako'y maging Pangulo na hindi tayo magkakasama sa ganitong pagdiriwang.

Ang totoo si First Lady ay nagseselos kung minsan sa araw na ito, sapagkat ang wika niya, tanging pagkakataon ko sa ating wedding anniversary na masarili kita, masarili ka ng iyong pamilya, nguni't naririto tayo sa gitna ng bayang manggagawa at nakikinig sa kanilang mga karaingan. Ang sabi ko naman, pasalamat tayo at ito'y kalooban ng Diyos, na tayo ay lalong ilapit sa manggagawang Pilipino, sapagka't samantalang kasama natin ang lahat ng mga anak-pawis, maging sa mga lunsod at sa mga bukid, walang lakas sa ibabaw lupa, at walang lakas ng dayuhan, gaano man kalaki ang kapangyarihan, ang maaaring gumimbal sa Republika ng Pilipiras.

Sinabi ko iyan sapagka't sa dignidad ng pangkaraniwang Pilipino itinayo ang gusali ng Bagong Lipunan at ng Bagong Republika: samakatuwid ay itinayo hindi sa buhangin kundi sa talampas, sa bato ng tangkilik ng bayan; samakatuwid ay isang tahanang humampas man ang ulan at bagyo ay hindi kayang ibuwal, gaano man ang namumuhi, napopoot at naghihiganti.

Ang mga dayuhang walang muwang sa mga katotohanang nagaganap sa Pilipinas ay labis na nagtataka kung bakit hanggang sa mga dulong-nayon ng ating bansa ay masugid at marubdob ang pagtataguyod sa mga programa ng Bagong Lipunan, sa kabila ng laganap na pagkakalat ng lason ng mga kalaban ng ating pamahalaan laban sa kanilang sariling bansa, at sa kanilang bayan. Datapwa't itanong nga natin sino ba ang nagbigay dangal sa karaniwang Pilipino? Bakit ngayon ang kapitan ng isang nayon, bagaman isang puwestong hindi suwelduhan, ay pinaglalaban ng mga pangunahing lider maging sa kanayunan at maging sa malalaking lungsod? Bakit ang isang hamak na councilman o barangay tanod ay tinitingala sa kanilang mga pook, ganoong wala namang pakinabang na pansarili? Bakit naging malakas ngayon ang tinig ng mga magsasaka at maging ng mga mangingisda? Bakit naging mas mataas ngayon ang kamulatan ng mga manggagawa sa kanilang mga karapatan sa ilalim ng batas? Bakit sa panahon ng Bagong Lipunan nag-ibayo ng apat na beses, mula sa kalahating milyong organisadong manggagawa noong 1972 sa mahigit na apat na milyon ngayon, hindi lamang sa mga lunsod kundi gayon din sa kabukiran sa buong kapuluan? Bakit higit ngayon ang karangalan ng isang trade union leader sa ating lipunan—kinikilala at iginagalang?

Kaylan ba naman nagkaroon ng sariling pitak ang mga manggagawa, magsasaka, sampu ng kabataan. sa ating mga Sangguniang Pambayan, panglunsod at maging sa Batasang Pambansa? Ang balita ko tuloy ay kasalukuyang pumuporma ang karamihan sa mga lider obrero upang makabilang sa hanay ng mga pipiliing sectoral representative, maging industrial or agricultural, sa darating na Regular Batasang Pambansa. I say, good luck to you and may the best man win!

Binigyan natin ng dangal ang pangkaraniwang Pilipino at ang dangal na ito ay naipaloob sa balangkas ng mga batas at mga istitusyong hindi na kayang bawiin ng mga mayayamang uri, at ng mga pulitikong nag-aahente sa ganitong mga uri.

Tingnan natin ang magsasakang Pilipino. Hindi ba dati'y nakayuko ang ulo, may kislap ng lihim na galit sa kanyang mga mata, nguni't sapilitang pinipigil at ikinakanlong, punit hindi lamang ang damit na suot kundi lalo na ang dignidad ng kanyang pagkatao sa bulag na pagsunod sa auto ng asenderong kanyang panginoon, subali't ngayon ay taas na ang noo, malaya ang pag-iisip, at siyang namamatnugot sa kanyang sariling buhay at kapalaran? Bakit sa loob lamang ng sampung taon ay naganap ang ganitong himagsikan sa kalagayan ng magsasaka? Batid ninyo ang dahilan, dahil sa sinulat ng inyong lingcod, ang batas na ngayon ay lalong kilala sa taguring Presidential Decree 27, na siyang lumagot sa tanikalang daan-taong kaalipinan ng daan-daang libong mga magsasaka at ng kanilang mga pamilya. Dati'y nakayuko ang mga taga-nayon ngunit ngayong nakasumpong ng kanilang sariling tinig sa kanilang mga barangay, mayroon pa bang maaaring humamak sa kanila? Bakit ang manggagawa ay higit ngayong iginagalang at kung minsan ay kinagugulatan sapagka't mas mulat sa kanilang mga karapatan at taglay sa kanilang katauhan ang kalasag ng karapatan sa pamamagitan ng Labor Code? Hindi ba noong araw ay halos sunugin ninyo ang Kongreso upang makakuha lamang ng isang karampot ng dagdag sa minimum wage? Nitong nagdaang panahon, hindi ba labing-isang beses na isinabatas ko ang karagdagang pasahod at allowances sa pamamagitan lamang ng inyong tagubilin?

Bakit din ninyong may isang malaking unos na pangkabuhayang nagaganap ngayon sa buong daigdig, at ang ating bansa ay isa lamang sa napakaraming mga bansa na sumasalunga ngayon sa agos ng isang economic crisis. Ang ating unang pananagutan ay ang pagsuporta sa mga hanap-buhay na umiiral na ngayon, at kung paanong mailalagay sa isang higit na panatag na katayuan ang ating ekonomiya upang makalikha ng milyun-milyon pang pagkakataon sa hanap-buhay na kinakailangan ng ating mabilis pa ring dumaraming populasyon.

Hind ito nangangahulugan na hindi natin. tutulungan ang ating mga manggagawa sa kabila ng dinaranas na krisis ng ating industriya at ng buong ekonomiya. Sapagka't mahalagang magbigay tayo ng isang hudyat sa ating buong lipunan na maging sa panahon ng panganib ay hindi natin maaaring kaligtaan ang pagdamay sa anak-pawis. Dahil ditto kung bakit sa dakong huli ng aking pananalita ay aking lalagdaan ang isang Presidential Wage Order—an order integrating several of the existing cost-of-living allowances into the basic minimum wage, as consistently demanded by the workers through the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, a decision that will increase significantly the base for computation of the thirteenth month pay, overtime pay, retirement pay, and social security benefits in general.

Babalikan natin ang paksang ito. Samantala ay nais kong manawagan sa bayang manggagawang Pilipino na ngayon lalong dapat pagmalasakitan ang pagkakaisa ng ating bansa sa gitna ng isang lumulubhang panganib sa daigdig. Lalong nagiging pangahas ang pagtatangka sa ating sariling bansa ng mga lakas na maging sa lihim o hayag na paraan ay nais wasakin ang ating katatagan, wasakin ang mga istitusyon ng Bagong Lipunan na nagbigay dangal sa mga maliliit na Pilipino, at wasakin ang matiwasay at maunlad na kinabukasan ng mga kabataang Pilipino.

Hindi ko sinasabing ang KBL lamang ang nagmamahal at may malasakit sa ating bayan. Huwali nating hadlangan ang karapatan ng oposisyon na sabihing sila rin ay nagmamahal sa bayan. Ang oposisyon ay nahahati sa dalawang pangkat. Ang isa ay naninindigan sa boycott. Ang isa pa ay lumalahok ngayon sa isang labanan sa pamamagitan ng balota.

Unahin natin ang mga nag-boboycott. Akalain ninyong kamakailan ay nagtipon sa Hong Kong ang ilang lider ng Boycott Movement at doon ay nilagdaan ng isang dokumento na hinirang ang kanilang mga sarili bilang isang Preparatory Committee o Transitory Government niya siya raw mamamahala sa Pilipinas kung bumagsak na sa madaling panahon ang Bagong Lipunan. Aba'y hindi ba nakahihiya ang ginagawa ng mga taong ito, na hinihirang ang mga sarili bilang isang bagong pamahalaan ng Pilipinas nang walang sinangguning isa man lamang kapitan ng barangay, isa man lamang magsasaka, o isa man lamang lehitimong unyonista dito sa ating bansa? Mayroon kayang kapangyarihang dayuhan na nag-udyok sa kanila upang gawin ito? Binuo na ba sa kanilang kapulungan na kagyat nilang wawasakin ang katahimikan at katatagan sa ating bansa, sa pamamagitan ng paglalaban ng Pilipino sa kapwa Pilipino.

Itinutulak ba nila tayo sa isang bangin ng digmaang sibil na katulad ng nangyari sa Vietnam, sa Kampuchea, sa Afghanistan, sa Nicaragua at El Salvador? Nabuo na kaya ang kanilang kapasiyahan na ang kapangyarihan ay maaari lamang nilang makamit kung hahagdanin ang talaksak ng mga bangkay ng kapwa Pilipino sa isang giyera sibil? Tahasan kong sinasabi sa kanila mabibigo kayo sa inyong pakay, sapagka't hindi pahihintulutan ng

sambayanang Pilipino na humantong sa ganyang isang mapait at malagim na wakas ang kanilang sariling pangitain para sa kanilang mga anak, para sa isang kinabukasang matatag, tahimik at maunlad.

Sa kabilang dako ay may palantandaang ang boycott line na ito ay tandisang sinasamantala ng ilan sa mga hanay ng paggawa upang gamiting isang sandata para guluhin ang ating bansa. May mga elementong nais gawing puhunan ang kasalukuyang krisis, at ang luha ng mga kapos-palad, upang maging isang apoy na tutupok sa ating bayan sa pamamagitan ng isang madugong himagsikan.

Minsan pa ay nais kong magbigay ng babala, samantalang may panahon pa, sa mga elementong ito: huwag ninyong subukin ang paninindigan ng pamahalaang Pilipino, sapagka't kayo ay mabibigo at ang inyong maiitim na balak ay mauunsiyami. Pananagutin ko kayo sa inyong mga kapangahasan laban sa katiwasayan ng bay an.

Sa kabutihang palad ang nakararami sa oposisyon ay kasalukuyang nakikilahok sa halalan para sa regular na Batasang Pambansa. Sila ang nakinig—to their credit they perceived the overwhelming sentiment for an election that will resolve the issue of leadership. We share with them a deep concern to strengthen the foundations of our democracy following the lifting of Martial Law, and to reinvigorate the climate of freedom in our country. Now that I have given credit where credit is due, however let me proceed to point out what is wrong with this opposition: they have forgotten to offer electorate a platform, a programme government; or perhaps they did not forget, they just could not muster the considerable will and effort to forge a consensus among themselves on what alternative platforms they would like to stand on. The opposition has not said anything on what they propose to do with agrarian reform, the Labor Code, the plight of the urban poor, the development of infrastructure including schools, wells and health centers for the hinterland areas; neither have they offered an alternative foreign policy geared to peace and sovereignty. Neither have they articulated the slightest notion of what they propose to ensure our national security amidst a dangerous and turbulent world. I think they have just surrendered without a fight to mental sloth: witness the ghoulish abandon with which they exploit the death of a fellow Filipino, in the hope that this will excuse them from the burden of thought. How can a nation even contemplate entrusting its affairs to such a group of reckless power seekers?

Hindi ko rin sinasabing ang Kilusang Bagong Lipunan ay walang kapintasan o kakulangan datapwa't lalo na sa panahon ng panganib, mayroon kayang ibang lapiang may sapat na record ng paglilingkod, at katapatan sa liping mahirap ng ating bansa, upang maging guarantor ng ating katatagan maliban sa Kilusang Bagong Lipunan? Mayroon bang iba pang lapian na nagtayo ng ating gusali sa ibabaw ng bato ng dangal ng maliliit na tao? Mayroon pa kayang ibang lapiang maaaring pagkatiwalaan upang siyang umugit sa bansang ito sa panahon ng malaking unos sa kabuhayan ng buong daigdig? Sa palagay ko ay wala ng iba kundi ang KBL.

Kung gusto ninyong magpatuloy ang ating pakikipaglaban para sa dangal na maliit na tao, ng manggagawa, ng magsasaka, ng mangingisda, ng maliit na negosyante, ng guro, ng kawani, ng mga kabataang hindi na makapag-aral, isa lamang ang paraang inyong maipahayag iyan; isulat sa inyong mga balota ang mga pangalan ng mga kandidato ng KBL, walang nang isisingit, wala nang iiwan, kundi buong-buong isulat ang kanilang mga pangalan. Isulat din ang pangalan ng Minister of Labor Blas F. Ople diyan sa Bulakan. Para na rin ninyong tiniyak na ang paggalang sa karangalan ng maliliit na mamamayan ay magpapatuloy bilang siyang batong panulukan ng ating pangasiwaan, ngayon at sa mga taon pang darating.

At ngayon, sa pagsangayon ng mga kinatawan ng puhunan at ng paggawa sa loob ng National Wages Council na sa akala ko ay hindi naman nila itatatuwa pagkatapos nito, ay nais kong lagdaan sa inyong harap ang isang Presidential Wage Order, which integrates into the basic minimum wage three cost-of-living allowances, namely:

This will significantly raise the thirteenth pay, overtime, retirement pay, and the social security benefits of workers and their families.

I also sign in your, presence a Directive to the Social Security Commission for an of the retirement benefits by fifteen (15) per cent, effective on the first of June. This is a time when we should focus some of our concern on the plight of many thousands of older retired workers. I direct the Government Service Insurance System to consider raising the benefit for government retirees as well.

I also sign in your presence a Decree liberalizing the scope of compensable diseases, injuries and deaths under the Workingmen's Compensation Law.

I also sign a Letter of Instructions that will make it easier for laid-off workers to obtain emergency loans from the Social Security System, until such time as we can afford true unemployment insurance, these emergency loans substitute for income maintenance for the unemployed.

I also sign in your presence an Executive Order creating regional employment exchanges throughout the country under the Ministry of Labor and Employment. These offices will help relocate laid-off workers to new areas of demand.

I also sign a Letter of Instructions strengthening the powers of the Ministry of Labor and Employment in the campaign against illegal recruiters which constitute a modern plague in our society. Under this Decree the Ministers of Labor and Defense can close without further ado any illegal recruitment office.

Finally, I sign in your presence a Letter of Instructions designed to strengthen further the trade union movement by reiterating an old provision in the Labor Code granting them tax exemption.

Mabuhay ang manggagawang Pilipino!

Mabuhay ang partido ng maliliit at dukha, ang KBL!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the 48th Anniversary of the Philippine Air Force, [May 2, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the 48th Anniversary of the Philippine Air Force**

[Delivered on May 2, 1984]

The Philippine Air Force celebrates today the 48th anniversary of its founding, and once more I come here to salute the officers and men of this command and to thank you for all those years of dedicated service to our people and our nation.

Anniversaries are normally occasions for joy and celebration, but today there is in this commemoration the lingering shadow of sadness and dejection. At least once in the lifetime of men and institutions, there occurs an event of great moment and significance which threatens to alter the course of its existence. Much to our regret, such an event has come to pass upon this service of our Armed Forces.

In the eyes of some, the tragedy of August 1983 which took the life of a fellow countryman at the manila international airport has cast a cloud of doubt and suspicion upon the Philippine Air Force. Fairness and prudence should have demanded that we neither condemn nor condone. Anyone until the facts shall have been fully established, yet some of our countrymen have already publicly indicted and condemned not only the aviation. Security command, but the Philippine Air Force itself and even the whole and even the whole of our National Armed Forces.

In the entire history of our nation and our people, there are few events to compare to our sense of shame and indignation in the face of this tragedy. But whatever we may feel about this event, and however we may desire to punish the perpetrators of this deed, our quest for justice in this case should not lead us to lay blame indiscriminately and wherever we may choose to lay it. Guilt is a personal thing and the sin of one or of a group should never be blamed on everyone, however righteous we may feel in our indignation.

It seems to me that we compound the tragedy of August 1983 when we allow injustice and imprudence to color our efforts to bring this case to resolution. And it is in this sad light that the Philippine Air Force has been placed during the past months.

Yet in spite of this, this command and its officers and men should ever take heart from the thought that in time fairness and good sense will prevail and sweep away the cloud of suspicion that has been hung over it by those who wish it ill. It must soar above the turbulence of the times and carry on with its tasks knowing that good deeds and service will pierce the veil of propaganda and restore it to its true place of honor in our national life.

For 48 years now, the Philippine Air Force has seen a vital component of our national defense. If today we feel secure against foreign aggression, it is because we know that the Air Force keeps watch over our skies with radars and through continuous reconnaissance flights over our land and waters. Against the ever-present threat of insurgency, the Air Force provides our Armed Forces with an insuperable edge in mobility and flexibility in the deployment of troops and delivery of arms and material.

Neither has the Air Force been solely preoccupied with defense or military operations. Last year, for instance, combat-related air operations made up only 5 percent of the total 41,942 flying hours logged by the command. Most of the time spent in flying by the officers and men of the Air Force were for training and proficiency flights, while the rest were used in civic, humanitarian and economic activities, like the airlift of military and civilian patients, the ferrying of Comelec forms and ballot boxes, aerial photogrammetry, weather modification flights, and search and rescue operations. In support of the campaign against drug abuse, the Philippine Air Force coordinated with the

narcotics command and together they succeeded in destroying P23.8 million worth of marijuana plants and seedlings in Ifugao, Benguet and the Mountain Province.

Truly there is much to be proud of and commend in these accomplishments of the Philippine Air Force but in the light of our needs and the current thrust of our development program, we must reserve our highest praise to the leadership of the Air Force and its highly efficient maintenance crew who have succeeded in saving from wasteful disuse and obsolescence a number of expensive aircraft. At Basa Air Base three F-5A tactical fighters were recommissioned in record time despite the loss of 91 line items in one, 95 in another and 733 in the third. A fourth aircraft whose stabilizer 301 burned during take-off is under repair. The total savings realized from work already completed have been placed at more than \$217,000. At Villamor Air base two UH-1H helicopters were repaired in just 144 working days in our own depot level maintenance facility at a combined cost of \$395,946. Had we sent these abroad. The cost of repairs would have easily reached \$1.06 million. Considering that four other aircraft of the same kind are also in need of immediate repair, it would be easy to project how much we have saved and stand to save because of the foresight of our military leaders and the skills and ingenuity the maintenance personnel of the Philippine Air Force.

All these efforts fit well into the government's program of austerity and dollar conservation as well as the concept of self-reliance embodied in the Sariling Sikap program. And I commend the officers and men of the Philippine Air Force for this outstanding achievement. I commend you not only because such efforts are supportive of our economic goals but also because they enhance and strengthen the capability of the Armed Forces to meet the resurgent threats to national security.

Although our Armed Forces has succeeded in bringing stability to certain troubled areas, like the Cordillera provinces, eastern Visayas and parts of Region XI, last year, there is growing evidence that the communist insurgency is once more on the upsurge. Intelligence estimates place the armed strength of the communist party new people's army at 6,810 men in 1983, a full 25 percent from the estimate of 1982. Correspondingly, clashes, ambushes and other violent incidents involving insurgents rose by 41 percent over the 1982 level to 2,430 in 1983. And it is not only in the countryside where the communist rebels are active. Emboldened by the liberal atmosphere of recent months, these communist elements have succeeded in infiltrating legitimate protest movements in urban areas and have unleashed a massive propaganda campaign designed to whip up mass hysteria, discontent and dissent against legitimate authority. Indeed, we may be reaching the point from where we began in 1972. And it is time once again to warn our people against the perils of flirting with those who would do violence to our democratic institutions and our established way of life.

To the legitimate opposition, let me address a plea for moderation and reason. Let us agree to disagree on the important issues facing the nation, but let us do so without fanning hatred and resentment against those who are in authority or casting doubts and aspersions upon our legal institutions.

To the businessmen and the men and women of the cloth, I say beware of the wolves in sheep's clothing for you may be their first victim.

To the youth and the rest of our countrymen, I say do not let yourselves be carried away by passion and rhetoric for they are not the solution to our problems and our only way out lies in hard work and resolute action.

Finally to the rebels of any persuasion, let me again say: for you we will keep the door of reconciliation open, do not close it through violent action. Abandon the path of violence and take to the high road of national unity and cooperation so that together we can help fulfill our dreams for our family, our people and our nation.

But if you should keep to the path of violence, then we are left no other option but to reply with the full force of our laws. We are prepared to throw the full weight of our Armed Forces behind the campaign to preserve peace and stability, if necessary. Do not test our patience and determination, for the Armed Forces are ready and able to meet any contingency that may threaten the nation's security.

As of the end of 1983, our Armed Forces has filled up only 90 percent of the authorized troop ceiling. Despite charges to the contrary, we have kept military expenditures within our means and our needs. I was therefore surprised to read in an international weekly that we have the highest military expenditures among ASEAN countries. Let us look at the figures. In 1981, Indonesia's military budget amounted to \$2.69 billion; Malaysia had \$2.05 billion; Thailand, \$1.3 billion; the island state of Singapore, \$707 million and the Philippines, 702 million. These figures are not our own, they were compiled by the international institute of strategic studies in London. Perhaps they may be a little bit dated, but there is simply no way we could have come up to par with Thailand, Malaysia or Indonesia in the intervening years. Of even greater interest to us perhaps than absolute amounts are the comparative figures on military budgets as a proportion of gross national product. According to the same study, Indonesia's defense expenditures amounted to 3.3 percent of that country's GNP; Thailand's, 3.5 percent; Singapore's, 5.7 percent; Malaysia's, 8.3 percent; while that of the Philippines' was only 2.2 percent. We did not only have the lowest figure among ASEAN countries, we had the lowest percentage of military expenditures vis a vis GNP in the whole of east Asia, with the sole exception of Japan.

And yet, all the while, we have been a nation contending with the twin threats of Muslim separatism and communist insurgency. And we have lived through periods when the very life of our republic was threatened.

More than the shrill cries of militarization and profligacy in military spending therefore, these facts surely speak eloquently of where our true national priorities lie and they speak moreover of the inherent strength of our Armed Forces and their ability to keep the cost of maintaining national security and peace at reasonable and economical levels.

If for this alone, every officer and soldier, every service and the entire leadership of our Armed Forces deserve the praise and gratitude of our people.

But we all know that this is not all. For truly our Armed Forces, and the Philippine Air Force not least, have been second to none in terms of dedicated service to our nation and our people. Nor can we forget or overlook that here in our country we have an Armed Forces that fully recognize the supremacy of our civilian government, and that this itself has been a major factor for national vitality and stability.

In remembering and noting these things today, you in this command and the nation as a whole have much to celebrate and be proud of in this day of commemoration, in spite of whatever aspersions cast by some.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Outline of the Speech of President Marcos during the celebration of the Natural Resources Consciousness Month, [May 4, 1984](#)

**Outline of the Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
During the celebration of the Natural Resources Consciousness Month**

[Delivered at the Rizal Memorial Stadium, May 4, 1984]

I. Introduction

1.1 I have declared the month of May, 1984 as Natural Resources Consciousness Month in the entire archipelago. I deem it necessary to do so because I feel that at this time more than ever before, the Filipino people must take the initiative and respond positively to the challenge of national development and progress thru self-reliance. We are a nation endowed with rich natural resources but these must be properly harnessed to sustain the economic benefits we can derive from them. In order to do this, we must make every citizen aware of his contribution towards natural resources conservation and its judicious utilization. This awareness must reach even the grassroot level of our society since they are the eventual beneficiaries of the development plans and programs that we are pursuing. I enjoined all agencies and instrumentalities of the Government to contribute their share in the observance of this month by holding exhibits and conducting information campaigns on how natural resources can be conserved and judiciously utilized. Let this occasion, which show cases the achievements garnered from the Kilusang Sariling Sikap, KKK and other natural resources-based development programs be just the start of many more innovative and informative exhibits which highlight the theme of Natural Resources Consciousness. I expect more exhibit of this kind and commend those who initiated this exhibit.

1.2 At this point, I would like to pay tribute to all Government employees for your contribution to national development in the faithful accomplishment of your assigned tasks as civil servants. I know that all these achievements which we are now showcasing could not have been accomplished without your support and cooperation. I would like to make particular mention of the presence of employees from the following agencies: Ministry of Natural Resources, Ministry of Human Settlements, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of National Defense/Armed Forces of the Philippines, Bureau of Forest Development, Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources, Bureau of Lands and Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences. To you I convey my deepest appreciation for jobs well done.

1.3 Importance of natural resources to the country's thrust towards self-sufficiency as basis for economic and social-development

1.2.1 To highlight the importance of natural resources to our economy let me cite these figures:

For 1978-1982 (Annual Average)

	Contribution	Value
GNP	11%	P36.8 B
Foreign Exchange	26%	\$1.62 B

For CY 1983

	Contribution	Value
GNP	9.9%	P38 B
Foreign Exchange	22.2%	\$1.1 B

— It can be noted that the value of GNP in the natural resources sector exhibited a mild increase in 1983 as compared to the past 5-year average although foreign exchange earnings dropped by 30% in 1983.

1.3.2 Strategies to attain self-sufficiency

— To meet the challenges brought about by the current state of our economy the Ministry of Natural Resources redirected its efforts by adopting a two-fold approach to Natural Resources Management

A. Provision of greater accessibility to natural resources especially to the rural poor

— Land, forestry, fishery and mineral resources will be made available for development through modes of disposition which will best serve social, economic, and ecological interests. In fisheries, mass-based and livelihood programs such as the Biyayang Dagat Program a liberalized credit program for small fishermen and KKK-Aquamarine Prototype Projects will be pursued to aid our countrymen in starting economic projects in the countryside. In forestry, the Social Forestry Programs or ISF which includes communal tree farming, forest occupancy management, family approach reforestation and various agro-forestry projects will be intensified with the view towards encouraging “kaingineros” and the citizenry in general to engage in forest development while raising their income level. Moreover thru the People’s Forest Program suitable areas within or outside forest lands will be developed into tree farm plantations to serve as alternative source of energy, fertilizer and raw materials for wood processing plants. In land disposition priority consideration would be given to actual occupants, tillers and other qualified landless citizens. The leasehold system of land tenure for the remaining unclassified public lands will be encouraged thru the stewardship concept or long term leases. Small-scale mining operations shall be encouraged thru the establishment of small-scale mining organizations and the setting up of custom mills in-appropriate mining areas.

B. Pursuance of conservation strategies for sustained economic growth

— While the Government is encouraging optimum utilization of resources thru greater citizenry involvement, conservation measures shall also be pursued to ensure sustained economic growth and to maintain the desired environmental quality. In forestry, reforestation activities shall be accelerated, the log export ban will also be pursued to promote domestic processing, enhancement of ecological balance will be pursued thru the rehabilitation and renewal of forest cover of critical watersheds and the establishment and preservation of wilderness areas, greenbelts, natural parks and recreation areas. Land use planning, monitoring and control will be intensified to regulate the use of land in accordance with desired patterns of growth. In fisheries, a limited entry scheme for communal fishing vessels will be adopted as a strategy for managing the country’s marine resources. The se en-km ban on trawl fishing will also be continually enforced for conservation as well as for the benefit of our municipal fishermen. Aquaculture activities will be intensified so as to offset the high-fuel cost of marine capture fisheries and to increase the fish supply of the country. In mining, environmental protection measures will continue to be strictly enforced to minimize environmental degradation resulting from mining operations.

2. Sectoral Accomplishments

2.1 Fisheries

2.1.1 Fisheries Situation

– Increased Fish Production

	Volume (Metric Tons)	Value
1981	1.77 million m.t.	P11.6 billion
1982	1.89 million m.t.	17.4 billion
1983	1.98 million m.t.	billion

There was an increase in volume (4.7%) although the value decreased due to the economic recession.

– Production Structure 1983

	Production (Volume)	–	In metric tons	
	1982	%	1983	%
Municipal	.708	44	.700	40
Commercial	.526	32	.532	31
Aquaculture	.392	24	.513	29

It can be noted that gains have been made in the aquaculture sector.

– Foreign Trade 1982

Export (FOB value in 000 US\$)	% Contribution to Total Exports
131,695	2.71

– Prime export earners in 1983

— Tuna	US\$	70M
— Shrimp		36M
— Bangus		3.6M

2.1.2 KKK Aquamarine

— BFAR has 4,049 aquamarine projects approved for a total of P463 million loan release

2.1.3 Biyayang Dagat Program

— Under the program, a total of P99.4M has been released to 7,564 fishermen (as of March, 1984)

2.1.4 Fingerling Production and Dispersal

— A total of 42M fingerlings were produced in 1983 in existing BFAR farms. 38.8M of which were dispersed to communal bodies of water

2.1.5 Fisheries Extension Program

— For CY 1983 the following were covered by extension workers:

— 43,852 has of fishponds

— 11,121 municipal bancas

— 647 commercial vessels

2.1.6 Municipal Fishing Ports Program

— A total of 178 sites were programmed for establishment. Of these, 79 already have basic installation facilities

2.2 Forestry

2.2.1 Production and Export

— For 1983, total forest production volume is placed at 6.0 million cubic meters broken down as follows:

Log – 4.1 million cu. m.

Lumber – 1.1 million cu. m.

Plywood - .410 million cu. m.

Veneer – .408 million cu. m.

There was a 7.8% decline in production due to imposed conservation measures (i.e. partial log export ban, logging ban in most parts of the country, suspension, cancelling of erring logging concessionaires)

— Export value for 1983 is US\$ 453M representing a 14% increase over last year (US\$ 385M)

2.2.2 Integrated Social Forestry Program (ISFP) and Related Projects (LOI 1260)

— There are 835 ISF projects covering 285,876 hectares presently being maintained by the BFD, with 85,861 family-participants.

— Some 15,823 forest occupants have already been issued with certificates of stewardship covering 16,070 hectares.

— Some 16,593 ISF program beneficiaries earned a gross income of P15.7 million last year from planted trees and cash crops and realized a net income of P12.9 million.

— Already identified were the initial 12 integrated area project sites, one in each region, for the ISF Program covering 108,566 hectares and with 9,406 family-beneficiaries.

2.2.3 BFD-KKK Agro Forestry

— As lead implementing agency (LIA), the Bureau of Forest Development (BFD) maintains 769 KKK Agro-Forestry Projects benefiting 23,460 kaingineros and forest occupants. These KKK Agro-Forestry Projects cover 55,688 hectares.

— Some 232, KKK Agro-Forestry Projects have already been approved for funding in the amount of P59,097,200. Of these, 166 projects with 6,706 family-beneficiaries were already granted loan releases amounting to P21.7 million.

2.2.4 KSS Peoples Forests

— The BFD has already identified 82 KSS project sites in 70 provinces covering 95,809 hectares.

— Initially, 17 KSS projects covering 17,495 hectares have already been launched.

— Identification of more KSS People's Forest Areas is going until the goal of 10,000 hectares per province is attained.

2.2.5 Reforestation and Afforestation

— The combined efforts of the Government and the private sector resulted to the reforestation of 78,538 has. For 1983. Total seedling production reached 140,403,514.

2.2.6 Forest Protection and Law Enforcement

— Forest protection covered 15.47m has. Of forest lands through patrolling of 4,000 forest guards, 213 concession guards, 2,678 barangay captains and 335 other deputized forest officers.

— To date, a total of 93 timber licenses covering an aggregate area of 2.33 million hectares and an annual allowable cut of 5.03 million cubic meters were either cancelled or suspended. Some 151 cases of illegal logging, timber logging, and other unlawful activities of forest users are being investigated.

2.2.7 LOI 1262 (Sub-classification of Forest Lands)

— Pursuant to this mandate, MNR Administrative Order #225 series of 1983 was issued to lay down the procedures and guidelines for implementation of the LOI. Since then the National Sub-classification Committee and a National Secretariat (NS), the National Technical Evaluation Committee and regional counterparts were organized. A total of 150 sub-classification teams was initially proposed to work on the program. For 1983, land classification teams have completed the perimeter and parcellary survey of 250,000 has. Of forest lands for the ISFP. Identification, perimeter and parcellary surveys of open, denuded forest lands for the Kilusang Sariling Sikap (People's Forest) Program was started this January, 1984.

2.3 Mines

2.3.1 Production and Foreign Trade Performance

— Total general production value marked an increase of 15% from P11.5B in 1982 to P13.6B in 1983

— Foreign exchange earnings for the mines sector in 1983 amounted to US\$ 525 million or 10.5% contribution to the total export

2.3.2 Small-scale Mining Development

— In January 23, 1984 I signed P.D. No. 1879 which established small-scale mining as a new dimension in mineral development since then, the BMG has embarked on a full-scale dissemination and encouragement campaign to develop small-scale mining, making the private sector as the avenue in generating more employment and income

— Geology surveys for the year covered a total area of 7,362,508 has. Nationwide while marine mineral surveys covered 53,034 line kilometers

— To support the expansion of cottage industries under the KKK, a gemological unit to serve as the country's center for research in gemstone was established.

2.4 Lands

2.4.1 Cadastral Survey Program

— A total of 160,491 lots were surveyed in 1983 which is 39% lower than the area surveyed in 1982.

— To date, 926 or 58% of the total number of municipalities were surveyed out of the total 1,597 cities/municipalities.

2.4.2 Land Patent and Distribution Program

— To date, a total of 1.67 million patents have been issued. For 1983, a total of 66,392 patents were issued. A decrease of 16% over last years accomplishment was noted.

2.4.3 LOI 1258 (Nationwide Inventory of All Existing Civil and Military Reservations)

— The MNR Task Force created for this purpose has undertaken inventory and investigation of 497 area reservations leading to the identification of possible areas to be utilized for food or energy plantations and other livelihood activities.

3. Conclusion

It can be seen from the above report that the Government, particularly this Ministry has essentially in mind the general welfare of the people. Most if not all of the activities center on providing adequate natural resources to our less fortunate countrymen as well as our future generations. However, the Ministry recognizes that it cannot take sole responsibility for the task of protecting and conserving our natural resources. Hence, the entire citizenry and all officials and employees of the Government are enjoined to contribute their share in this responsibility. Laws, directives and proclamations relative to natural resources management must be strictly enforced by local officials from the provincial to the grassroots (barangay) level by deputized officials. Closer cooperation among these elements is therefore a must in our common desire to strengthen our efforts on natural resources protection, conservation and renewal. Let this month be a showcase of how a united people can best utilize its natural resources and let this enthusiasm for development be carried on thru the succeeding months.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Araw ng Kagitingan, [May 6, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Araw ng Kagitingan**

[Delivered on May 6, 1984]

Our commemoration today of three historic events of the last war has become, after the passing of the years, less a commemoration of victory or defeat in battle, but an affirmation of the triumph of the human spirit over the agonies of war.

Bataan, Corregidor, Bessang Pass—we celebrate these three as one because they have come to symbolize for us this transcendent spirit which draws no distinction between friend and foe of yesteryears. Here everyone comes as a friend among us, in honor and homage to all our countrymen who fell in battle.

All of us must always regret that our countries ever had to face each other on these battlefields we now recall, and that so much of our manhood had to be sacrificed in so costly and futile a conflict.

Nothing can fully redeem the sorrows of that tragic time, for either your countries or mine. Our grief endures, and the mourning will go on.

But however colossal the tragedy, there is great meaning nonetheless in the fact that from the ashes of destruction, have risen the nations we are today. And that these nations can gather here in a reunion for peace and bury the rancor and enmities of the past.

It is this above all perhaps that tells us Bataan, Corregidor and Bessang Pass are not fated to become mere pages of history, but rather indelible lessons for men and nations to learn from.

It is this that withdraws from the finality of death something infinitely precious and priceless in the heroism of men in war.

We shall not presume to say what the war has meant for our brother nations represented here, although we have an idea of it from our years of working together. For our country and our people, the lessons of the war have always lain very close to what we cherish and treasure as a nation.

It never fails, first, to remind us that freedom is not cheap and can only be preserved by the strong in spirit. Whatever costs therefore our people had to bear — in the loss of a million lives and in the ruins of our cities and towns — we willingly paid the price, and will again, if god forbid, such an exacting trial will descend on us once more.

But if the war has indubitably taught us this lesson, it has also impressed on us that conflict is not necessarily the portion of men and nations, that with patient and dedicated effort we can see our way out of conflict towards recognition and celebration of our common humanity. Nowhere is this so well exemplified than in the example of cooperation that has marked our relations with one another during the post-war era.

To remember these themes is not to do so in self-congratulation over our good fortune, but to strengthen ourselves for the vigil which we must keep over the challenges of the present.

We should imagine indeed that the incalculable cost of the last Global War should already have taught mankind an unforgettable lesson on the insanity and futility of war. Yet conflicts among nations continue to fester and smolder in the world around us.

We should imagine that there would now be a much greater respect for the rights of self-determination and independence of sovereign peoples and nations. Yet in so many parts of the world, freedom today has to be defended in exactly the same way that we defended ours forty two years ago.

We should imagine that the arsenals of war would by now be coming down, replaced by the tools of building and creation. Yet we witness from year to year more and more resources committed to the manufacture and purchase of weapons of destruction.

We should imagine that men and nations, after the war would be more concerned today with assisting and cooperating with one another. Yet we see instead so many trying to deny each other the resources and the means to progress.

In sum the world continues to hang suspended amidst the dangerous divisions from which war has always sprung. The divisions between the powerful and the weak, the rich and the poor, the developed and the less developed.

And we all languish before the sight of so much opportunity and resource to realize mankind's greatest moments on earth, being turned instead towards the perpetuation of crisis.

In knowing therefore at what price we have defended and preserved our freedom, and what progress we have made towards cooperation, our nations have been assiduous pupils of tragedies of war. But we can hardly be oblivious to the perils of a world that still has to find a sense of common security and tranquility. Nor can we be insensitive to perhaps the greatest challenge of all: that of closing the great chasm between rich and poor nations which constitutes the principal realm of danger in our time.

The example of human fortitude and heroism provided by the battles of Bataan, Corregidor and Bessang Pass shows us that formidable challenges are not met save by the greatest exertions of will and effort.

And we remember these chapters of the war best by recognizing that there are many battles still to be fought, before peace is truly won and progress becomes the birthright of all humanity.

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Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the awarding of 25,000 land titles to NHA beneficiaries and inauguration of Teachers' BLISS Condominium II, [May 6, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the awarding of 25,000 Land Titles to NHA Beneficiaries and
Inauguration of Teachers' BLISS Condominium II**

[Delivered in Balintawak, Quezon City, May 6, 1984]

It is a great honor and pleasure for me to join you here today for this memorable occasion which marks the awarding of 25,000 land titles to citizen beneficiaries and the inauguration of this New Teachers BLISS Condominium here in Balintawak, Quezon City.

Close to these grounds we stand on today is a truly historic spot in our country, which reminds us of the dreams and aspirations that went into the making of our nation. It was here 88 years ago where our revered Andres Bonifacio, joined by the men and women of his generation, broke off all allegiance to mother Spain by tearing to pieces their cedulas, and declared for all the world to hear. "Long live the Philippines."

We remember that proud declaration of August 23, 1896 as the Cry of Balintawak. And to this day we perpetuate the memory of that event as a signal moment in our people's struggle for independence and nationhood.

It is fitting that we should gather here in Balintawak 88 years later, because today we come here to redeem and fulfill another cry of our people — their cry for their well-being and welfare.

You will remember probably the occasion in 1981 when we first began our Land for the Landless Program in Metro Manila — that occasion being the awarding of 10,000 titles to project beneficiaries of our Tondo Foreshore Project. I said then on that occasion, *dapat walang squatter na Pilipino sa sariling bayan*. And I pledged my leadership then and the resolution of our Government towards the fulfillment of this goal.

Since that time, that basic policy statement has becoming the rallying cry of so many of our urban citizenry. Not only here in Metro Manila but in all urban centers of our country.

And since then I am truly proud to say that we in Government have not reneged on that promise and that pledge. We have continued to explore and avail of all means to turn into reality the hope of our urban poor to have their own land and their own homes.

The awarding of 25,000 titles to project beneficiaries is such a testament of this on-going commitment. It pursues on a massive scale the program we began in 1981, and it sets the way for future projects that will doubtless benefit thousands of other families in our country.

For truly this is not a one-shot program we are talking about. Since 1981, the number of titles awarded to family beneficiaries have been increasing every year. In 1981, we awarded 10,000 titles. In 1982, we awarded 20,000 titles. In 1983, we awarded 25,000 titles. And today, we added another 25,000 titles into the record.

It is true that in the past politicians and leaders have often spoken of "land for the landless", especially during election time. And that our people had come to see it as no more than just an empty slogan.

But that is a thing of the past. For today that slogan is a living reality in our midst. It is a vital priority program of our Government today. And it will not cease until we truly redeem in full our declaration that no Filipino shall be a

squatter in his own country. That every family shall have the dignity and honor due them as citizens of our beloved land.

If we examine for a moment the way we have approached this acute need of our urban poor, you will all readily see that this is not a fly-by-night affair.

In the first place, we have made Urban Land Reform a specific policy and objective of Government in the very letter and spirit of our Constitution. Thanks to the Amendment approved during the last plebiscite. And this means that urban land reform is a major responsibility and concern of Government. With this mandate, we have cleared the way for a massive and sustained program, to resolve once and for all the problems of slum and squatting in urban centers throughout the country. With this mandate, we can extend what we have magnificently began here in Metro Manila into the far flung centers of the nation.

We will note secondly that we do not have here an empty letter of law and policy. For already, even before the passage of the Urban Land Reform Amendment, we have set in place the mechanism to attend to the urgent needs of our urban poor. We have transformed our haphazard housing agencies of the past into the National Housing Authority we know today. And we can point today to so many projects initiated and completed by the NHA which are today living testimonials that slum areas and settlements can become thriving communities.

And let me say thirdly that we do not focus on housing needs alone; we match what we do in these areas with complementary programs to enable communities to thrive and grow and prosper. I refer here to the many support programs and services we make available to our citizenry — opportunities for livelihood, skills training, self-reliant projects.

What has been really happening during the past so many years is the growing convergence of government projects to attend to the urgent needs of the poor. And this attention has become even more magnified during this period when economic difficulties beset us. All our massive priority programs today respond squarely to the lot of the poor among us, and I can cite among others the following:

- | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-----|----------|----------|-------|---------|
| 1. | | | The | | | KKK |
| 2. | | The | | BLISS | | Program |
| 3. | The | | Sariling | | Sikap | Program |
| 4. | | The | | People's | | Forest |
| 5. | And of course, Urban Land Reform | | | | | |

And we have given the well-being of the poor our preferential attention and commitment because we believe that it is here where we can truly seed the dynamic development of our nation as a whole.

Our ultimate goal, let me stress again, is to establish self-reliant communities. And we shall achieve this in the best tradition of “bayanihan” and community effort.

We would have reason to fear failure in this program if we were doing nothing more than the mere granting of land titles to beneficiaries. But in fact there is more to it than that.

The families in these communities we are building have their own obligations and responsibilities. The land and services which are being awarded to beneficiaries are not for free. Beneficiaries are expected to pay for them so that the program can go on and on to benefit more and more families. A part of the funding is of course subsidized by our Government, but there is nonetheless a vital part, within the means of all beneficiaries, that must be shouldered by them.

And the idea we really want to inculcate is the transformation of our slums into creative and responsible communities, into communities that understand that the rewards of life are won by effort and work. To do otherwise,

would be to risk the making of still more decaying communities in our midst and to revive the policy of handouts that in the end never helps anyone at all.

Here then we repose our faith that the time will not be long in coming when all of our urban poor will be integrated into self-reliant and dynamic communities. When all will have their own place of dwelling in the population centers of our country.

And if anyone in the opposition will suggest that the awarding of land titles is a gimmick, let us reply not with words but with the record of success we have had with this program. Let us point them to the records which show that we have done more in this area during the last 10 years alone than the efforts of all past administrations combined. And let us bid them to visit what is taking place in these many projects, in Tondo, in Malabon, and here in Quezon City.

In stressing here the preferential attention we give to the needs of our urban poor, we do not by any means forget the equally urgent needs of other sectors of our society.

And it seems to me appropriate that side by side with this awarding of land titles, we also inaugurate this New Teachers BLISS Condominium II here in Balintawak.

In the ranks of our civil service, there is perhaps no sector so vital and important to the future of our nation than the teachers who man the ramparts of our public education system, we can hardly exaggerate the contribution they make to the vitality of our society. And I know personally of the sacrifices of every public schoolteacher, because I myself come from a family of teachers.

It is true that for a time, because they are so many, increments in pay and ameliorative benefits accorded have not always kept pace with the responsibilities they bear. And that is why we were witness for a time of the agitation for a new deal coming from the ranks of our schoolteachers.

The time of neglect, however, is now past. Today, we are doing all we can to implement a package of measures that will upgrade teacher salaries and benefits, accelerate teacher development, and enable teachers to improve their well-being and livelihood opportunities.

We see here today in this Teachers BLISS project one vivid manifestation of the priority we give to the well-being of teachers.

The Teachers' BLISS Program has the traditional features of a BLISS project—it consists of medium rise buildings to maximize the use of a relatively expensive piece of land and it has all the amenities of a human habitat. Eventually, the beneficiaries — our public school teachers and the members of their families — shall participate in a livelihood program under the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK), as in all other KKK undertakings, the goal will be to make every family a productive unit to increase productivity and generate additional family income.

The Teachers' BLISS addresses the shelter needs of our educators. This is just the beginning of our efforts, starting from Metro Manila, this program is envisioned to expand to a National Housing Program for Teachers.

Of all the things that we might mention here on this occasion, it must be stressed above all that we are not talking here of a program or programs to merely benefit a few, of projects focused only in Metro Manila. You in this city are indeed very fortunate, but let me say now and stress again that this is only the beginning.

Our programs for the urban poor will extend from this metropolis to the far-flung centers of the archipelago. And we will transform every slum and squatter community of our country into new habitats of life and hope.

Our BLISS Program for teachers in Metro Manila is but the precursor of a larger nationwide program. And you may be sure that our Government will not relent until the well-being of all our educators is so advanced and promoted.

In support of this scope we envision for our programs, I will sign today in your esence Presidential Decree No._____, increasing the capitalization of the National Housing Authority to P5 billion, for the purpose of leading in the implementation of an expanded and accelerated Urban Land Reform and Social Housing Program, and of a National Housing Program for Teachers.

By this means, we make known to one and all that we have here a long-term and self-sustaining program.

The NHA has for sometime now been our principal innovator and agent in such landmark projects as the Tondo foreshore and BLISS Program. Today. in keeping with the wider and greater challenges we embrace, it is meet that we should increase its resources and capabilities, so that indeed the example we inaugurate here in Balintawak will reach the entire archipelago.

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos upon awarding of 25,000 land titles and inauguration of Teachers' BLISS Condominium II, [May 6, 1984](#)

**Talumpati
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa pagbibigay ng 25,000 titulo ng lupa at pasinaya ng BLISS Condominium II ng mga guro**

[Inihayag noong ika-6 ng Mayo 1984]

Tuwang-tuwa ako na makapiling kayo sa makasaysayang araw na ito ng ating pamimigay ng titulo ng lupa sa ating mga dukhang kababayan, kasabay ng pasinaya sa Teachers BLISS Condominium dito sa makasaysayang pook ng Balintawak sa Lungsod ng Quezon.

Hindi malayo sa pook na ito ang isa sa pinakadakilang pook sa ating bayan na nagpapagunita sa atin ng mga pagpapakasakit, mga pangarap at pithayang naging kakambal ng pagsilang ng ating lahi at bansa. Sa pook na ito rin, walumpu't walong taon na ang nakalilipas, ang ating magiting na Gat Andres Bonifacio, kasama ang mga dakilang lalaki at babae nang panahong yaon. Ang sama-sama at buong pagkakaisang pumunit ng kanilang mga sedula bilang hudyat ng pagkalag nila sa tanikala ng ating pagka-alipin sa Espanya. Ubus-lakas din nilang isinigaw sa pook na itong noon ay kaparangan at gubat upang marinig ng buong daigdig ang "Mabuhay ang Pilipinas."

Buong pagmamalaki nating inaalaala ang dakilang araw na iyon, Agosto 23, 1896, na ating tinaguriang Unang Sigaw sa Balintawak. Hanggang sa mga sandaling ito, hindi natin nalilimot ang araw na iyon na siyang naging hudyat ng simula ng pakikibaka ng ating lahi sa pagtatamo ng kasarinlan.

Kaya nga angkop lamang na sa araw na ito, walumpu't walong taon na ang nakararaan, muli tayong matipon sa makasaysayang Balintawak upang bigyang katuparan at isagawa ang isang panibagong sigaw ng ating mga kalahi—walang iba kundi ang sigaw ukol sa kanilang kabutihan at kapakanan.

Natatandaan pa ninyo marahil nang simulan natin noong 1981 ang ating programa sa lupa sa walang lupa sa Metro Manila. Noon, ating ipinamigay ang titulo ng 10,000 lote sa mga mamamayan ng Tondo Foreshore Project. Hindi ko malilimot na aking sinabi noon: dapat, walang Pilipino na iskwater sa sariling bayan. Sinabi ko noon na habang ang inyong lingkod ang Pangulo ng Republika ng Pilipinas, lahat ng aking talino, kakayahan at lakas ay iuukol upang matupad ang pangarap na magkalupa ang lahat ng walang lupa sa ating bayan.

Mula noon, sa lahat ng dako ng ating bansa hindi lamang sa Metro Manila, naging isang panata na ng inyong lingkod na sikaping matupad ang pangakong ito.

Since that time, that basic policy statement has becoming the rallying cry of so many of our urban citizenry. Not only here in Metro Manila but in all urban centers of our country.

And since then I am truly proud to say that we in Government have not reneged on that promise and that pledge. We have continued to explore and avail of all means to turn into reality the hope of our urban poor to have their own land and their own homes.

The awarding of 25,000 titles to project beneficiaries is such a testament of this on-going commitment. It pursues on a massive scale the program we began in 1981, and it sets the way for future projects that will doubtless benefit thousands of other families in our country.

Hindi isang maliit na programa lamang ito. Mula noong 1981, and bilang ng titulo na ating naipamigay na sa maraming pamilya ay lumalaki taun-taon. Noong 1981, 10,000 ang ating ipinamigay. Noong 1982, nadoble, naging 20,000. At ngayon, namimigay tayo ng 25,000 titulo.

Totoo nga po na ang mga dating pulitiko at lider ay bukambibig na ang “Land for the Landless Program”. Lalo na kung panahon ng halalan. Ngunit, puro pangako at salita lamang. Ni minsan ay hindi nagkaroon ng tunay na katuparan ang mga pangako nila

Nguni’t iba na ngayon. Sa totoo lang, ngayon, isang tunay na katuparan ang programa ng lupa para sa walang lupa. Ito ang unang-unang binibigyang pansin ng inyong lingkod at ng ating Pamahalaan sapagka’t lubos ang pananalig ng inyong lingkod na hindi dapat magkaroon ng iskwater na Pilipino sa sarili niyang bayan. Na, and bawa’t pamilya ay angkop lamang na mabuhay nang may dangal at puri sa sarili nilang bayan.

Kung susuriin lamang na mabuti ang mga nagawa na natin upang lunasan ang suliranin ng mga dukha sa mataong mga lungsod, makikita ng sino man na ang ating programang ito ay hindi biru-biruan.

Unang-una, ginawa natin ang urban land reform bilang isa sa mga tiyakang layunin ng Pamahalaan upang bigyan katuparan ang nakasaad at diwa ng ating Saligambatas. Salamat sa susog ng pinagtibay sa nagdaang plebesito. Ngayon, tunay na magagawa ng ating Pamahalaan ang pananagutang ipatupad ang urban land reform. Sa pamamagitan ng susog na nasabi nahawan natin ang landas tungo sa puspusang pagsasagawa ng programang ito at nang sa gayon, malunasan natin nang totohanan ang mga suliranin tungkol sa pook ng dukha at iskwater sa buong bansa. Sa pamamagitan ng susog ding ito, mapararating natin sa malalayong sulok ng ating bansa ang ating sinimulan sa Metro Manila.

Kung sabagay, bago pa man nagkaroon ng susog tungkol sa urban land reform, talaga namang totohanan ang ating pag-alagata sa kapakanan ng ating mga dukha sa lungsod. Nilikha natin ang National Housing Authority na tunay na kumakalinga sa mga walang lupa. At, mga saksing hindi mabubura ng panahon ang napakaraming proyektong nayari na ng NHA. Ang lahat nang ito ay mga buhay na bantayog ng pagmamahal at malasakit natin sa mga kababayan nating maralita na buhat sa dating pook na halos pandirihan ng iba. Naging mga tunay na pook na karapat-dapat tawaging tahanan.

Ibig kong bigyang diin dito na hindi ang pagpapatayo lamang ng bahay ginawa natin. Tinatambalan natin ito ng mga kailangang programa upang ang mga panirahang ito ay tunay na sumulong at umunlad. Ang tinutukoy ko ay walang iba kundi ang ibinibigay nating pagkakataon na ating mga kababayan na matuto ng kaalaman sa hanapbuhay at nang sa gayon, sila ay makatindig sa sariling mga paa at kumita sa marangal na paraan.

Sa loob ng nakaraang maraming taon ay sinikap malunasan ang suliranin ng karalitaan. At, sa panahong ito ng malalaking suliranin sa kabuhayan, lalong lumaki ang suliranin at kailangan ng mga dukha. Kaya naman, lahat ng programa ng ating pamahalaan ngayon ay nakatuon lamang sa layuning tulungan ang ating mga kababayang maralita. At, kabilang sa mga programang ito para sa dukha ang:

1. KKK
2. Ang Program ng BLISS
3. Ang Gubat ng Bayan
4. Ang Programa ng Sariling Sikap
5. At, Ang Urban Land Reform

Mula nang maging Pangulo ang inyong lingkod, wala nang unang binigyang pansin kundi ang malasakit sa kapakanan ng mga dukha nating kababayan. Mangyari nga, lubos ang aking paniwala na upang maging tunay na maunlad ang bansang ito, ang punla ng kasaganaan ay kailangang mahasik sa purok ng maralita, ang sandigan ng katatagan ng ating bayan.

Our ultimate goal, let me stress again, is to establish self-reliant communities. And we shall achieve this in the best tradition of “bayanihan” and community effort.

We would have reason to fear failure in this program if we were doing nothing more, than the mere granting of land titles to beneficiaries. But in fact there is more to it than that.

Ang mapapalad na pamilyang nakatira sa mga bayan-bayanang ating itinayo ay may sarili ring sagutin at tungkulin. Ang lupa at kaluwagang katambal nito ay hindi libre. Ang mga nakakuha nito ay inaasahang magbabayad ng takdang hulog na halaga. Para naman, maipagpatuloy natin ang programang ito at ang iba pang kapus-palad ay maging mapalad ding magkaroon ng lupa at bahay. Ang bahagi ng halagang ginugol dito ay sinagot ng Pamahalaan. Nguni't, ang mga nakakuha nito ay may dapat ding balikatin na abot naman ng kanilang kaya.

Ang talagang layunin natin dito ay walang iba kundi likhain ang maayos at magandang bayan-bayanan mula sa mga dating slum, kasabay ng pagtatanim sa isip nang lahat na ang mga kaluwagan at biyaya ng buhay ay nakukuha lamang sa pagsisikap at pagbabanat ng buto. Kapag hindi ganito ang ginawa natin, malamang na sumulpot pa uli sa iba-ibang dako ang slum areas at bumalik ang dating simulain ng paglilimos at pag-asa lamang sa iba, sa halip na magsikap at tulungan ang sarili.

Dahil dito, nakikita ko ang pamamanaag ng isang bagong umaga para sa ating mga kababayang maralita. Hindi na magluluwat, ang lahat ng pook-dukha ay mapapalitan ng mga bayan-bayanang ang nakatira ay mga nilikhang umaasa sa sariling sikap at hindi umaasa at naghihintay ng limos at tulong ng iba. Hindi na rin magtatagal at lahat ng ating mga kababayan ay magkakaroon ng tahananang matatawag na kanilang sarili.

At, kung mayroong sino man sa oposisyon na magsasabing ang ginawa nating ito ay isa lamang gimmick o pangbingwit ng boto, hindi tayo sasagot ng ano man. Ituturo na lamang natin ang mga rekord ng ating matagumpay na ginawa ukol sa programang ito. Ituturo natin sa kanila ang rekord na pagsama-samahin nang lahat ang nagawang pabahay ng lahat ng naging Pangulo ng ating bayan. Ang nagawa natin sa loob ng nakaraang sampung taon lamang ay hindi nila mapapantayan. Inaanyayahan din natin silang dalawin at tingnan ang mga pagbabagong nagaganap sa Tondo. Sa Malabon, sa Kalookan at sa Quezon City.

Sa pamamagitan ng mga ito, ang binibigyan diin natin ay ang malasakit sa ating mga kababayang dukha sa mga lungsod. Kasabay naman ng pag-uukol din ng pansin sa mga pangunahing kailangan ng iba pang mga kababayan natin.

Angkop lamang na kasabay ng pamimigay natin ng mga titulo ng lupa, pasinayaan naman natin itong Bagong Teachers BLISS Condominium II dito rin sa Balintawak.

In the ranks of our civil services, there is perhaps no sector so vital and important to the future of our nation than the teachers who man the ramparts of our public education system we can hardly exaggerate the contribution they make to the vitality of our society. And I know personally of the sacrifices of every public schoolteacher because I myself come from a family of teachers.

It is true that for a time, because they are so many, increments in pay and ameliorative benefits accorded have not always kept pace with the responsibilities they bear. And that is why we were witness for a time of the agitation for a new deal coming from the ranks of our school teachers.

The time of neglect, however, is now past. Today, we are doing all we can to implement a package of measures that will upgrade teachers salaries and benefits, accelerate teacher development and enable teachers to improve their well-being and livelihood opportunities.

We see here today in this Teachers BLISS Project one vivid manifestation of the priority we give to the well-being of teachers.

Ang Teachers BLISS Program ay kamukha rin ng ibang proyekto ng BLISS. Mayroon tayong gusaling kainaman ang laki at nang higit na marami tayong mabigyang pagkakataong makakuha ng bahay rito. Hindi magluluwat ang mga gurong nakakuha nito at ang kanilang mga mahal sa buhay ay lalahok sa ating mga proyektong pangkabuhayan

sa pamamagitan ng Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran o KKK. Tulad ng iba pang proyekto ng KKK, ang sisikapin natin ay pakinabangan ang bawa't isang miyembro ng pamilya at makatulong sila na lumaki ang produksiyon. Kasabay rin ng paglaki ng kita ng kanilang pamilya.

Ang Teachers' BLISS ang katugunan sa tahananang kailangan ng ating mga guro. Ito lamang ang simula ng ating pagsisikap ukol dito. Mula sa Metro Manila, ang programang ito ay balak nating gawing isang Pambansang Programa ng Pabahay sa Mga Guro.

Of all the things that we might mention here on this occasion, it must be stressed above all that we are not talking here of a program or programs to merely benefit a few, of projects focused only in Metro Manila. You in this city are indeed very fortunate, but let me say now and stress again that this is only the beginning.

Our programs for the urban poor will extend from this metropolis to the far-flung centers of the archipelago. And we will transform every slum and squatter community of our country into new habitats of life and hope.

Our BLISS program for teachers in Metro Manila is but the precursor of a larger nationwide program. And you may be sure that our Government will not relent until the well-being of all our educators is so advanced and promoted.

Para matupad natin ang programang ito, sa inyong harap ngayon ay lalagdaan ko ang Presidential Decree _____ upang gawing limang bilyong piso ang pondo ng National Housing Authority at nang sa gayon mapalawak ang programa ng Urban Land Reform. Gayundin ang ating programa sa pabahay. Kasama na ang Pambansang Programa ng Pabahay ukol sa mga guro.

Sa pamamagitan nito, ating ipinakikita sa lahat na ang programang ito ay ubus-kaya, totooan at hindi biru-biruan. Hindi tayo magtitigil habang hindi nagkakaroon ng sariling bahay ang bawa't isang anak-dukhang handang magsikap at magpunyagi.

Ang NHA ang tanggapan na nasa likuran ng ating mga proyektong tulad ng Tondo Foreshore at BLISS Programs. Upang matugunan ang palaking programa at paraming suliraning niyayapos ng tanggapang ito. Kaya kailangang dagdagan natin ang pondo. Sa ganitong paraan lamang maaari nating ulitin sa iba-ibang dako ng ating bansa ang ginawa natin ngayong umaga sa makasaysayang Balintawak.

Marami pong salamat.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on Farmers' Day, [May 11, 1984](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Farmer's Day**

[Delivered on May 11, 1984]

Bilang pag-alinsunod sa ating ugali na mula nang malunsad ang Bagong Lipunan, narito tayo ngayon sa Malakanyang upang bigyang parangal ang Araw ng Magsasaka sa ating bayan.

May isang linggo lamang ang nakararaan, ipinagdiwang naman natin ang Araw ng Manggagawa sa ating bansa. Nagpugay tayo sa mga lalaki at babaing bumubuo ng ating Pambansang Lakas-Bisig. At ngayon naman, ang mga magsasaka ang ating bibigyang parangal.

Sa araw na ito, muli nating sasariwain ang mahalagang ugnayan ng ating mga magsasaka, ng ating pamahalaan at ng bansa sa kabuuan, na, lubhang mahalaga sa ating pambansang katatagan at kaunlaran.

Kaya naman, angkop lamang na sa araw na ito, minsan isang taon, itampok natin ang mga pagsisikap at pagpapakasakit ng ating mga magsasaka. Sa ganitong paraan man lamang, sama-sama nating maipahayag ang ating pagtanaw ng utang na loob sa mga nilikhang bumubungkal ng lupa, kasabay ng ating pag-iisip at paghanap ng mga bagong paraan upang mapabuti pang lalo ng pamahalaan ang paglingap sa mga magsasaka.

Sa araw na ito, dapat lamang na kilalanin at bigyang dangal ang mga piling magsasaka ng taon, gayundin ang mga farm technicians ng ating pamahalaan i na katulong ng ating mga magsasaka. Sa mga araw na ito matinding pagsubok, ang walang pagod na pagsisikap at punyagi ng mga nilikhang ito ang siyang sukatan kung tayo ay magtatagumpay o mabibigo bilang bansa at lahi.

Higit kailanman sa ating kasaysayan. Ngayon natin lubhang kailangan na muling patatagin ang ugnayan ng pamahalaan at ng mga magsasaka. Higit kailanman, ngayon din naman natin pinatunayan ang matatag na ugnayang ito na nagiging daan ng maunlad na pag-aani sa lahat ng dako ng ating bansa.

Nalampasan natin ang mabigat na pagsubok sa ating bansa, na, muntik nang maging dahilan ng pagkabigo ng lahat ng ating mga pinagsikapan sa loob ng nakalipas na panahon ng pagbabago. Habang ang mga bigong pulitiko at mapanggulo sa loob at labas ng ating bansa ay walang itigil sa pagpupunla ng poot sa puso ng ating mga kababayan, kasabay ng kanilang paghalakhak sa mga kasawian ng ating bayan. Minabuti ng ating mga kababayan na ang tahaking landas ay ang daan tungo sa pagsisikap at pagpapatulo ng pawis. Dahil dito, nagtagumpay tayo sa ating hangaring sagkaan ang krisis na ating kinakaharap.

Sa lahat ng ating mga pagsisikap na mapatatag ang bansa, ang mga magsasaka ang laging nasa unahan ang mga magsasaka ay nagpamalal na kanilang ibayong punyagi sa pamamagitan ng pag-aani ng sagana sa gitna ng malalaking suliranin natin.

Even as the rice granaries of Central and Northern Luzon continue to be stricken by drought, palay production this year is projected to increase by 2.4 million cavans, thanks to the bumper harvests in the Visayas and Mindanao, where production has quickly bounced back from the effects of last year's drought. Because of the record crops in the south, we are harvesting 157 million cavans this year or 1.6% more than the 154.6 million cavans we produced last year, despite the continuing drought in Luzon. This harvest, added to the stocks we have built up in previous years, assures the country of sufficient rice supplies for the rest of the year.

At the same time, our corn harvest for this year is expected to be the largest ever in our history: 67.7 million tons compared to last year's drought-stricken crops of 62.5 million tons. We have therefore moved closer to our goal of achieving self-sufficiency in feedgrains, thus reducing the foreign exchange drain caused by mounting imports. Our 1.8 million corn farmers, who are among the poorest groups in the country, stand to benefit from the rise in productivity and incomes in our corn farms. Our Maisagana technology has boosted their yields to a range of 3.3 to 4 tons per hectare using new hybrids from the previous average of 1.4 tons per hectare using the old varieties.

The momentum of our production gains in the seventies has therefore continued. The greater challenge, of course, is how to further enhance farm production and productivity amidst a cost-price squeeze which if left unattended, could dampen our farmers' incentive to produce. This challenge comes at a time when we must increasingly rely on agriculture to bolster our national economy and provide us shelter from the storms of international economic uncertainty.

Maximizing farm production and farm productivity entails availability and access to vital agricultural inputs. This is why our government accords top priority to fertilizer imports even with our foreign exchange difficulties. In order to ensure timely and sufficient supplies of fertilizer for our farmers, we have seen to it that fertilizer shipments arrive on schedule. During the past few weeks, several shipments have arrived, consisting of nearly 20,000 metric tons of various fertilizer supplies. And more supplies are coming through the quick-disbursing input commodity loans that we have arranged with the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank, amounting to \$130 million and \$150 million respectively.

It has become clearer than ever that our struggle for internal recovery and long-term stability will be won or lost in agriculture. The success of our efforts, however, will depend on how well we are able to sustain our farmers' incentive to produce.

To this end therefore, we are adopting a set of policy reforms in pricing and marketing which should enhance farm productivity and incomes, thus strengthening the farm sector's capability to propel the national economy forward. The general direction of such reforms is toward greater reliance on the free interplay of market factors as the primary force for inducing increased production and better productivity.

Our goal is two-fold: to sustain self-sufficiency in all basic food items, and to expand and diversify exports and replace imports so as to increase agriculture's contribution to the balance of payments.

In rice production, over the last three years, hectareage has been decreasing even though yields have continued to increase. This trend of declining hectareage has been particularly evident in rainfed farms as some rainfed farmers have been shifting to more lucrative crops because their incomes have been increasingly eroded by falling farmgate prices and rising production costs. Crop diversification is a welcome move over the long-term. We still need the harvests from our rainfed rice farms while we continue to expand our irrigated areas. The bulk of our rice lands still consists of rainfed farms, yet the gap in yields and incomes between rainfed and irrigated farms is sharply marked. In crop year 1982-1983, for instance, palay yields in irrigated areas reached an average of 59 cavans per hectare while yields in rainfed areas stood at only 38.2 cavans per hectare.

Where Masagana 99 used to concentrate on irrigated areas, we have now shifted emphasis to rainfed rice in order to bring up rainfed yields and incomes closer to irrigated yields and incomes. Our new trust directs rice-based multiple cropping technology, credit, and marketing support to rainfed farmers, who have been relatively worse off compared to irrigated rice farmers.

To reinforce incentives for our rice farmers, we shall adopt a more efficient system of ensuring higher farm prices through better procurement and exports whenever possible. At the same time, we shall continue to ensure stable retail prices for consumers through effective market interventions.

In line with the policy of reducing government interventions in the trading of agricultural products, rice exports shall henceforth be undertaken directly by the private sector with the exception of government-to-government

transactions. I hereby direct the National Food Authority to issue the guidelines authorizing such private sector exports of rice whenever exportable surpluses are available

In corn production, the promising potential of yellow corn as a new and major export crop should serve to boost our program of reducing our balance-of-payments deficit. Now that viable hybrid technologies have been developed and have increasingly been adopted by our corn farmers, we have embarked on a program to develop yellow corn exports aiming at the huge and still growing feedgrain markets of Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea.

Under this program, four corn export zones in Northern Luzon and Southern and Central Mindanao have been designated, from which the private sector shall immediately be allowed to export yellow corn even while we are still net importers.

The main thrusts of this policy for yellow corn exports will be:

First, the development of a pricing scheme which will take into account prevailing export prices so as to encourage the planting of hybrid corn for export;

Second, the provision of sufficient credit to enable farmers to meet the higher production costs of hybrids through the continued rehabilitation of distressed rural banks and the utilization of non-institutional credit sources such as fertilizer and seed dealers;

Third, the construction of the necessary transport, storage, handling facilities, and roads in the designated corn export zones;

And fourth, the liberalization of imports and exports of yellow corn, thereby phasing out government's exclusive role in such trade.

This policy of liberalized trading shall likewise apply to soybean imports, another vital feed ingredient.

These measures to promote the production of feed-grains for export are at the same time designed to accelerate our drive for self-sufficiency in feedgrains, which we foresee within two years. Once feedgrain self-sufficiency is achieved, our poultry and hog producers will be relieved of the high cost of imported feed ingredients, and exports of poultry and pork products can then commence at prices competitive in the world market.

Even as we continue to ensure adequate supplies of animal protein. We shall pursue the development of other cheap sources of protein for our people. This brings to the fore the significance of our vast fisheries resources which we could harness both for domestic consumption and export. Aquaculture is a highly promising field in this regard. To ensure the success of our two-pronged strategy for domestic consumption and exports of fish products, we shall provide vital credit support and eliminate processing and marketing bottlenecks.

The 600,000 subsistence municipal fishermen who produce 50% of the country's total fish output are a major concern of our plans for the fisheries sector. We shall further accelerate the establishment of cold storage facilities and processing plants to rationalize supply distribution and assure municipal fishermen better prices for their highly perishable produce.

As we exert extra effort to increase foreign exchange earnings through increased and diversified agricultural exports. We shall have to reassess the importance of each commodity in our export products mix. Coconut and sugar. Our major dollar earners in the past. Suffered heavily from the global recession following the second oil shock of 1979. While export prices of coconut have recently perked up. Sugar prices remain at a low level

We are confronted with complex issues in these two major industries whose repercussions on our national economy are far-reaching. We shall have to look at the complete ramifications for us to make decisions that shall be for the good of all and in the national interest. We are thus undertaking a study of the coconut industry to determine the

most effective means of reducing costs and enhancing benefits for producers, processors, and traders in sugar, we shall likewise study the issue of alternative arrangements for international marketing and come up with clearer guidelines on government interventions in the trading and pricing of sugar.

Meanwhile, we are intensifying efforts to strengthen the competitiveness of our other traditional exports such as tobacco and abaca in the world market.

Our intensive promotion of nontraditional exports such as mangoes, papaya, coffee, and cacao has produced encouraging results. Contributions of nontraditional agricultural exports to total sector export revenues are up by 60% over their 1978 levels.

At a time when we must save foreign exchange, we have placed greater importance on our import substitution programs in agriculture. In cotton, hectareage is being expanded even as research is ongoing to generate better varieties that could improve yields. In time, we should produce enough of the fiber to meet the requirements of 3ur textile millers. We continue to pursue our dairy program with the end in view of producing 15% of our dairy requirements in ten years. Research and production programs will be intensified to further develop soybean, cassava and sweet potato to replace feed ingredient imports.

In order to support our production and marketing thrusts I have described, we are taking steps to strengthen research, expand and improve irrigation, and enhance land management.

In research. The Philippine Council for Agricultural and Resources Research and Development (PCARRD) has adopted nineteen research priority areas for the next five years to support our priority programs in agriculture. At the same time, twelve regional research stations are already in place under the World Bank-assisted agricultural support services project to strengthen the translation of research results into viable location specific technologies.

In irrigation. We shall continue to expand irrigated areas to the extent allowed by our national budgetary resources. In order to encourage crop diversification and reduce the over-all demand for water, the national irrigation administration recently adopted a new policy of charging variable irrigation fees.

In land management. We shall accelerate the pace of land classification and titling and carry out a land management policy which will foster maximum and rational land use, prevent the diversion of agricultural land to other uses, and provide the basis for better land tenure arrangements.

In the light of financial constraints and the need to devote increased amounts of already scarce resources to agriculture, we are undertaking several measures to mobilize greater financial support for agricultural development.

The provision of adequate credit to farmers is of vital concern. It is imperative to correct the disturbing trend of declining agricultural credit due to credit policies that have increasingly favored other sectors. In this connection, i hereby direct the central bank to undertake a comprehensive study of agricultural credit which should address the following issues:

1. The need to strengthen the institutional mechanisms to mobilize and direct an adequate level of credit resources to agriculture, and
2. The need for a system allowing the informal or non-institutional sector to participate in agricultural lending in order to supplement credit from institutional sources.

While we have already begun to reduce subsidies in government-sponsored credit programs through revisions in the lending rate, it is essential to maintain a differential between the rediscounting rate for agriculture and the rate for other sectors. We need to keep this differential in order to provide sufficient incentives to banking institutions and compensate them for the inherently high cost and high risk of agricultural lending.

Along with the streamlining of agricultural credit policies and institutions, government is now in the process of finalizing a prioritized Sectoral Development Plan for agriculture, with a corresponding consolidated budget consistent with the priorities and objectives of the plan. This should result in more efficient allocation and utilization of scarce resources. We shall likewise review the Investments Priorities Plan (IPP) and realign all agricultural investment incentives to support this Sectoral Development Plan.

In order to streamline and strengthen sector management, we are developing an action plan to improve the coordination of the various government agencies involved in food and agriculture, with emphasis on integrating the production and marketing functions.

Finally, as an essential part of our policies for the agriculture sector, we shall accelerate our efforts in agrarian reform and align these to our national productivity goals.

Ang ating pangunahing layunin ay walang iba kundi ang pagkilos ng buong sektor ng pagsasaka upang mag-patuloy ang ating pagsulong na pangkabuhayan.

May ilan sa atin na nagsasabing sa laki ng mga suliranin ng ating panahon, hindi na tayo maaaring umunlad. Ito ay salat sa katotohanan. Ito ay himutok lamang ng mga taong ni minsan ay hindi natutong magbanat ng buto o mapagod na tulad ng ating mga magsasaka. Ito ang paniwala ng mga propeta ng lagim na iginigiit pa ang kanilang mga maling hula gayong nakikita na ang mga hudyat at tanda ng pagsulong.

Kung pag-uukulan natin ng pansin ang pagsasaka, makikita natin ang magandang mga tanda sapagka't talaga namang lagi nating maaasahan ang mga magsasaka. Ngayon pa lamang, alam na nating ang ani sa taong ito ay magiging higit kaysa noong nagdaang taon. Lagi silang nagsisikap kahit hindi binibigyang halaga at hindi napupuri, upang mabigyan tayo nang higit na magandang buhay sa kasalukuyan. At, walang alinlangang sila ay buong pusong tutulong sa ating mga pagsisikap na gawing sandigan ang pagsasaka ukol sa pambansang katatagan. Ang ating mga magsasaka ngayon ang mga tunay na taliba ng pag-asa at pagbabago.

Ngayong ang pagsasaka ang binibigyan ng lahat ng pansin ukol sa ating kaunlaran. Walang alinlangan na mahahango tayo sa baging ito ng kawalang katiyakan at maaabot natin ang tugatog ng katatagang pangkabuhayan.

Sa tulong at tangkilik ng pamahalaan, gaya ng pangako ng inyong lingkod, tiyak na ang mga magsasaka ay gaganap ng lalong mahalagang papel sa buhay ng ating bansa.

Ito ang panatang minsaim pa, ating ginagawa sa araw na ito ng ating pambansang pagdiriwang sa araw ng magsasaka.

Ito ang panatang magbibigay ng ispirasyon at tiwala sa atin upang sikapin maabot ang tugatog ng katatagan sa hinaharap.

Marami pong salamat at mabuhay ang magsasakang kawal sa unang hanay ng pakikibaka laban sa gutom!

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Independence Day, [June 12, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On Independence Day**

[Delivered on June 12, 1984]

In keeping with the customs and traditions of a free people, we gather today, here in the Palace of our people and in hundreds of capitols and town halls throughout our land, to commemorate the birth of our nation.

Of all the legacies that a free people may prize in their heritage, there is none more precious than the bequest of national independence and freedom. It is also the most demanding of all.

For it is a legacy that is not to be enjoyed and kept save by conscious effort and sacrifice of those who are the heirs.

And we of all peoples are perhaps most aware of the costs and the perils of freedom because we know and we remember that our very First Republic that was born in Kawit, Cavite 86 years ago died soon after its founding, the victim of yet another colonial power.

We know and we remember how long it took and what sacrifices were required before we could recover our National Independence on July 4, 1946.

And we know and we remember the labors that we had to bear decade after decade thereafter, in order to preserve our right to be an independent nation and to make authentic and life-giving this blessing for our people.

To celebrate therefore, Independence Day in our country is not simply to mark by ceremony and ritual the history beginnings of our Republic; it is as ever a moment to renew those purposes upon which our nation stands and to review the difficult stages of our evolution into the nation we are today.

We are a nation today of 52 million people that is fully 26 times larger than the nation that came to birth 86 years ago.

In both the growth in size and in the time that has elapsed are vividly marked every trial that we have lived through, and every lesson that we have learned about the challenges that a free and independent nation must face.

As we learned long ago that National Independence is not won after one demonstration of the valor of our arms, so have we also known that the achievement of authentic national freedom involves many forms of struggle and effort. And it is thus the task of every generation of our people to show by deed how it can preserve, protect and promote that freedom,

In many ways the last decade and a half has been such a critical time for our country. For this has been a period when, by choice, we faced up to the many constraints on National Independence since 1946; and this has been a time too when we have had to confront grave challenges to the very life of our republic.

Our response's to these problems and these issues have not always been fully known or understood, so it is apt that we should examine now these difficult stages of our evolution as a free nation on this day of commemoration of Independence Day.

It should be noted first of all that this period of national history has been a time of supreme challenge and defense of our republic. Some of us may no longer remember it as such, because the time of greatest danger is past, but at no time in our history did we have to confront simultaneously the threats of sedition and secession at their full might and capability in arms and men.

On one front, we faced the tides of communist insurgency which had long been feeding upon the restiveness and unrest in our countryside. Contained from time to time but never uprooted, the insurgency had by 1972 attained a capability to overthrow the state in combination with rightist elements in our society, because of deadlock and paralysis in our political and economic life

We met that challenge by repairing to the extra-ordinary recourse of crisis government, which on the one hand rallied our military forces to meet the armed threat, and on the other initiated the program of national transformation that eroded the base of the rebellion in our countryside and our cities. By 1976, we had succeeded in capturing the top leadership of the new people's army and the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, and in addition we were able to effect the surrender of many rebels to the government side, this highlighted by the mass surrender of 3,000 hardcore PKP leaders and members in Aliaga, Nueva Ecija on Nov. 16, 1974.

It can be said now that our counter-insurgency effort was greatly aided, although we did not know it then, by the fact that we prudently stayed away from the war then raging in Vietnam. For it has been told us since by Russian leaders, during a trip of the First Lady to Moscow, that had we sent a combat unit to Vietnam, rather than the civic action group we did send, the war would have been brought to our shores.

As it was, the insurgency struggle was an internal affair, albeit with outside arms flowing to the rebels' side, and without aid from anyone on our part, relying solely on our resources, we succeeded in containing and decimating the communist insurgency.

The secessionist struggle in the south presented a different problem to national security. In this struggle, the rebel aims were not to overthrow our government but to establish an independent state in Mindanao, Palawan and Sulu, hence to dismember the national territory. It was a struggle in which initially 20,000 fully armed men, some of whom trained outside the Philippines, were set against our police and constabulary garrisons in the south, and this at a time when we were fully engaged in the insurgency fight in Luzon.

And it was not simply a test of arms. For the secessionist struggle was further complicated by the fact that from 1972 to 1974, the Philippines was blacklisted by Muslim oil producers on whom we depended then for 95% of our oil needs, and who were sympathetic to the Muslim separatist cause in the absence of knowledge of conditions in the country.

In this light it became necessary for us to balance our pacification efforts in the south with a campaign to demonstrate to Islamic countries the justice of our policies toward our Muslim brothers. Far from unleashing the full might of our arms on the secession, we worked earnestly for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

This is why the Tripoli agreement negotiated by the First Lady and Colonel Khadaffi of Libya and signed on December 23, 1976 is of such significance. It led to the cessation of hostilities and to the organization of two autonomous regions in the south, regions 9 and 12. And with the settlement too, amnesty was granted to 37,000 members of the Moro National Liberation Front, some of whom assumed positions of leadership in the autonomous regions, and socioeconomic programs began to gain headway in the troubled areas. Remnants of the rebellion of course still remain, but there is no question that the danger of a separatist government in the south is now past.

In looking at this twin struggle against sedition and secession in our country, it is of the greatest significance that we succeeded in meeting these challenges to our republic on our own and without the help of anyone. Indeed, we could not even purchase arms from our American allies, let alone receive assistance for our cause. We had to purchase arms from other countries, with rather limited resources. But nonetheless we prevailed.

Secondly, we can say of this critical period in national life, that we presided over the termination of a major source of doubt and anxiety about our national independence—the grant of parity rights to Americans upon the recovery of National Independence in 1946. On July 4, 1974 Parity Rights were fully terminated.

It can now be revealed that in the critical negotiations leading up to that historic termination, negotiations of the United States insisted on “National Rights” for Americans in our country, as a condition for the continued enjoyment of preferential trade with the United States, but we stood our grounds on full and total termination of the onerous parity provision.

Thirdly, let us take note that during this period too we began and concluded the renegotiation of our Military Bases Agreement with the United States. The original agreement provided for a term of 99 years, and I had no mechanism whatever for its termination.

It was only on December 7, 1975, following the writing of Ford-Marcos Communique, that renegotiation of the bases of agreement was agreed upon and that the same would be conducted under clear recognition of Philippine sovereignty over the military bases. Time was to elapse before representatives of the two governments would sit down to negotiate amendments to the Military Bases Agreement. But finally the renegotiation took place and in 1979, amendments to the agreements were agreed on, providing among others for periodic review of the agreement every five years until its termination in 1995 and giving clear recognition of Philippine sovereignty over the bases.

In 1983, the agreements were reviewed as scheduled, and further modifications were effected.

In this difficult course of amending and changing the whole tenor of our Military Bases Agreement with the United States it will be seen that the sovereignty of our country has been pursued with vigor and purpose, and short of abrogating the bases altogether, we have succeeded in asserting our national interests on this issue and only the conviction that these bases are important to the goals of peace and stability in our region have prevented us from seeking altogether the full termination of the Military Bases Agreement.

Fourth, during this period, we have sought to achieve the authentic freedom and sovereignty of our country in the conduct of our foreign relations. Where for a long time our view of the world had virtually been shaped according to the interests and dictates of others, we ended our isolation from one half of the world by opening our doors in 1975 to relations with all countries including the socialist world. In successive visits to China in 1975, to the Soviet Union in 1976, the substance of our relations with the rest of the world was fully revised in purpose and outlook. And it cannot be said ever again that our foreign policy serves the interests of nations other than our own.

Fifth, let us take that during this period we ratified a constitution written and by and for Filipinos, and that along with this historic change, we adopted a new system of government and established a New Republic on June 30, 1981.

Where our political fortunes in previous decades had virtually been shaped in mistaken devotion to the solicitude of others, we have now a constitution and a government that is entirely and deservedly our own.

Finally, let us take note that during this period we have embarked upon that essential course that completes and confirms meaning of national independence the economic liberation of our people.

This has been a time when we have braved the difficulties and perils of major reform in our country, a time when we boldly launched agrarian reform, labor reforms, and economic reforms to take control once and for all of our national destiny and to provide for the well-being of our millions. No previous period of national history has marked so purposive an effort to establish a new order; none has affected more profoundly the life of everyone in our land.

These strands of policy and national achievement, molded and consolidated over a period of time and through much labor and sacrifice, constitute the ramparts and structures of our life today as a free and independent state, and they are our basis for confidence in ourselves and in the future of the nation.

As we celebrate today the 86th year of National Independence, we face indeed a new time of difficulty and stress for; our country and people but crisis of even greater magnitude and gravity we have faced and surmounted before. And so will we again.

The greatest peril to a nation during a time of crisis is not to have control over her affairs and not to be free to pursue and protect her interests. But such control and such freedom we surely have now. And these blessings of a sovereign people, when combined with the resolves and loyalties that unite us as one people, are a mighty force against which no burden is too heavy to carry, no crisis so grave to dispel

To mark Independence Day is to renew this faith in ourselves and our purposes. Let us then renew this faith, and together let us move on and add to the proud annals of our nation and our race.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on Independence Day [Filipino], [June 12, 1984](#)

**Talumpati
ng
Kagalang-galang Ferdinand E. Marcos
Pangulo ng Pilipinas
Sa Araw ng Kalayaan**

[Ipinahayag noong ika 12 ng Hunyo, 1984]

Pag-alinsunod sa ugali ng malalayang tao, natitipon tayo rito ngayon, sa palasyo ng bayan, at sa daan-daang kapitolyo at kabayanan ng ating bansa, upang minsan pa, ipagbunyj ang pagsilang ng ating bansa.

Sa lahat ng pamanang iniingatan ng malalayang tao, wala na marahil hihigit pa sa kasarinlang minana ng isang lahi.

Ito ay isang pamanang kailangang alagaan at bantayan sa lahat ng saglit. At pag-ukulan ng pagpapakasakit ng lahat ng mga nagmana nito.

At tayo, higit kanino man, ang lahing nakaaalam kung ano ang laki ng puhunang kailangang iukol alang-alang sa kasarinlan. Alam nating lahat na ang ating kalayaang iniluwal sa Kawit, Kabite, walumpu't anim na taon na ang nakararaan, ay kalayaang biglang naglaho sa isang iglap at tayo ay naaliping muti ng ibang bansa.

Alam din natin kung gaano katagal at kung gaano kalaki ang pagpapakasakit nating puhunan bago nabalik sa atin ang Pambansang Kalayaan noong Hulyo 4, 1946.

Talos din natin kung ano ang ating binalikat sa loob ng maraming taon mula noon upang manatili ang ating karapatan bilang isang nagsasariling bansa, at bigyang katuparan at kahulugan ang kalayaang ito sa bawa't isa nating mamamayan.

Dahil dito, ang pagdiriwang ng araw ng kasarinlan sa ating bayan ay hindi lamang pagdaraos ng palatuntunan bilang gunita sa pagluwal ng ating republika; sa halip, ito ay isang tanging araw ng pagbabagong panata ng ating lahi na muli at muling magpakasakit alang-alang sa kalayaang tinatamasa natin ngayon.

Tayo ay isang lahi ng limampu't dalawang milyong mamamayan na dalawampu't anim na ulit ang laki kaysa nang isilang ang ating republika walumpu't anim na taon na ang nakararaan.

Ang paglaki ng ating bilang ay isinulat sa bawa't pagsubok na ating pinagdaanan, at bawa't aral na ating nakuha sa mga karanasang ito ang humubog sa ating malayang bansa.

Natutuhan natin na ang kasarinlan ay hindi nakukuha pagkaraan lamang ipamalas ang tapang sa gitna ng labanan. Marami pa tayong ibang uri ng pakikibaka na hinarap at mga pagsubok na dinanas. Kaya naging sagutin ng bawa't saling-lahi natin na ipakita sa pamamagitan ng gawa kung paanong tunay na aalagaan, ipagtatanggol at bibigyang buhay at kahulugan ang kalayaang iyon.

Ang nagdaang labinlimang taon ang pinakamabigat na pagsubok sa ating bayan. Ito ang panahon na kailangan nating harapin ang mga pagsubok ng kalayaang natamo mula noong 1946. Ito rin ang panahon na naharap ang ating Republika sa mahigpit na pagsubok na muntik nang magpahamak dito.

Ang naging hakbang natin upang lunasan ang mga suliraning ito ay hindi lubos na nauunawaang lagi nang marami. Kaya naman, angkop lamang na suriin nating mabuti ang mabibigat na yugtong ito na pinagdaanan ng ating malayang bansa sa araw na ito ng kasarinlan.

Una sa lahat, dapat nating maunawaan na ang yugtong ito ng ating kasaysayan ang pinakamahigpit na pagsubok at pagtatanggol sa ating Republika. Mayroon marahil na hindi na nakaaalala pa sapagkat nakalipas na ang panahon ng malaking panganib sa ating bayan, nguni't kailanman ay noon lamang nangyari sa ating bansa ang sabay na panganib sa sedisyon at sa secession ng mga taong may mga makabagong sandata.

Sa isang dako, kaharap natin ang panganib sa komunista na maluwat nang nagpupunla ng ligalig sa ating mga nayon. Manaka-naka nating nasusupil ang mga tao kapag nahuli ang mga puno, subali't muli at muling sumisibol. At noong 1972, nakatipon sila ng lakas upang ibagsak ang pamahalaan sa tulong ng Rightist Elements ng ating lipunan, dahil sa malubhang suliranin natin noon sa pulitika at kabuhayan.

Taas-noo nating hinarap ang panganib na yaon sa paggamit ng pambihirang mga hakbang ng Crisis Government at sa tulong ng ating Sandatahang Lakas ay naharap ang panganib na ito, habang ginagawa naman natin ang mga pambansang pagbabago na bumunot sa ugat ng himagsikan sa ating mga nayon at lungsod. Noong 1976, nadakip natin ang mga mataas na pinuno ng New People's Army, at ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas. Sumuko rin sa atin ang maraming rebelde na gaya ng 39 kagawad ng Politburo, 401 mga kasapi at 6,057 tauhan ng PKP noong Setyembre 23, 1974 sa bayan ng Aliaga, Nuweba Esiha.

Ang ating pagsisikap na ito, lingid sa ating kaalaman, ay natulungan nang malaki ang hindi natin pagsangkot sa kaguluhan sa Vietnam. Sinabi sa atin ng mga lider ng Rusya, nang magtungo roon ang Unang Ginang sa Mosku, na kung nagpadala tayo ng kawal sa Vietnam, sa halip ng Civic Action Group na ating isinugo, ang digmaan ay tiyak na makararating sa ating dalampasigan.

Ang ligalig sa ating bayan ay naging panloob ng kaguluhan, bagaman may mga sandatang galing sa ibang bansa ang mga rebelde, habang tayo naman ay walang maasahan kundi ang sarili nating tatag ng paninindigang bakahin at sugpuin nang ubos-kaya ang panggugulo ng Komunista.

Ibang uri naman ng suliranin ang hatid ng gulo ng secessionist sa timog. Sa kaguluhang ito, hindi ang layunin ng mga nanliligalig ay ibagsak lamang ang pamahalaan. Ang hangarin nila, magkaroon ng hiwalay na bansa sa Mindanaw, Palawan at Sulu upang hatiin ang ating bansa. Ito ay kaguluhang ang lumahok ay 20,000 sandatahang tauhan, ang iba ay galing sa labas ng Pilipinas, at isinagupa sa ating pulisya at kostabularya sa timog, habang tayo rito sa Luzon ay abala sa pagpuksa sa Komunista.

Ito ay hindi sukatan lamang ng lakas ng sandata. Ang bagay na ito ay pinalubha pa ng pangyayaring mula noong 1972 hanggang 1974, ang pilipinas ay ayaw bigyan ng langis ng mga Muslim, na siya pa namang pinagmumulan ng 95 porsiyento ng ating kailangang langis, sapagka't nakikiramay sila sa simulain ng mga Muslim na ibig magtayo ng hiwalay na bansa, noon, hindi nila alam ang tunay na nangyayari sa ating bayan.

Kasabay ng ating paggawa ng hakbang upang tumahimik sa Timog, naglunsad tayo ng kampanya upang patunayan sa mga bansa ng Islam na makatarungan ang pagtingin natin sa ating mga kapatid na Muslim. Sa halip na ibuhos natin nang totoo ang lakas ng ating sandatahang lakas laban sa pangkat ng nanggulo sa Timog, puspusan tayong gumawa ng paraan upang malutas nang mapayapa ang kaguluhang ito.

Ito ang dahilan kaya nagkaroon ng Tripoli Agreement na bunga ng pag-uusap ng Unang Ginang at ni Colonel Khadafi ng Libya at nilagdaan noong Disyembre 23, 1976. Ito ang dahilan kaya natigil ang kaguluhan at sumilang naman ang dalawang malasaring rehiyon sa timog, ang region 9 at region 12. Nang mapawi ang gulo, binigyan natin ng amnesty ang 37,000 tauhan ng Moro National Liberation Front, at ang iba pa ay kasama sa mga pinunp ngayon ng malasaring pamahalaan nila, nguni't walang alinlangan na ang suliranin sa hiwalay na pamahalaan sa timog ay lutas na ngayon.

Sa ating paggunita sa malubhang suliranin ng sedisyon at paghiwalay sa ating bayan, lubhang mahalaga na ating alalahaning nalutas ng ating republika ang malalaking suliranin at panganib na ito nang hindi umasa sa tulong ng ibang lahi. Sinarili natin ang paggawa ng lunas sa malubhang suliranin ito. Sa totoo lang, ni hindi tayo pinagbilhan ng sandata ng ating kapanaug na Amerika, at ni bahagya ay hindi tayo tinulungan sa ating pakikibakang ginawa. Sa

ibang bansa tayo bumili ng sandatang kayang bilhin ng ating karampot na pera. Sa tulong ng Maykapal, hindi tayo nabigo.

Ikalawa, ipinakita natin ang tunay na pagsasarili ng ating bansa nang alisin natin ang Parity Rights.

Ngayon, maaari na nating ipagtapat na nang pinag-uusapan ang pag-aalis ng Parity Rights ng mga Amerikano, iginigiit ng Estados Unidos ang pagbibigay natin ng 'Pambansang Karapatan' sa mga Amerikanong nasa ating bayan bilang kapalit ng patuloy nating pag-lasap ng Preferential Trade sa Amerika subali't, matatag tayong nanindigan na kailangang alisin ang Parity Rights.

Ikatlo, dapat nating malaman na sa panahong ito rin nagsimula at natapos ang tungkol sa kasunduan sa mga Base Militar ng Estados Unidos sa ating bayan. Ang dating kasunduan ay 99 taon nila itong tatamasahin at walang nakalagay kung kailan ito matatapos.

Noon lamang Disyembre 7, 1975, pagkaraan ng Ford-Marcos Communique, maliwanag na nasulat na pag-uusapan ang tungkol sa kasunduan sa base at mag-uusap nang taglay ang pagkilala sa kapangyarihan ng Pilipinas sa mga Base Militar na ito.

Uupo ang mga kinatawan ng dalawang bansa upang pag-usapan ang kasunduan sa Base Militar. At noong 1979, nasusugan ang kasunduan at itinakda na tuwing ikalimang taon ay mag-uusap pa rin tungkol sa Base Militar at lubos na kikilalanin ang kapangyarihang pilipino sa mga baseng ito.

Noong 1983, sinuri ang kasunduan at nagkaroon ng mga pagbabago.

Sa yugtong ito na mahirap susugan at baguhin ang buong kasunduan, mapapansin na ang kapangyarihan ng ating bayan ay iginiit natin sa Estados Unidos. Nakuha natin ang ibig nating mangyari sa pakikipag-usap sa Amerika. At tanging ang pananalig na lubhang mahalaga ang mga baseng ito sa kapayapaan ng ating purok kaya patuloy tayong pumapayag na gamitin nila ang mga Base Militar sa ating bayan.

Ikaapat, sinikap natin sa yugtong ito na matamo ang tunay na kasarinlan ng ating bayan sa ating ugnayang panlabas. Malaong ang ating patakaran ay umalinsunod sa simulain at kapakanang dikta sa atin ng ibang bansa. Ito ang dahilan kaya nakapinid noon ang pinto ng ating bayan sa mga bansang sosyalista. Binuksan natin ang pintuang ito noong 1975. Dinalaw natin ang China noong 1975 at ang Unyong Sobyet naman noong 1976. Lubos na nabago ang ating pakikitungo sa ibang bansa ng daigdig. At ngayon, masasabi natin na ang ating patakarang panlabas ay umaalagata sa kapakanan ng ating bansa una sa lahat.

Nang nagdaang mga panahon, ang ating kapalarang pampulitika ay hinuhubog nang ayon sa pagtingin ng utang na loob sa ibang lahi. Nguni't ngayon, mayroon tayong saligambatas at pamahalaang tunay na sariling atin.

Higit sa lahat, sa yugtong ito rin natin inilunsad ang mahalagang hakbang na magbibigay ng tunay na kahulugan sa ating kalayaan at sa katubusang pang-kabuhayan ng ating lahi.

Ito ang panahong buong tapang nating hinarap ang mabibigat na suliranin at panganib sa ating mahahalagang pagbabagong ginawa sa bayan. Ito ang panahon na inilunsad natin ang reporma sa lupa pagbabago sa bisig, at sa kabuhayang bansa upang tayo, higit kanino man, ang humawak ng daong ng ating pambansang kapalaran at piliting mapabuti ang buhay ng milyun-milyon nating mga kababayan. Kailanman ay hindi tayo nagsagawa ng ganitong puspusang pagsisikap na magkaroon ng pagbabago, at kailanman, hindi pa nagkaroon ng pagbabagong tulad nito sa ating bayan: ngayon lamang nagkaroon ng ganito kalaking pagsulong at pagbabago, pagsama-samahin man ang lahat ng pagsisikap na ginawa sa loob ng ibang panahon.

Ito ang buhay ng ating pambansang patakaran at pagsisikap sa kasalukuyan upang bigyang kahulugan ang ating pagiging malaya at nagsasariling lahi ito ang aligan ng ating tiwala sa ating sarili at sa kapalaran at kinabukasan ng ating lahi.

Sa pagdiriwang natin ngayon ng ikawalumpu't anim na taon ng ating kasarinlan, isang bagong panahon ng suliranin at mga pagsubok ang kaharap ng ating bansa at lahi. Subali't higit na malalaking panganib at suliranin ang kinaharap na natin at nalampasan. Dahil dito, walang dahilan upang manghina ang ating loob.

Ang malaking panganib sa isang bansa sa panahon ng suliranin ay hindi ang pagharap lamang sa suliranin. Kundi higit sa lahat, walang iba kundi ang pagsisikap na maisagawa ang kaukulang hakbang at pangalagaan ang kapakanang pambansa. Taglay natin ang kalayaan at kakayahang sinubok na ng panahon. Sa tulong ng Maykapal, at sa walang humpay na pagsisikap ng ating lahi, na tinambalan ng paninindigan at pagkakaisa, walang alinlangan na malulupig natin ang pinakamabigat na suliranin at madadala natin ang lahing ito sa tugatog ng tagumpay na hinahangad.

Sa dakilang araw na ito ng ating kasarinlan, halinang muling magbagong panata tungo sa pagbibigay ng tunay na kahulugan sa kalayaang ito sa pamamagitan ng paghahandog ng buo nating makakaya upang mag-ambag sa dambana ng kadakilaan ng ating bansa at lahi.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Condolence Message of President Marcos on the death of General Menzi, [June 27, 1984](#)

**Condolence Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the death of General Menzi**

[Released on June 27, 1984]

27 June 1984

Sir:

Attached is the President's message of condolence on the death of General Menzi.

Subject to the president's approval we will release this to the media today.

For the President's information.

(Sgd.) **GREG S. CENDAÑA**

Statement of the President

The Filipino people and the First Lady join me in condoling with Mrs. Bertha M. Merchant, the surviving sister; as well as the countless numbers of the official family of the late brig. Gen. Hans M. Menzi.

General Menzi's demise has left an unfillable void not only in the field of journalism, but in the bigger sphere of business and industry. As a Captain of industry, the General was one of few foreigners who dared to invest in the than fledgling Philippine economy. And as publisher of the Bulletin Today, he espoused a policy of fairness and objectivity in his paper, a policy that we hope will not die with him.

As a Philanthropist, General Menzi gave generously, to many charitable causes and financed the education of countless "Menzi Scholars."

Personally, I am more pained by his loss because the General and I shared a long friendship and he served as my aide-de-camp for several years.

Indeed, it will take a long time before we can find another man of General Menzi's moral convictions and kindness to his fellowmen.

Ferdinand E. Marcos

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Message of President Marcos on the Philippine-American Friendship Day, [July 4, 1984](#)

**Message
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Philippine-American Friendship Day**

[Released on July 4, 1984]

3 July 1984

Sir:

Attached is the President's July 4th message which we are distributing to all newspapers and television stations.

For the president's information.

(Sgd.) **GREG S. CENDAÑA**

Message of the President
Philippine-American Friendship Day
4 July 1984

As we mark today Philippine-American Friendship Day in our country, the American people also celebrate the 208th year of the birth of their nation.

It is of significance that this yearly reaffirmation of the ties of amity and goodwill between the United States and the Philippines should coincide with the yearly commemoration of the declaration of American Independence, for in a sense it has been by the greatness of that historic declaration that America has molded her ties with the world.

In the Philippines, the ringing words of the declaration of American Independence antedated the coming of American forces by nearly half a century, and when we planted the flag of the First Republic in Asia, we did so in words that called to mind the American declaration. It is an unhappy irony that the nation that was stirred to life in part by the American example would be thwarted by the coming of the United States to Asia.

But as we know in history, the frustration of our first republic also signalled the beginning of our larger links with America. And in time the day would come—on the fourth of July 1946—when Americans and Filipinos would witness together the peaceful surrender of American authority over the Philippine islands and the achievement by our people of national independence and sovereignty.

Without question, our relationship has known the trials of war and the problems of peace. We have had our share of differences and our moments of discord. Yet despite these problems we have always discovered ways of accommodating each other in the spirit of friendship and cooperation. For in matters of great moment and significance, our two nations share a mutuality of purpose and interests which springs from shared ideals.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Speech of President Marcos on the Philippines' program for economic recovery and growth, [July 25, 1984](#)

**Speech
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the Philippines' program for economic recovery and growth**

[Released on July 25, 1984]

I would like to express the Philippine government's deep appreciation to the delegates on this second and last day of the local aid review conference, especially our good friends from our donor countries and international institutions. Our thanks also to the Asian Development Bank for the valuable assistance it extended to the national economic and development authority in the organization of this meeting.

Your meeting indeed comes at a crucial time in our nation's history when we are in the midst of grappling with a financial crisis that continues to put a heavy strain on our development efforts. As we look back to the past, we note that the last decade (1972-82) was a period of significant changes in the Philippines, a middle-income oil-importing country with a present population of 53.4 million. Growing at the rate of 5.5 percent in real terms over the past 11 years, the Philippines has a per capita GNP of \$650 in current terms as of end-1983. Agriculture accounted for roughly 25 percent and industry about 36 percent of the gross national product that year as against 29 percent and 31 percent respectively, in 1972.

The Philippines' economic performance during the past decade is the result of a development strategy that was characterized by continued high rate of public investment; supportive fiscal and monetary policy; and substantial capital inflows to fund development requirements. These policies were pursued to partly overcome the two major oil shocks in 1973-74 and 1979-80.

Consistent with the long-term growth strategy and in response to several debilitating effects of the first oil crisis, we embarked on a number of important measures. An aggressive energy development program was launched in 1973, which reduced oil import dependence from 95 percent in 1972 to 65 percent in 1983. Export development was strengthened and collection of domestic revenues and exports provided the leverage to gain access to foreign borrowings, particularly during the mid-1970s. During the period 1973-82, the country was granted medium and long term loans averaging to some \$1.5 billion per year.

At the same time, Philippine availment of official development assistance also grew substantially amounting to a total of US\$6 billion ODA loans outstanding as of end-December 1983. The proportion of ODA loans to total non-monetary external debts increased from 19.6 percent in 1973 to 30 percent in 1983, reflecting the growing contribution of ODA to the overall development program of the country.

These foreign borrowings substantially augmented our domestic resources, and these were utilized to finance major development programs in an effort to meet the increasing demand of the population for basic services and livelihood opportunities.

During the decade 1972-1982, the government spent some P62 billion in such people-oriented development programs as: (1) energy self-reliance (23.5%); (2) education (21.5%); (3) water resources (11.3%) food self-sufficiency (14.4%); (5) transport and communications (15.8%); (6) health (6.2%); (7) livelihood and housing (5%); and (8) agrarian reform (2.3%). These expenditures, designed for the economic and social uplift of the poorest among our people, were more than 10 times the development expenditures for 1962-71. While government spending was clearly expansionary, the budgetary deficit to GNP ratio was carefully controlled at less than 2 percent until 1980, increasing only to 4.3 percent by 1982.

This development strategy was successful until the late 1970s, by which time the economy had been growing by about six and a half percent, much faster than in the late 1960s. After 1979, however, real GNP declined progressively from 4.4 percent in 1980 to 1.4 percent in 1983, the lowest growth since the country's independence in 1946. The decline can be attributed to two factors: the second oil shock in 1979 and the consequent prolonged recession and the failure of some past investments to yield expected targets.

After the second oil shock and the onset of a world recession, major debtor developing countries like the Philippines found it more difficult to earn foreign exchange from exports because of the international recession. At the same time, restrictive monetary policies abroad to contain inflation caused a steep rise in international interest rates and heavier debt service burdens for borrowing countries. The Philippines' already sizable level of external debt and the decline in export receipt precluded the sustenance in growth targets in the 1980s.

To redress our present economic difficulties we are now pursuing a medium-term plan that is built around a five-point recovery program. This four-year plan is basically designed to stem the balance of payment crisis, increase self-reliance and national productivity and bring about meaningful structural changes in the Philippine economy.

We are now negotiating a financial package with the International Monetary Fund, a consortium of about 500 creditor banks and official sources of capital, most of whom, I understand are represented here today. This financial package will consist of an IMF standby credit, rescheduling of part of the country's foreign debt, maintenance of trade-related credit facilities at least at the level of October 1983, and particularly with your generous support on new official development assistance loans. This is expected to improve our BOP position and to maintain the inflow of essential imports.

We are also taking measures to stimulate domestic resource generation through a combination of demand management policies designed to restrain imports, strengthen export incentives, and minimize inflation. A floating exchange rate was adopted as of 6 June 1984 to control the current account deficit. At the same time, the national government has adopted a revenue and expenditure program to keep the fiscal deficit to not more than 1.2 percent of GNP up to 1987. In keeping with the stabilization program, credit expansion will be stringently controlled to minimize inflationary pressures.

In tandem with shorter-term stabilization measures, development activities have been reoriented in favor of on-going, small-scale, labor-intensive, and foreign-exchange-saving or earning projects. A larger share of investments will be allocated to productivity programs for livelihood provision and self-employment. Natural resources will be developed to complement priority programs in food production, energy, exports, and social services. In contrast to the large-scale capital intensive programs of the late 1970s, these small-scale investments are addressed specifically to problems of resource scarcity and possible worker displacement, particularly during the period of adjustment.

We have, moreover, adopted a development strategy that emphasizes the modernization of agriculture. Through agricultural productivity programs, it is envisioned that the country's current dependence on foreign borrowings will be reduced by increased export earnings from agro-based activities and the boost to domestic savings generated by higher rural incomes. The development of forests, aquatic resources, and mineral-based activities, on the one hand, will be complemented by cottage, small and medium scale, labor-intensive industries, on the other. As an immediate step to generate more livelihood activities, jobs, food supply, foreign exchange receipts and to meet the other needs of our people and industries, productivity and rehabilitation programs will be implemented.

These programs include the massive planting of hybrid corn, intensified rice production, aquaculture development assistance to the copper industry and other mineral sectors, expanded production of non-traditional exports such as electronic products and garments, and commercialization of technological breakthroughs for producing food and raw materials on a commercial scale such as rattan, root crops, and other products.

To make the productive system more efficient, internationally competitive, and able to generate more productive employment, phased trade liberalization and tariff reforms began in 1980 will continue to be implemented. In line with the new priorities, structural adjustment will be expanded to include the agriculture sector. The program will

cover more efficient pricing and marketing, institutional and other incentives. These are expected to increase the labor absorptive capacity, foreign exchange generation, and relative profitability of agro-based industries.

To support the structural adjustment program, key industries will be revitalized. Nonconventional and rural-based sources of energy will be developed, and exportation of goods and services will be encouraged according to the country's comparative advantage. These will be complemented by tourism promotion and increased collaboration with other countries on mutually profitable ventures, to maximize foreign exchange earnings.

We recognize that over the short-term, economic stabilization measures are expected to put pressure on the unemployment situation. This will be addressed through a package of adjustment assistance for workers and their families suffering from economic stress, such as prudent wage adjustments, staggered working hours to prevent mass layoffs, separation pay for laid-off workers, advance payment of vacation and sick leave benefits, and unemployment assistance loans. Short-term skills training tailored to the needs of potential growth industries shall also be given to facilitate re-entry of laid-off workers into the labor market.

The Philippine government adheres to a policy of helping to advance international cooperation while at the same time pursuing the national interest. It is in this light that we have embarked on a financial and economic program to make our domestic economy more self-reliant, able to respond better to external shocks, and able to fulfill its economic obligations to the rest of the world.

Beyond national initiatives, however, a broadly based world economic recovery is contingent on actions taken by the developed countries. Firstly, we welcome policies conducive to lower international interest rates, in order to sustain investments and reduce debt servicing cost. Secondly, we encourage the continuation of capital inflows from both commercial and official development sources, including initiatives to extend multi-year rescheduling of external debts where debtor countries show serious adjustment efforts. We are also pledged to supporting flows of direct private investment. And thirdly, we encourage more openness to developing country exports and a generally more liberal approach to trade.

As I mentioned earlier, the Philippines has increasingly availed itself of ODA to supplement domestic resources. In the face of the rising interest on commercial loans, the tight credit situation, and the general instability of the financial markets, official development assistance will continue to play a major role in our national development programs.

We are indeed very grateful to both bilateral and multilateral lending institutions for their continued assistance during these difficult times in our national life even as we vigorously pursue our economic stabilization program, not only to achieve a healthy national economy, but also to fulfill our commitments to the institutions who have generously assisted the country in the past, we look forward to the continuing support and cooperation of both bilateral and international development institutions. In particular, we hope these agencies will look favorably at programs and projects directly supportive of agricultural and rural development and other support services aimed at raising agricultural productivity and benefiting the majority of the Filipinos who continued to rely on agriculture for their livelihood.

Again, on behalf of the Filipino people, I thank you for your support in our national development efforts.

Thank you and good day.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the Second National Convention of Lawyers, [August 4, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the Second National Convention of Lawyers sponsored by the Integrated Bar of the Philippines**

[Delivered on August 4, 1984]

Chief Justice Fernando, Minister Mendoza,
President Roco, Members of the IBP
Board of Governors, Ladies and Gentlemen:

After a fairly long summer of engagements involving many groups and sectors of our society, I consider it a welcome change to be in the company today of my brothers and sisters in the profession of law.

I have no expectations here, of course, that our meeting today will be less exacting or inquisitorial than those which I have had in recent months. Indeed, I expect this to be more so, we being lawyers all. But there is nothing more stimulating or invigorating than to be with a group of men and women with whom one shares a common bond and interest.

It was Lord Francis Bacon, himself a lawyer of talent and ability, who suggested that every man owes a duty to his profession. But to hear a lawyer interpret it, it seems that in the case of the law profession, this wise saw is capable of amendment and addition, to wit, that every man in the community also owes a duty to our profession. And this, because, at some time, somewhere between the cradle and the grave, all must acknowledge their liability to our profession and pay the debt.

I remember one story about the lawyer who was about to take a vacation abroad, and then cancelled the trip at the last minute. When pressed for an explanation, he answered: "one of my rich clients has just died. If I take my vacation now, I'm afraid the heirs will get all of the property."

That anecdote, Apochryphal or not, reflects one popular view of our profession. There is another which reflects yet another popular sentiment.

It is related of Abraham Lincoln that as a young lawyer he once had to plead two cases on the same day and before the same judge both cases involved the same principle of law, but in one Lincoln appeared for the defendant, and in the other for the plaintiff. In the morning, he made an eloquent plea for the defense and won his case. In the afternoon, he took the opposite side and was arguing with the same earnestness. The judge, noticing the major change in position, interrupted him to ask why.

"Your honor," Lincoln answered, "I may have been wrong this morning, but I know I'm right this afternoon."

Our profession brims over with stories and anecdotes of this sort — many of which are pure inventions, and sometimes by lawyers themselves. And if they persist and thrive, it is perhaps because we lawyers confirm them in some way and at some time in our careers.

But not all questions of law, however, may be treated with the same alacrity and confidence as Lincoln's from both sides of the spectrum. And not all disquisitions at the bar are pecuniary in nature.

It is of such matters that I shall speak today, before this national convention of the integrated bar.

During the last few months, there has been much discussion in our country, and especially within the legal community, about certain powers vested in the presidency, and about the system of government we have in our land.

It is hardly arguable that these questions go to the heart of our national life today, to the security and well-being of our people and our country. There is therefore all the more need to enhance public understanding of these issues, and what better way is there for this than through the service of our legal community.

With respect to the first of the questions involved, there is need to understand the rationale for Amendment No. 6 through which the constitution vests legislative powers in the Presidency; there is need to examine how this authority has been in fact exercised by the president; and there is need finally to know how we propose to exercise this authority henceforth with the convening of the regular Batasang Pambansa,

Amendment No. 6 came into being when our sovereign people in the referendum of October 16, 1976 voted in favor of its adoption as part of our constitution. At the time of its adoption, our country was then under Martial Law; it was not therefore specifically to the situation at the time that the amendment sought to fill a need. It looked rather towards the time when Martial Law would be lifted, and normal democratic government would be restored. And this took place on January 17, 1981.

The text of the amendment reads:

“Whenever in the judgment of the President (Prime Minister), there exists a grave emergency on a threat or imminence thereof, or whenever the interim Batasang Pambansa or the Regular National Assembly fails or is unable to act adequately on any matter for any reason that in his judgment requires immediate action, he may in order to meet the exigency issue the necessary decrees. Orders or Letters of Instruction which shall form part of the Law of the Land.”

There are only two instances specified in the amendment when I can exercise the power to legislate: (1) The existence of a grave emergency or threat or imminence thereof; and (2) The failure or inability to act adequately on the part of the Batasang Pambansa on a matter that requires immediate action.

Emergency connotes that time is of the essence. To wait too long would jeopardize National Survival. Emergency is concerned with action rather than understanding, with decisions rather than analysis and procedural niceties.

The government must be able to withstand sudden emergencies and to avail itself of sudden unexpected opportunities to enhance the security and welfare of the people to borrow the penetrating words of Justice Pacifico de Castro: “Presidential action to meet the exigency must be prompt or it is of little value”

In case of the failure or inability of the Batasang Pambansa to act adequately on matters that require immediate action, the time element is equally of paramount importance the immediacy of the problem calls for decisive and prompt action.

It is therefore pertinent to ask what the considerations were that led to the adoption of the amendment. Why was there a perceived need to have such a provision incorporated into the constitution?

In upholding the validity of the amendment in the case of *Legaspi vs. Minister of Finance* (115 SCRA 418), the Supreme Court took note of its rationale in opining thus:

“...The problem was what may be needed for National Survival or the restoration of normalcy in the face of a crisis or an emergency should be reconciled with the popular mentality and attitude of the people against Martial Law.

” XXX XXX XXX

“Thus, our understanding of the development of events and attitudes that led to the adoption of Amendment No. 6 is that in addition to the four measures authorized in the body of the charter this amendment is supposed to be a fifth one purportedly designed to make it practically unnecessary to proclaim Martial Law, except in instances of actual surface warfare of rebellious activities or very sophisticated subversive actions that cannot be adequately met without Martial Law itself.”

The four measures referred to are: (1) The delegated emergency power to the President Under Sec. 15, Art. VIII of the Constitution wherein the President is authorized, in times of war or national emergency, to exercise powers necessary and proper to carry out a declared national policy; (2) The power of the President to call out the Armed Forces to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection, rebellion or imminent danger thereof, per sec. 9, Art. VII of the Constitution; (3) When public safety requires it. To suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus; and (4) the power to place the country or any part thereof under Martial Law.

In introducing this fifth manner of response to an emergency situation for the country. We were thus providing for a means to act and resolve the emergency without recourse to the other measures and especially without setting the nation on the fateful course of Martial Law.

It will be remembered that at the time the amendment was proposed and adopted the country was then under Martial Law. And because the tides of crisis were lifting. We were looking forward to the time when Martial Law could be fully lifted. But under those circumstances too. We fully recognized that the dangers to the stability and security of the Republic were not about to disappear completely once Martial Law was lifted. Thus we were also concerned about how to respond to various gradations of threat to the Republic. And we did not want to lift Martial Law only to be compelled by the first sign of crisis to proclaim it yet again.

Amendment No. 6 then was designed to provide for calibrated, expeditious and efficacious responses that will promptly and adequately meet the demands of the times especially concerning matters involving national security.

Amendment No. 6 is the difference between getting ahead and solving the problems and just getting by. It expedites the decision-making processes to meet emergencies or contingencies with immediacy. To convene the Batasang Pambansa to enable the members to meet. To debate and at times vacillate finally to vote may take time. The emergency or contingency may have already spread beyond salvation or has already destroyed the very foundation of our democratic processes sought to be prevented.

And let us also take note by way of replying to those who in simplistic logic argue that in a democracy. Legislation must be wholly left to the legislature, that Amendment No. 6 is a constitutional mandate it is an expression of the will of the people it is the answer of if the people to the obstacles posed to us by the complexities of the time.

In the event this is what the amendment has done to serve us in the period since January 17, 1981, when Martial Law was lifted to the present.

By the judicious exercise of this power to legislate we have weathered the early challenges to national security and public order that came with the lifting of Martial Law; we have managed to provide efficacious responses to urgent social and economic problems during the last four years; and we have prudently filled the gap that occasionally arose between the workings of our legislature and the demands of the times.

Nowhere in the record is it shown that this power was exercised arbitrarily or unilaterally as feared by some; nowhere has it been employed save in direct and urgent response to a need of the nation.

If we look at the brief history of our exercise of the powers granted by Amendment No. 6, we can see how the security and economy of our country might have been imperilled but for its efficacious exercise, and how the governance of the nation might have been locked in impasse without it.

A few illustrations will demonstrate this point.

When the opposition demanded certain amendments to be incorporated in the election code in time for the last elections, representations or demands of the opposition could not have been met were it not for the issuance of PD 1907 granting certain rights for the opposition. Said PD reset the scheduled meetings of citizens election committees "to allow those who failed to register to be able to do so.

With the surge over the past year of insurgency, terrorism and subversion which created a climate of turbulence in the country, we promulgated a number of decrees increasing the penalties for the crimes of insurrection and rebellion.

When the Rent Control Law was about to expire and there was public clamour for its extension for the benefit of the great majority of apartment dwellers. PD 1912 was issued extending the effectivity of BP 25 up to December 1984. Were it not again for Amendment No. 6 the President would have been helpless to alleviate their condition.

When our financial and other economic problems threatened the very health of the national economy, again. Upon the recommendation of our economic managers and various sectors of society, I had to issue economic measures such as PD 1883 defining crimes of block marketing and salting of foreign exchange and imposing penalties therefor and PD 1931 further defining and strengthening the authority of the Presidential Anti-dollar Salting Tax Force.

When government agencies and corporation are no longer responsive to the demands of changing times, the President is empowered by PD 1772 to restructure and organize them so that they may be more relevant to our society.

When we needed urgent measures to check graft and corruption in the government and to institutionalize reform measures under an effective authority. We created through PDS 1606 and 1607 the Sandiganbayan and the Tanodbayan.

Finally, let us not forget that during the last election campaign when the Batasan was not in session and when labor groups were agitating for wage increases it was through Amendment No. 6 that we were able to deal expeditiously with the problem and the need, without having to wait for the Regular Batasan to convene.

This is not the place to recount each and every Decree and Executive Order issued by me, by virtue of this constitutional amendment. I shall merely refer you to a detailed listing of these which you may peruse and examine at will. What I wish to stress is the fact that during the period from the time of the lifting of Martial Law to the present. This power to legislate has been utilized with prudence and purpose, and our actions have been effective in providing immediate remedies and solutions to problems.

If then we turn to how we propose to utilize this power in future with the regular Batasang Pambansa fully-convened. We are faced basically with a question of how this authority can be maintained in support of and not in rivalry with the Batasang Pambansa.

I have already stated in my message to the Batasang Pambansa at the opening of its inaugural session. The specific guidelines under which this authority to legislate will be employed. If ever.

The specific conditions for the use of the power as provided for in the constitution will be scrupulously adhered to: namely, first, the existence of a grave emergency or threat or imminence thereof; and second, the failure or inability to act adequately on the part of the Batasang Pambansa on a matter that requires immediate action.

I have said moreover that I shall exercise this power only upon the recommendation or concurrence of the majority party in caucus. This is the same party that holds the majority in the legislature, and directs the administration of the majority of our local governments.

There should be no question therefore of arbitrary or unilateral action of the President. There should be no doubt as to our intent to mold national consensus behind every response which we shall be impelled to take in the event of an emergency or a void in legislative action.

All these considerations throw some light upon the other question as to what form of government we have today. Whether we have reverted to the Presidential system or have in fact a parliamentary one.

The question, however, to begin with is only relevant to the degree that its answer provides us a clear picture of the process of national decision-making. Nomenclature does not matter very much in solving problems before the nation. Decision-making does. And the process of shaping public policies is therefore of utmost importance.

The blur, you might say, in public perceptions of our system of government today has emanated principally from the fact that executive responsibility is vested in a president elected directly by the people and who is not himself a member of the Batasang Pambansa and this has been compounded by various conflicting opinions from within government itself. Some officials and functionaries in government refer to our system of government as "parliamentary in character." on the other hand. The supreme court speaking thru Chief Justice Enrique Fernando in the case of the Free Telephone Workers Union vs. Minister of Labor (108-SCRA 757). Has said that ours is essentially a presidential system. The court stated that: "The adoption of certain aspects of a parliamentary system in the amended constitution does not alter its essentially presidential character. XXX."

It seems to me, however, that the crucial point here is the process of decision-making and the interplay of the Executive and Legislative in the making of public policies. While the President is not responsible to the Batasan, the Prime Minister and the various ministers, who are part of the Executive Circle, are ultimately responsible to the Batasang Pambansa of which they are also members. This clearly underlines the blending of the Legislative and the Executive Departments which are essential features of parliamentarism. This mechanism ensures close collaboration between the two great political departments of government. Decisions as to policy are taken not only by the legislators but also by those who implement approved policy.

This leads us to two other aspects of Parliamentarism, which have become very pronounced in our present set-up, namely: "Party Caucus Mechanism" and "Party Responsibility." Although the President is not elected by the Batasang Pambansa but directly by the people. His position as leader of the ruling party enables him to make the party system an effective machinery within the governmental structures matters of national policy (guidelines of which the President is mandated to formulate) that may require legislation are first tabled, argued, debated and resolved in the party caucus. Thereafter, whatever is the consensus arrived at in the caucus becomes the position of the party members when the measures are presented before the Batasang Pambansa. This is not atavism but a sacral practice in parliamentary democracy.

The present governmental set-up is such that the power of legislation is ultimately reposed in the party caucus which in turn is headed by the president who is not a member of the Batasang Pambansa at present, the decisions even in the Batasang Pambansa especially when the subject is controversial, are made by a caucus of all members of the KBL. Including the Governors, city and municipal Mayors, and the President and members of the cabinet, and not merely of the members of the Batasang Pambansa. And all abide by the edict of the party caucus.

This approach to decision-making does not make of the legislature a "rubber stamp" of the President. As some have foolishly charged. Far from being docile and subservient. The Batasang Pambansa members are inarticulate, resolute and responsible in their role as policy-makers. A clear example of this was the resolution of the question concerning the restoration of the Vice-Presidency. We are all aware of how Minister Tolentino and his allies in the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan fought for the restoration of the Vice-Presidency, and how I publicly opposed the idea. But in the KBL caucus, the position of Minister Tolentino won. And I, following the rule that majority will prevail, went along with the party resolution. Subsequently, after the Batasang Pambansa itself approved the measure, I urged our people to vote freely on this question.

Because of this party caucus mechanism, Governmental responsibility has been shifted from a single person to an aggrupation of politicians constituting the majority of the Batansang Pambansa. At present, it is the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan.

The prominence of the President in a political system does not determine the nature or the type of government. There are countries with parliamentary forms of government which provide for a strong President. Under the Egyptian system for instance, the President of the Republic is nominated by the national legislative body and confirmed by the people in a referendum as the Head of State and as the Situs of Executive Authority. In the French governmental structure, the President of the Republic is elected by direct universal suffrage and is vested with broad powers. Among which are to appoint the premier and to dissolve parliament. Although France has a parliamentary type of government, it has a strong executive which emerged as a result of de Gaulle's observation that the constitutional impotence of the President during the fourth republic was partly responsible for the continuance of "ephemeral governments" that weakened French independence and prestige.

But whether or not there are precedents in the world of the kind of blending we have made of Presidential and Parliamentary features of government is not itself the important thing. The question is or should be does our system work? Is it an advance from the deadlocks and paralysis of the old presidential system we had? Does it provide for checks against revolving door governments that are sometimes the disease of parliamentarism?

I believe we have a system that provides correctives to these maladies. Without destroying the essence of popular representation in our government. I believe we have the kind of governmental leadership that can respond with resolution and imagination to the problems before the nation. Whether these may threaten the very security of the state or the economic fortunes of the country.

And we have effected all these changes in our political life by constitutional means. And it is on those terms that we shall face up to the present tide of insurgency and subversion on in our land. And the formidable economic crisis that confronts us today.

Roscoe pound once said in the course of a long and distinguished career in the American judiciary: "the law must be stable but it cannot stand still."

We could hardly have stood still before the tempests of rebellion that swept our land in the early seventies; and we can hardly destroy now the very mechanisms that we have invented to cope with emergencies, in the face of the security perils we face today.

Many of us do not realize, I think that in addition to the legal considerations, there are a myriad of elements or extra-legal considerations that prompt the Presidency to take certain actions, such as the decree increasing the penalties for insurrection and rebellion. Indeed, it is so easy to criticize and fault governmental acts purely from the legal point of view, not realizing that there are numerous and multifarious elements and factors involved in taking a certain action.

For instance, how many lives of people, civilian and military, have been lost as a result of subversive activities? How many realize that from 1981 up to the present around 2,320 military personnel and 2,602 civilians have already been killed or liquidated by terrorists?

How many of you know that within the same span of time, the subversives have carried out a total of 33 major sabotage activities throughout the country resulting in damages to property valued at P291.07 million, broken down to P258.67 million in the private sector and P32.4 million in the government.

How many realize that there are various local and foreign organizations that have funded in subtle and ostensibly innocent manner certain organizations whose main purpose or aim is not only to embarrass or humiliate the government and its functionaries but also to replace it with a Communistic system of government?

How many of our young have fallen into the prey of the drug menace upon the insidious machinery of the same subversive elements?

These are but some of the multifarious considerations that have impelled me to increase the penalties of said crimes if only to protect our people and our nation.

Our constitution and laws cannot remain static in the face of the continually and drastically changing elements in our economy, society and the whole world. Traditional actions, reactions and solutions in these unsettled times are proving themselves to be inutile and inadequate this is an era of rapid development, a time of fast and radical structural shifts. The economic, social and political environment faces new realities, new challenges and new uncertainties.

Against this backdrop, what we need are innovative legal ideas or means to confront the swift changes that are taking place in our midst, and to cope with emergency situations.

To successfully ride this time of fervent, we need the best efforts of our legal community — they who compose that vital foundation for the rule of law in our land.

Lord Richard Wilberforce of the British House of Lords once said: “Let us remember that the structure of the world society is lawyer-made. Its concepts are lawyer-devised.” In that statement is the challenge to all lawyers including members of the Philippine Bar.

Our role as lawyers in the realization of our country’s goals and aspirations hardly need underlining. We all know that we would be doing less than justice to the noble ideals of our profession if as practitioners legislators, politicians, law professors or judges, we do not share in lifting the common burdens we face today. In these times we live in, we all know the strains that the law must bear for both its observance as well as its improvement.

And in the IBP, we know finally that we have here a potent organization that can help our people to achieve our goal of a just, progressive, and modern society.

Progress is attainable only within the framework of a society that has law and knows order. As once said by the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, so must we say again: “The art of progress is to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order.”

I have great faith that your initiative, your caring here in the IBP will match our own efforts in government, and when combined with the labors of millions of our countrymen, we cannot fail in either the most modest or grandest of our aims.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos on the PC-INP Anniversary, [August 8, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
On the PC-INP Anniversary**

[Delivered on August 8, 1984]

In both pride and admiration, I receive your salute to your Commander in Chief, and I extend to you all the profound appreciation of our people for your steadfast support and loyalty to the Republic and to the Constitution.

Today, the Philippine Constabulary marks its 83rd anniversary, and the Integrated National Police its ninth. We mark these anniversaries together to underscore once more the linkage of your tasks and aspirations, and to emphasize the abiding unity of this command.

In the terms by which men in uniform have always measured success, the outstanding and vivid achievement of this command is fully reflected in the level of civility and order prevailing today in our country. We find its vindication in the fact that the rule of law truly abides and reigns in our country today, and that in spite of recent major challenges to our internal security and to public order, the ship of democratic and constitutional government moves proudly onward.

But if success is conferred in these terms, we must not also fail to take account of how such success is won, of what sacrifices are necessary for it. In the history of this command, the price for the civility and order of our national life has always been great. We see this in the fact that no year passes in which some members of this command lose their lives in the line of duty. And we see it vividly in the quite significant fact that of the 77 Medals of Valor awarded to officers and men of our armed forces since 1902, 66 of those have gone to Constables.

This seemingly random statistic reminds us of this simple but enduring message: that in times of peace, the task of keeping it is constant and demanding. That in preserving order in our national life, we face challenges as formidable as those imposed by war. And this because the dangers and perils for the nation lurk always just around the corner or beneath the surface, and the vigil we keep is never over.

As we look at our national life today, we can be in no doubt about the stability of the Republic and the supremacy of law in our society. Yet it is also clearer than ever that we face a relentless struggle in many parts of our country against insurgency and subversion. To the sense of security and order we feel in major parts of the country, there is on the other hand the constant sense of danger felt by many local communities from terrorism and intimidation. Behind the climate of civility and order that prevail in national life, continued effort goes on to subvert the peace, to destabilize conditions, and to undermine the authority of Government.

And these have increased of late, because of the economic difficulties which the nation is facing today.

With the climate of economic adversity as its principal shield, insurgency, subversion, infiltration and a host of other tactics have steadily grown in our midst, harassing the smaller and more vulnerable areas of the country and fanning anxiety and unrest in the more developed and urbanized ones. At one side of this spectrum of danger, insurgents and rebel bands engage in armed struggle with our law enforcement and military forces. At the other end, they exploit the anxieties and fears of our people today, infiltrating the ranks of student groups and labor unions, and transforming otherwise peaceful public demonstrations into open confrontations with the police.

And the difficulties of confronting this menace are made twice more difficult by the fact that our people, except those who live under the immediate and prevailing threat of terrorism and insurgency, are largely unaware of the

extent of the danger and the peril. The challenge is made still more complex by the fact that some seem to be under the illusion that this wave of terrorism and insurgency can be conveniently exploited and ridden for their own ambitions for political power.

But the grave dimensions of the problem facing us now are real. And no amount of explaining it away, of banishing it from our thoughts, will remove the blight from our midst. We can only remove the menace by truly recognizing the realities that must be confronted, and in understanding what we face, strive with will and determination to expel the blight.

You who are at the forefront of this struggle and we who are at the helm of government know only too well the gravity of the threats we must confront. But that realization cannot be fully shared by the general public, in the absence of clear perspectives on the insurgency problem.

Today therefore, I see it fit to declassify certain information that I believe will provide the public clearer perspectives on the insurgency problem and hopefully will galvanize a union of effort between the people and the Government in pacing up to the challenge.

From 1981 to the present — a span of only three and a half years — there has been a pervasive increase and intensification.

- *In civilian and military casualties as a result of the insurgency.

- *In sabotage operations by insurgents against public and private property.

- *In encounters between the insurgents and rebel forces.

- *In the number of front organizations for the communist insurgency.

- *In the extent of infiltration of otherwise legitimate organizations.

- *In fueling the drug menace by radical elements.

- *And in the flow of funds and arms into insurgent and subversive activities.

During this period alone, already 2,320 military personnel and 2,602 civilians have lost their lives as a result of the insurgency, many of them victims of terrorist attacks and ambushes.

In this same span of time, subversives and rebel bands have carried out a total of 33 major sabotage activities against public and private installations in various parts of the country, resulting in property damage valued at P291.07 million, broken down to P258.67 million for the private sector and P32.4 million for the public sector.

Significantly, there has been a significant increase in the number of front organizations for the insurgency, and the flow of funds and arms into the insurgency challenge has again begun to pick up because of assistance being extended by both local and foreign organizations.

Finally, there is abundant evidence now of exploitation of the drug menace by insurgents and subversives, to the extent that they grow, manufacture, procure, and distribute these prohibited and harmful drugs in our society today.

The problem in popular perspectives on the insurgency challenge has of course been the fact that since the beginning of the Post-War Era, the country has always been fighting this dagger aimed at its heart. And because of our comparative success in facing up to the problem, we have been inured to the idea that the insurgency will never win although it will also never go away.

The evident complacency of this attitude, however, breeds problems for the counter-insurgency effort that significantly sap resolve and direction from our efforts. It weakens at one end the vital support that the people must provide in this struggle it undermines at the other end the capabilities of our police and military forces in the counter-insurgency campaign. And it takes away from the total sense of public vigilance that must accompany our fundamental solution to the insurgency problem — economic and social development.

It has become abundantly clear therefore that we must renew our call for a comprehensive and united response to the insurgency challenge. We can only fail to grasp the insidious nature of this struggle at the risk and hazard of the nation as a whole. We know that the task requires new concepts, new tools, new resolve and urgency on the part of Government, the military and the people. And we know finally that the time we fritter away in false complacency and disregard of the problem multiplies the danger to the nation.

What is missing, I think, from our present efforts today is full recognition of the fact that a comprehensive solution to the insurgency problem requires the harmonious working out of every element of our response: that the efficacy of military and peace-keeping action must be steadfastly matched by purposive socio-economic action; that every ground we win must be diligently consolidated and held; that we must improve our capabilities as the enemy improves its own; and that at every stage of this campaign the vigil of both our people and peace-keeping forces cannot be relaxed.

I have already discussed on a number of occasions the specific measures and actions we propose to undertake in terms of legislative reform to put more teeth into our laws; of economic projects to spur productivity efforts in rebel-infested areas; and of action to rally the people behind the government during these times of adversity.

On this occasion, I shall lay stress on the specific program of reorientation and retraining which we have paid for the PC-INP in line with our counter-insurgency campaign.

To begin with, it has always been a fact that the PC-INP stands at the forefront of this campaign. Within the structure of our Armed Forces, the Constabulary constitutes our garrison and territorial force charged with maintaining internal security and peace in our provinces, towns and cities; and in areas pacified by our peace-keeping forces, it is the force that must hold and maintain the ground for the orderly operations of Government. Complementing this, our police and firefighting units protect public safety, enforce the rule of law, and preserve order in our day-to-day affairs.

It follows from this that in the struggle against insurgents and rebel bands, the greater part of our counter-insurgency force has and will always come from the PC-INP. We employ, yes, the services of the other commands in this effort, including our Marines, our Rangers and even occasionally our Air Force. But the soul of the campaign is our law enforcement forces, because the threat is internal and the challenge is to peace and order in our many communities.

In the event, this has been the case in our counter-insurgency operations. But it has also been a fact that in some of our operations, particularly in Central Luzon, the truth has been painfully borne to us that our Constabulary troops could not readily be employed in operations because of their lack of training and orientation in fighting insurgency. It has been observed by some of our commanders in the field that our PC-INP troops were not committed or oriented to the resolution of the battle against the enemy.

And one of the reasons cited for this is the fact that “the garrison-troop mentality” prevails in our PC-INP forces, and they are consequently ill prepared to carry the battle to insurgents and rebels when it is so required.

The dangers of such a mentality are real, and they are particularly grave for the very safety of our law enforcement forces themselves. For in a situation where our counter-insurgency measures are reduced to simply awaiting when and how insurgents and guerrilla bands will strike, our forces become prey to surprise attacks and ambushes. And they will be caught more often than not with their guards down.

It is this which we supremely strive to correct in our current retraining and reorientation program for the PC-INP.

In the kind of struggle we are facing today, we must fall back on and renew those basic qualities of soldiery, which in Clausewitz are so essential to success — energy, firmness, staunchness, strength of mind and character. These are the qualities we need in moving within the orb of present challenges and threats, and all that they connote of danger, uncertainty and chance. We are tempted sometimes to think that we can subdue our adversaries solely with the use of arms, to take massive military action as prescribed by the experiences of conventional warfare. Yet, this strategy, as we have discovered in past campaigns, is to say the least incorrect, wasteful and ineffective.

The objectives of conventional warfare are the enemy's territory, his armed elements and his material means of making war. But in the kind of guerrilla warfare that we confront today, the enemy actually holds no territory; his armed forces, part civilian and part uniformed, are either too-well concealed or too small and mobile for immediate destruction, while his material requirements are infinitesimally small compared with those of conventional forces.

Only if we have the means to saturate the country with our armed forces and maintain widespread operations from months on end will conventional military warfare eliminate this form of armed struggle. History provides no single example of a counter-revolutionary regime's ability to maintain such operations. On our part, we can ill-afford it and we have dreamed of engaging in such a wasteful and unproductive enterprise.

What, then, is our strategic program?

It can be described in four words — clear, hold, consolidate and develop.

Clearing operations may or may not involve conventional warfare, but they will most often be a combination of conventional and counter-guerrilla methods, as we are doing at present. These operations will be conducted only in selected areas, where the terrorist hold on the populace is strong and intransigent. We will deploy into such areas sufficient military and police forces as well as civic action teams.

When the area is cleared, we must hold it while we destroy the political cells of the enemy and reestablish the presence of our own civil authorities.

Next, we must consolidate our security and political efforts with social and economic projects with the people themselves as the primary beneficiaries and participants in these efforts. Vital to this effort is a viable process of mass education.

In time, it will then be possible for our forces to move out to another area, but only under three (3) conditions — if our local political leadership is strong enough, if the socio-economic reforms are on stream and if the people are more enlightened, organized and prepared to defend themselves as local defense units.

These are the main lines of our systematic counter-insurgency campaign, and it will be immediately evident to all that its success will greatly depend not so much on numbers and resources, but on well-trained forces and on high qualities of leadership and command. It must supremely rely on economy of force, sustained initiative, simplicity, cost effectiveness and close command control. It is noteworthy that this last feature is now exemplified by your own concept today of "command presence in the field."

In emphasizing this strategic and tactical approach to the counter-insurgency effort, we are not by any means saying that we can resolve the insurgency problem by military action alone. Both past and contemporary history overwhelmingly remind us of the limitations of such an approach. What we win piece by piece from the enemy, we must consolidate also piece by piece by active efforts towards stabilization and development. And even more important, we must never forget that the soil of insurgency is always the restiveness and discontent of people, and the solutions to that in the last analysis is the well-being and welfare of people and communities.

We have no illusions whatever that a counter-insurgency effort can succeed in expelling insurgency and rebellion in our land, without the healing hand of social and economic development. This has always been central in, our approach to the insurgency challenge. And this will always remain.

But let us be under illusion either that social and economic development can take place in a climate of disorder and tension in our national life, that our political institutions can operate effectively without civility and peace reigning in our midst.

The two factors — peace and order on the one hand and social and economic development on the other — and reinforce each other in the life of the state and the nation. Without each other, they cannot grow and thrive. Bereft of both, a nation can only wither and die.

If in this country, we have weathered all these many years the grave challenges of insurgency and rebellion, in times of the greatest peril to the nation, it is because we have kept faith with this idea of order and progress. We have had shortcomings here and there; we have failed some times to take fullest advantage of our successful actions against the communist insurgents, as in the fifties; we have been at times complacent and self-indulgent about our successes in the counter-insurgency effort. Yet time and again, we have faced up to the peril and we have survived the test.

The present challenge will be faced and won. But more than just survival, I believe that through our comprehensive efforts today, we shall come to know a degree of stability and security in our land impervious to crisis because they are founded on the development of our people and our nation.

For that cause, we work together, you and I, joined by the millions of our countrymen.

And in that cause we will succeed, for as long as there abides in this country that faith which Oliver Wendell Holmes once spoke of as being exemplified by the soldier:

“In the midst of doubt, he wrote, “in the collapse of creeds, there is one thing I do not doubt And that is the faith that is true and adorable which leads a soldier to throw away his life in obedience to duty, in a cause he little understands, in a plan of campaign of which he has no notion.”

Thank you and good day.

Source: **Presidential Museum and Library**

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the formal acceptance of RPS Explorer of the Philippine Government from the Government of Japan, [August 14, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the formal acceptance of RPS Explorer of the Philippine Government from the Government of Japan**

[Delivered on August 14, 1984]

The Filipino people has had a number of occasions to express grateful appreciation for the great benevolence of the Japanese government and its people. Today is another such occasion strongly manifesting that generosity and symbolism of true and lasting friendship between our two nations. In the past several years, the bureau of mines and geo-sciences under the Ministry of Natural Resources had been a most fortunate recipient of assistances in the implementation of its priority projects from the government of Japan. A year ago, I inaugurated the petrological, mineralogical and geochronological services laboratory or petrolab complete with modern equipment and apparatuses for geological research. Today, we formally receive an exploration vessel, also with modern and very sophisticated equipment for marine geological/geophysical surveys and offshore mineral exploration which will be used not only to scan the sea bottom but will be able as well to study its underlying strata. We hold these grants doubly significant because they not only manifest the Japanese scientist's penchant for research, but a genuine expression as well of Japan's desire to cooperate with us in our efforts at developing our mineral resources.

Indeed, the importance of the survey vessel cannot be overemphasized. It is a most responsive tool for geo-scientific research and an instrument for national development.

Recognizing the significance of the geological location of the Philippine archipelago at the crossroad of tectonically important events and geologically interesting features leading to better appreciation of the geologic evolution of the earth and comprehension of the Parageneses of mineral evolution, the Japanese Government, borne by its natural acumen for research, extended to the Philippine Government a unique research vessel. It should be remembered, however, that scientific research is only a means to an end. While science seeks to understand natural forces and phenomena, a man's quest for an understanding and aspiration to harness these natural forces should be ultimately aimed at the betterment and comfort of mankind. An understanding of the Paragenesis of mineral evolution thru marine research will eventually lead to better exploration techniques and faster development of marine mineral resources. More responsive methods of mineral exploration and development will contribute much to the development of a stronger Philippine economy because traditionally, the Philippines is a mineral exporting country and our balance of payment relies heavily on exports of this natural resource. Statistics indicate that in the second half of the seventies, the share of mineral exports to total foreign exchange earnings grew from 14.21% to 17.82%.

This trend peaked in 1980 when 20.19% of our export receipts was contributed by the mineral industry. It was in this year when mineral export was our number one dollar earner with copper figuring prominently in its market. Lamentably, the following year, the industry started to feel the brunt of the worldwide recession and staggering inflation. Because of the skyrocketing operation costs, increased debt servicing requirements and depressed mineral commodity demand, the growth rate of the mineral industry plummeted from a high of 40.75%, in 1980 to 7.47% and 4.86% in 1981 and 1982, respectively. Mineral exports shrunk to hold only 17.13% in 1981 and 13.30% in 1982 of the total export earnings.

But the signs of worldwide economic recovery are apparent. In 1983, the mining industry distinguished itself of having achieved considerable gains with total mineral production value registering an increase of 42.89% from P11.30 billion to an estimated P16.15 billion. Export receipts from the mineral industry likewise contributed an estimated 17.21% of the total export receipts during the period.

The price of copper and gold has started to move in the face of indications that our traditional export markets like the U.S., Japan and Western Europe are experiencing robust economic turnaround. In anticipation of this event, without being over optimistic, a review of our basic policies on mineral development has been conducted vis-a-vis the present realities of the industry and the future conditions expected in the mining business.

To provide a better climate for the development of the mineral industry in order to achieve maximum economic returns and social benefits for our people and make the industry competitive in the world market while assuring adequate resource base, the government has evolved new policy directions on mineral development. These are:

1. The government shall maintain and develop an attractive but rationalized investment climate for mineral development.
2. The government shall enhance the development of small scale mining in order to maximize its contribution to the growth of the mining industry.
3. The government shall promote the enhancement of the quality of life among the workers in the mineral industry, and insure the generation of employment.
4. The government shall ensure the availability of an adequate mineral resource" base for the present and future.
5. The government shall augment research and development efforts of private companies in exploration, development, exploitation and economics; and
6. The government shall expand and develop foreign and local markets for its mineral commodities.

Geared towards the attainment of these ends and aimed at alleviating the impact of the current economic difficulties and in preparation for a more favorable economic environment, the government, through the Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences and the Ministry of Natural Resources shall intensify its exploration programs of highly mineralized areas with particular emphasis on gold, copper with high gold content and non-metallic minerals. These minerals are all favorably situated in marine environments.

It is also the observation that the mining industry in the country has been traditionally predominated by large-scale operations which require high capital exposure with equally high debt equity ratio. Such big scale operations need sophisticated and very costly, mechanization requiring high-level energy consumption. The ever increasing cost of energy, capital goods and money to maintain such operations at economically viable levels have saddled operators to the extent that the growth of the industry in the immediate past has continuously declined and even threatening its very existence.

To alleviate the situation and to give more impetus to regional development through increased contribution from the mining sector, I have decreed the establishment of small-scale mining as a new dimension in mineral development. It is a fact that scattered all over the country are small but commercially exploitable mineral deposits which if properly exploited can contribute substantially to the economic upliftment of the areas wherein they are located and thus, to the total national economic well-being through foreign exchange generation. The abundance of cheap labor, minimum capital requirements, low fuel dependency and flexibility in operations, and much less destructive effects on the environment are among the best arguments supportive of small-scale mining development. Presidential Decree 1899 which I signed on the 23rd day of January this year therefore, encourages the promotion and development of small-scale mining operations. The promotional efforts shall be done through the provision of incentives such as tax-exemption, technical assistance from the bureau of mines and geo-sciences, and waiver of certain obstructive requirements from government instrumentalities which delay operationalization of projects. I have directed the minister of natural resources and the director of mines and geo-sciences to promulgate the implementing rules and regulations for the decree but in so doing to involve the various mining sectors, the very people who shall put into practice the intent of the law.

Our acquisition of RPS explorer comes at a time when worldwide interest is focused in the development and exploitation of sea-bed deposits. While the country's traditional sources of metals, the onshore deposits could still supply our present demand and foreign commitments, it is to our best interest to immediately locate and evaluate our ocean mineral assets. Discovery of marine mineral deposits and possible horizons of hydrocarbon will surely stimulate participation of the private sector in the promotion and development of our mineral and fossil fuel resources. We, therefore, foresee, expanded mineral based economic activities.

The role of the RPS explorer in national planning and development becomes more significant in the light of recent developments in international jurisprudence governing virtually all uses for all parts of the ocean. The adoption of the archipelagic doctrine and the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) under the United Nations Convention on the law of the sea, to which we are a signatory, has given us substantial gains in marine areas and thus, a tremendous potential in terms of natural resources within the region. The Philippines prior to the approval of the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) concept, has a total offshore area of approximately 150 million hectares or more than four times the country's land area. With our declaration of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ), our total marine area increased to about 190 million hectares or by as much as 25% over our previous territorial limit, this area under our jurisdiction is a vast frontier for research and development. While 93% of the total land area of the country has been geologically mapped, only a few hectares of our offshore have been explored. Accordingly, high priority is given to offshore geo-scientific research and mineral and hydrocarbon development in the fundamental plan, the gathering of marine geological/geophysical data essential for National Planning and Development of our expanded marine area will be the primary function of this research vessel, implementing strategies for which, the Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences has manifested in its offshore exploration project up to year 2000.

With the acquisition of this vessel, we expect to attain a rapid and systematic development of our offshore regions and to acquire up-date geological and geophysical data which could lead to a better understanding of the tectonic framework and evolution of the Philippines and the structural environment favorable to commercial concentration of not only economically exploitable minerals but hydrocarbon as well. Our acquisition of marine geoscientific data shall put us to better bargaining position vis-a-vis any foreign institution and private entities interested to explore and develop our offshore mineral and hydrocarbon resources. However, with these tasks and with only one research vessel it would be inevitable to augment our open ocean capability and manpower requirement in the not too distant future in order to expedite geoscientific research and mineral exploration of our vast marine area.

Until today, marine geological and geophysical exploration of Philippine waters had been relegated to interested foreign research institutions and to joint cooperative undertakings with geological institutions as part of our international commitments with the United Nations Research Agencies, like the studies of East Asian Tectonics and Resources (SEATAR), the Committee for Coordination of Joint Prospecting for Mineral Resources in Asian offshore areas (CCOP) and the International Decade of Oceanographic Expedition (IDOE). Foreign geophysical and geological survey vessels like the RV Thomas Washington of the Scripps Institution of oceanography of the University of California and RV Valdivia and RV Sonne of the Institute of Natural Resources and Geosciences of the Federal Republic of Germany had conducted geophysical and geological studies in the South Pacific, South China Sea and Sulu Sea.

Aside from the interesting findings from the point of view of geoscientific research the RV Sonne which conducted deep sea sampling in 1982 identified several areas in the Sulu and South China Sea where manganese nodules occur and thick sedimentary accumulation for possible hydrocarbon deposition. Chemical analyses show the samples to contain besides manganese and iron, nickel, copper, titanium, barium, vanadium, and molybdenum. Other findings of the RV Sonne open specific areas of research for RPS explorer such as the delineation and evaluation of possible manganese nodule and hydrocarbon deposits in the Sulu sea and south china sea, and the possible occurrence of tin in Palawan resulting from the conclusion that part of northern Palawan was tore out of mainland Asia- other various ocean surveys show considerable wealth of minerals deposited on sea bottom. Vast amounts of manganese nodules are known to exist in the Pacific Ocean floor. gold, platinum, chromite, and other heavy minerals rich in iron. Tin and lead are widely scattered in the ocean floor. Large Phosphorite accumulations are also believed deposited on the sea bottom and these could be exploited to provide fertilizer for phosphate deficient areas. Glauconite, a hydrated silicate of potassium, iron and aluminum is also existent in the continental shelf and accumulation of this mineral has been reported in the Philippine coastal areas.

In 1981, marine seismic and magnetic surveys were conducted along Leyte Gulf, Surigao strait, Dinagat sound and Hinatuan passage. Indications of thick accumulation of sediments which offer potential for magnetite sand deposits in the eastern portion of Leyte Gulf and northward up to San Pedro bay were interpreted from seismic reflection profiles. Hinatuan passage has been identified as a trough for the possible deposition of detrital gold. These offshore deposits, if properly identified and developed, will undoubtedly be a boom to our economy. It is now the responsibility of the RPS explorer within the limits of its capability to continue and expand the area of geological research in the country and delineate the areas with potential mineral deposits within the Philippine waters.

The tasks ahead for this vessel are too great that without responsible planning and conscientious implementation of its assigned mission such tasks will be impossible to accomplish. For this reason, our support, logistics or otherwise, should always be with those who will participate in all the activities of the vessel. There should be a continuous training program, here and abroad. For all participants to the project of this vessel, as well as for other geoscientists of the Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences, to keep them updated of the modern techniques and methods in geoscientific research and mineral exploration and development. The remunerations of these geo-scientists and support personnel of the Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences should likewise be reevaluated to keep up with the changes of the time and to rightfully compensate them for their services. and in response to the budgetary requirements for the maximum operation of the full capability of the vessel, I hereby approve and instruct the Ministry of the Budget to make available funds in the amount of P6 million for operational expenses of the RPS explorer for CY 1984 from the special activity fund of the office of the President and to include and ensure availability of funds for the operation of the vessel in the regular budget of the Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences in the succeeding years.

But as we prepare our plans for the maximum utilization of this vessel and dream of what it can accomplish. However ambitious, let us not forget the ever cooperative Japan International Cooperation Agency or JICA, the Toyo Menka Kaisha, Ltd., the Overseas Shipbuilding Cooperation Centre (OSCC), the American Bureau of Shipping (ABS), the former Ambassador Hideho Tanaka and the incumbent Japanese Ambassador Yoshio Okawa, as well as Dr. Akihiko Sugimura of the Fuji Economic Planning Corporation of Japan and our own Ambassador Carlos J. Valdez and Minister Teodoro Q. Peña. All of them worked together to put our ambition of acquiring a geological/geophysical survey vessel come true. I commend their collective efforts.

I also congratulate the builder of the vessel, the Ishikawajima Harima-Heavy Industries Co., Ltd., (IHI) and Ishikawajima Ship and Chemical Plant Co., Ltd., (ISC) of Japan particularly Mr. Hirotaro Nemoto, President of IHI and Mr. Tadao Kanauchi, President of ISC and their staff, as well as the man who dreamt of this vessel, Director Juanito C. Fernandez of the Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences. Above all, I wish to cite the magnanimity of the Japanese people.

Again, allow me to reiterate the gratitude and acknowledgement of the Philippine Government for the numerous grants which the Japanese Government has extended to our country particularly this geophysical/geological research vessel which we believe will take a long way in welding a true friendship between the Japanese people and the Filipino people.

Thank you.

Source: Presidential Museum and Library

Marcos, F. E. (1984). *Speeches by President Ferdinand E. Marcos*. [Manila] : Presidential Library.

Address of President Marcos at the inaugural run of the Light Rail Transit System, [September 10, 1984](#)

**Address
of
His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos
President of the Philippines
At the inaugural run of the Light Rail Transit System**

[Delivered on September 10, 1984]

I am proud and pleased to join you all here today for this historic commencement of service of our country's very first Light Rail Transit System.

No words of mine can possibly add to the great meaning and significance of this transit facility. No words of congratulation can add luster to the impressive achievement of those who conceived, promoted and built this magnificent addition to our metropolis.

For in truth, the Light Rail Transit System is its own best witness to its worth. By the service it will henceforth provide is vindicated and rewarded the hopes and the strivings of those who sponsored, conceived and built this transit facility. And it is truly our country and ourselves who are ennobled by this ceremony, and enriched by this achievement.

To be sure, this project has never been without its detractors and opponents from the very moment when it was first conceived and proposed, and to this day of its inauguration. But to the credit of its planners, advocates and builders, they never for a moment were discouraged by the vain efforts of those who sought to frustrate this project. And today as we mark here the completion of the initial phase of this facility, our people fully stand to reap from their resolve and dedication.

It is said that only "far seeing vision accomplish far reaching victories." I do not doubt that the impact of the Light Rail Transit System will be far reaching and great indeed. I do not doubt that from this facility will sprout the long sought reform and modernization of our public transport system in Metro Manila.

The disorder that has plagued our transport system had its roots early in this century when our leaders then chose to allow the evolution of a system that favored the private, often rich, motorist over the ordinary commuter. precious little attention and resources were given to mass mobility and transport to such an extent that today, for instance, half of all the motorized vehicles plying our roads are private cars. For a developing economy such as ours the choice has proved to be most unfortunate. It has meant building and maintaining a constantly growing and expensive road network.

It has contributed to our soaring imports of oil that in any case — despite our best efforts — were used inefficiently and wastefully. In turn, the vast proliferation of internal combustion engines has also seriously befouled our ecology.

The LRT, therefore, should be viewed as an important measure to restore order and rationality in our mass transport system the LRT has the interest of the mass commuter — the common man — at heart. while we cannot deny that it will soon displace other forms of mass transport — forms that are anyway unclean, wasteful, inefficient and evidently incapable of satisfying our requirements for mass mobility — the LRT provides a sane and intelligent option. We cannot permit the limited concerns of a single sector to override the best interest and well-being of the majority.

A proposal for a similar transport system had been broached as early as the first half of the 1960' s. but due to the insistent lobbying of certain commercial interests and the vacillation of some policy-makers at that time, the

proposal was rejected, much to our disadvantage. We have thus had to undertake the construction of the LRT burdened by the added cost of that early indecision.

While the investment for the LRT may at first glance seem staggering, we should not lose sight of the fact that in the long term the project will more than pay for itself. If we go by the savings from increased energy efficiency and human productivity which the system makes possible, it becomes obvious that our funds for this project are wisely spent. We are not simply concerned with the convenience, comfort and safety of commuters although these have and will always be important considerations. More important are the economic benefits we will realize from cutting down on the Manhours lost to needlessly lengthy commuting time as well as on the costly fuel squandered in other, energy-profligate means of mass transport.

These, of course, are the kind of data that some of our political opponents ignore or, worse, choose to distort. During the past few years, they have been exploiting the understandable anxiety of certain quarters despite the fact that programs are already underway to safeguard their livelihood.

The final verdict on the LRT, however, will come not from our short-sighted and mean-spirited adversaries but from the millions of people who stand to benefit from this improvement in Metro Manila's transport system and I do not doubt and I do not doubt for a moment what that verdict will be.

In behalf of our people, therefore, I would like to congratulate the light rail transit authority, particularly the engineers and workmen who through considerable hardship have made this engineering feat possible. I would also like to express the people's gratitude to the Belgian Government whose assistance has been extremely valuable.

I would once more emphasize that this is but the first phase of a far more comprehensive mass transport network. In the coming years, the LRT will be made to expand and reach an even larger section of Metro Manila with tried and tested achievers such as Minister Dans, the Governor of Metro Manila, and the men and women of LRTA, I am confident we cannot fail.

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